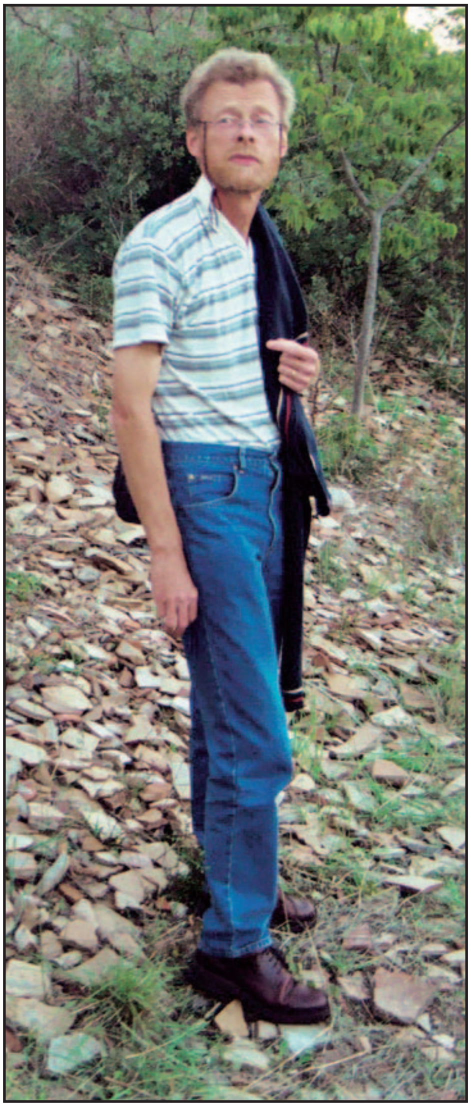


IN MEMORIAM
Dr. Jaap van der Werff

(Groningen 18 April 1947 - Amersfoort 13 April 2003)

On April 13th 2003 Jaap van der Werff very suddenly passed away, when his heart stopped beating while he was playing a game of field hockey. He was buried at Amersfoort on April 18th, the day he would have celebrated his 56th birthday.

Jacobus Hermanus van der Werff studied Medieval History and Archaeology in Utrecht. From 1971 on he worked as a teacher of History at schools in Bilthoven and Amersfoort. He obtained his doctorate in 1982 with a thesis on the archaeological finds of the Utrecht University Uzita excavations in central Tunisia.

We all have known Jaap as the archaeologist he was and especially as the Dutch specialist in the field of amphora-research. His daily job, however, was teaching history. The combination of teaching and research brought on difficulties of which only he himself felt the burden, but by no means did it affect his dedication, enthusiasm, and productivity. As a teacher he was always there, first and foremost for his pupils in stimulating them, animating them, and being personally interested. He spent most of his available time, in fact, in educating youngsters and improving the processes of teaching. As a part of the latter he cooperated in various projects to give archaeology a better place in the Dutch secondary school educational system and in the development of educational methods.

Although Jaap's profession was teaching, archaeology was the love of his industrious life. It should be emphasized that almost all of his archaeological research, papers and publications were pursued in his spare time. From his early days in archaeological research he showed interest in the many problems of amphora-research in the classical world. Archaeology for Jaap was not in the sphere of heritage management but in systematical scholarly research. This research consisted of a meticulous study of the archaeological material, commonly in dusty depots and hidden museum collections, testing his phenomenal ready knowledge, painstakingly and systematically describing his observations, visiting amphora production sites throughout the Mediterranean world, setting up reference collections of fabrics, stamps and pictures of complete amphora specimens, making his own drawings, gathering all other information needed to get a firm documentary basis to rely on and use this as a starting point for theorizing. In the time of the New Archaeology Jaap kept relying on these basic principles of research, instead of what he tended to refer to as archaeological modernism and 'trendy looking humbug'. Debating with fellow-researchers in his characteristic soft-voiced but clearly enunciated way, he accentuated and corrected both his own problems, ideas, and theories and those of others. He was very critical of the results of his own research as well as of that of his fellow archaeologists and amphorologists. In committing the results to paper he elaborately formulated and rephrased until content and form of the publication were balanced, often adding a humorous flavour. In Jaap's last publication, on the amphoras of the Vechten Roman fort (The Netherlands), he states of another amphora with sawn off upper part: 'The amphora Cat. Nr. 4 was assaulted in much the same way.'

One field that Jaap preferred and in which he excelled was unquestionably *instrumentum domesticum*, a category in which amphoras comprise the chief group. The reader is reminded of his fine article on the Baetican wine-amphora *Pinselinschrift* from Xanten, a jewel of simplicity and scholarship, a ticket for everyone who likes to explore the world of *tituli picti*, stamps and graffiti, those mute voices of vanished antiquity.

In Dutch archaeology of the Roman Provinces Jaap undoubtedly showed the way and plotted the course for amphora research. As an honorary scholar of the Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek (ROB, State Service for Archaeological Investigations) he made clear, both in his publications and in direct expertise promotion, that this pottery is important for more than the typological and chronological evidence it provides. Many colleagues, students and amateur archaeologists benefited from his outstanding knowledge and his stimulating commitment and cooperation. He tried several times to transfer into a full-time job in archaeology, but alas he was never successful. In his position, however, as Secretary for the Joan Willems Stichting, the supporting foundation which was founded by and allied to the ROB, he provided an enormous number of (temporary) jobs for young archaeologists in The Netherlands.

As can be deduced from his publications, his geographical scope was wide, varying from North African and Mediterranean to Dutch and Northwest European finds. The national and international recognition he received reflects the impressive range and quality of work. It is so regrettable that he was unable to complete his research on amphora production and importation in the southern Adriatic. This work showed great promise, in view of Jaap's excellent study of the amphora wall in the *Domus del Protiro* at Ostia. That study has a place beside the studies of the amphora wall of Carthage and the deposits of La Longarina and Castro Pretorio, the last the magisterial work of Heinrich Dressel himself. His last presentation was precisely in the Urbs, at the *Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautores*-congress, on the amphoras of Valesio. And of course Jaap was one of the pioneers in the study of neo-Punic amphoras.

In The Netherlands he studied the amphora finds from the most important Roman sites, like Aardenburg, Nijmegen, Valkenburg, Vechten and Wijk bij Duurstede and for some of them publications were already in preparation when his life came to an end. Just a few days before his death Jaap discovered the oldest amphora stamp known in the Netherlands.

Dutch and European archaeology will miss this outstanding scholar, fine teacher and humorous colleague.

Robert van Dierendonck
Patrick Monsieur

Rev. A.E. van Giffen, De Groninger Sint Walburg, Den Haag 1970^3, *Spiegel Historiael* 7 (1972) 60.

Rev. M. Grant, Gladiators, London 1967, *Spiegel Historiael* 7 (1972) 123.

Van aanvaarding naar keuze. 13 jaar 'Kleio' over doelstellingen van het geschiedenisonderwijs, *Kleio* 14 (1973) 432-439.

Notes on a graffito from the Basilica Aemilia, *BABesch* 48 (1973) 83-90 (also published in *Archaeologische Studiën van het Nederlands Instituut in Rome. Scripta minora* 3, 83-90).

Rev. P. Llewellyn, Rome in the dark ages, Groningen 1971, *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 86 (1973) 592-593.

Rev. P. Baldacci e.a., Recherches sur les amphores romaines, Paris/Rome 1972 (Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome 10), *BABesch* 49 (1974) 294-296.

Additional note on the graffito from the Basilica Aemilia, *BABesch* 49 (1974) 259.

Rhodian amphora stamps, *Archaeologica traiectina* 13 (1978) 82-91.

Amphores de tradition punique à Uzita, *BABesch* 52-53 (1977-1978) 171-200.

Rev. A. Tchernia e.a., L'épave de la Madrague de Giens (Var). Fouilles de l'Institut d'archéologie méditerranéenne, Paris 1978 (XXXIVe supplément à Gallia), *BABesch* 54 (1979) 214-215.

Rev. Méthodes classiques et méthodes formelles dans l'étude des amphores romaines. Actes du colloque de Rome, 27-29 mai 1974, Paris/Rome 1977 (Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome 32), *BABesch* 55 (1980) 276-277.

Amphores de tradition punique: mise en cause de la datation, in *Actes du Colloque sur la céramique antique*, Carthage 23-24 juin 1980, (Dossier CEDAC Carthage 1)(1980) 213-217.

Uzita. Vondstenmateriaal uit een antieke nederzetting in Midden-Tunesië, Utrecht 1982.

Uzita: een antiek stadje in Midden-Tunesië, *Spiegel Historiael* 19 (1984) 382-386.

Rev. H. Habets/A. van Hooff e.a., Op weg naar de Romeinen. Kennismaking met de klassieke oudheid bestemd voor brugklassers, 's-Gravenhage 1983, *Kleio* 25, 2 (1984) 20-21.

Céramique modelée d'Uzita, *BABesch* 59 (1984) 125-135.

Rev. J.M. Blázquez (ed.), Producción y comercio del aceite en la Antigüedad. Primer congreso internacional, Madrid 1980, *BABesch* 59 (1984) 219-220.

Roman amphoras at Nijmegen - a preliminary report, *BerichtenROB* 34 (1984) 347-387.

Onder Muzen, *Kleio* 26, 1 (1985) 39-40.

The Amphora wall in the House of the Porch, Ostia, *BABesch* 61 (1986) 96-133.

Rev. J.A. Lloyd (ed.) Excavations at Sidi Khrebish, Benghazi (Berenice), Volume I, Tripoli 1977/Volume II, Tripoli 1979, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 186 (1986) 848-851.

115 jaar HBS/RSG. Tentoonstellingsgids. Amersfoort 1986.

De nasmaak van een tweede correctie, *Kleio* 28, 6 (1987) 53.

Roman amphoras at De Horden, Wijk bij Duurstede, *BerichtenROB* 37 (1987) 153-172.

Rev. J.M. Blázquez Martínez/J. Remesal Rodríguez (eds.), Producción y comercio del aceite en la Antigüedad. Segundo congreso internacional, Sevilla 24-28 febrero 1982, Madrid 1983, *BABesch* 63 (1988) 207-208.

Secundaire merken op Romeinse amforen, *Westerheem* 37 (1988) 222-233 (also published as ROB-offprint 326).

(with J.M. Zwaan,) *Van zalen en velden 1871-1988. Gymnastiekgeschiedenis van de RSG Thorbecke*, Amersfoort 1988.

Sekundäre Graffiti auf römischen Amphoren, *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 19 (1989) 361-376 (also published as ROB-offprint 351).

Colijnsplaat, in R.M. van Heeringen, Archeologische kroniek van Zeeland over 1988, *Archief. Mededelingen van het Koninklijk Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen* (1989) 138-140.

Ein Amphorenstempel des L. Eumachus in Nijmegen (Niederlande), *RCRFActa* 29-30 (1989) 7-14.

L. Eumachi - à propos d'une marque d'amphore trouvée à Nimègue, *BerichtenROB* 39 (1989) 357-376.

Een titulus pictus uit Valkenburg (ZH), in E.J. Bult/D.P. Hallewas (eds.), *Graven bij Valkenburg* III. *Het archeologisch onderzoek in 1987 en 1988*, Delft 1990, 78-87.

Bemerkungen zu einer Pinselinschrift aus Xanten, *BerichtenROB* 40 (1990) 323-331.

Beusichem, in R.S. Hulst, Archeologische kroniek van Gelderland 1989, *Bijdragen en mededelingen van de Vereniging Gelre* 81 (1990) 195-196.

Naaldwijk: Tiendweg, in P.J. Woltering/S. Jager/W.A.M. Hessing, Archeologische kroniek van Holland over 1990, *Holland* 23 (1991) 347-348.

Veere-Vrouwenpolder-strand, in R.M. van Heeringen, Archeologische kroniek van Zeeland over 1993, *Archief. Mededelingen van het Koninklijk Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen 1994*, 231-232.

Amfoorstempels en prosopografie, *Westerheem* 44 (1995) 148-155.

(with. H. Thoen/R. van Dierendonck,) Amphora production in the Lower Scheldt Valley (Belgium)? The Valkenburg-Marktveld evidence, *RCRFActa* 35 (1997) 63-71.

(with H. Thoen/R.M. van Dierendonck,) Scheldevallei-amforen. Belgisch bier voor Bataven en Cananefaten?, *Westerheem* 46, 6 (1997) 2-12.

(with H. Thoen/R.M. van Dierendonck,) Scheldevallei-amforen. Belgisch bier voor Bataven en Cananefaten?, *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent*, Nieuwe Reeks 51 (1997) 1-19.

A painted inscription from Batavodurum (Nijmegen), in H. Sarfatij/W.J.H. Verwers/P.J. Woltering (eds.), *In discussion with the past. Archaeological studies presented to W.A. van Es*, Zwolle/Amersfoort 1999, 167-171.

Old and new evidence on the contents of Haltern 70 amphoras, in L. Rivet/M. Sciallano (éds.), *Vivre, produire et échanger: reflets méditerranéens. Mélanges offerts à Bernard Liou*, Montagnac 2002 (Archéologie et histoire romaine 8) 445-449.

The third and second lives of Roman amphoras in Alphen aan den Rijn, The Netherlands, in J. Plouviez (ed.), *Amphorae in Britain and the western Empire*, Oxford 2003 (Journal of Roman Pottery Studies 10) 109-116.

Une amphore à inscriptions de Braives, in *Documents d'archéologie wallonne* (in press).

Amphoras from Vechten (Excavations 1946-1947), in F. Vermeulen/K. Sas/W. Dhaeze (eds.), *Archaeology in Confrontation. Aspects of Roman Military Presence in the Northwest*, Gent 2004 (Archaeological Reports Ghent, 2) (in press).

(with P. Monsieur,) Les graffites *ante cocturam* sur les amphores Dressel 20 découverts au Pays-Bas et en Belgique (in preparation).

BABesch 79 (2004)

The Goddess at the Handle
A Survey of Laconian Bronze Hydriae[*]

Conrad M. Stibbe

Abstract

More than sixty - complete or fragmentary - Laconian bronze hydriae are preserved and catalogued. The article aims at showing the stilistic and chronological coherence of this rather exceptional output of the Laconian bronze industry between ca. 650 and 550 BC. It should contribute, moreover, to end a rather long standing controverse about the dating of a well-preserved group of bronze hydriae which came to light at Paestum and Sala Consilina (here incorporated in the 'Gitiadas Group'). In fact the history of the whole bronze industry of Sparta, Corinth and other centres of the Archaic Period is at stake.

INTRODUCTION

The material is rich; the opinions of modern specialists differ markedly. Such was the situation when I published my first article on 'Archaic Bronze Hydriae' in *BABesch* 67, 1992, 1-62, and such the situation remains today. The only difference may be seen in the fact that new studies and new material since then have opened up new perspectives.[1] With the help of this new material, and the encouragement of new understanding, I hope to resolve some of the remaining problems in the field. This paper, therefore, is not an extended replay of my 1992 survey, but rather an attempt to clarify the Spartan or Laconian contribution to the development of those 'Archaic Bronze Hydriae' in general. In 1992 my main aim was to bring some order to the whole confusing mass, without concerning myself too much with matters of attribution to particular cities or geographical areas. On this occasion I shall concentrate all my effort on precisely this latter aspect. As a result more than 60 bronze hydriae - complete or fragmentary - are presented here as products of different Laconian bronze workers and workshops. The material, which of course includes many pieces which have been known for a long time, but also some newcomers, is organized into two main and seven subchapters, set out as follows:

I Hydriae decorated with female protomes

  1 Telestas hydriae
  2 Hydriae before Telestas
  3 Gitiadas hydriae
  4 Hydriae before Gitiadas

II Hydriae with other decorations

  5 Hydriae with show handles
  6 Ducks' head hydriae
  7 Hydriae decorated with palmettes

1 TELESTAS HYDRIAE

Introduction

The starting point of this inquiry, the Telestas hydria, was first published in 1938 by K.A. Neugebauer in a short but fundamental study which established the outline of all relevant aspects (here cat. no. 3).[2] Neugebauer did not comment on the interesting issue of the alleged find place, Lebadeia in Boeotia, but his statement that 'Herr Kapitän zur See a.D. Freiherr von Senarclens-Grancy zu Darmstadt' had bought the hydria in Athens and given it on loan to the 'Staatliche Museen' in Berlin made it plain that this information originated from an art dealer in Athens.[3] In fact the hydria was not complete: only the rim with an inscription and the three handles were preserved. The inscribed name of Telesstas (sic) made the piece extremely interesting. After a study by E. Kunze, who published a comparable handle from Olympia in 1938,[4] it was G. Hafner who introduced the workshop of the Telestas master in 1957.[5]

1 The Telestas Group

The series of bronze hydriae called the Telestas Group has since become well-known, and is unanimously considered to be of Laconian origin.[6] Telestas is the name of a Laconian bronze worker, who, according to Pausanias V, 23, 7, together with his brother Ariston, 'made a pedestal of bronze with a Zeus upon it, which I conjecture to be about eighteen feet (about 5.40 m) high'. Pausanias saw this statue in Olympia, and continues: 'The donors and sculptors are set forth in elegiac verse:

> The Cleitorians dedicated this image to the god, a tithe
>   From many cities that they had reduced by force.
> The sculptors were Ariston and Telestas
>   Own brothers and Laconians.'[7]

The last two verses are corrupt, but their meaning is clear.[8] Pausanias adds a significant afterthought: 'I do not think that these Laconians were famous all over Greece, for had they been so the Eleans would have had something to say about them, and the Lacedaemonians more still, seeing that they were their fellow-citizens.'[9] Apparently Pausanias took the trouble to ask, unsuccessfully, for more information about the two Laconian bronze workers. The reason why these artists were no longer known in Pausanias' time could be that they lived long before his time, and also that they were members of that anonymous class of bronze workers who, at an early date, were the initiators of a successful bronze industry in Sparta and/or Laconia. This industry came into being in the last quarter of the 7th century BC.

There is yet another argument in favour of the supposition that Ariston and Telestas were involved not only in the production of (more than) life-size bronze statuary, but also in the more humble production of bronze vessels: the name of Telestas (spelled Telesstas) is found on the upper face of the rim of a bronze hydria (here no. 1, *fig. 3*) allegedly discovered at Lebadeia

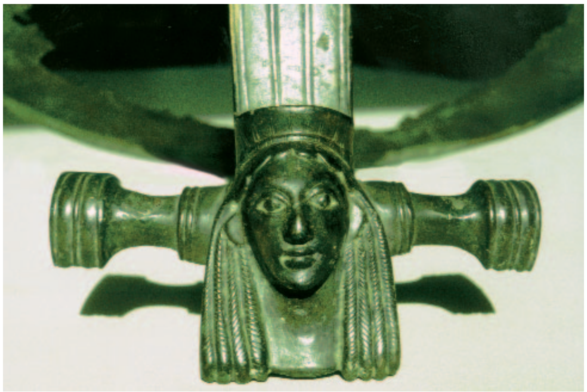


Fig. 1. Detail of vertical hydria handle. Cat. no. 1. Mainz, Archäologische Sammlung der Universität 201.

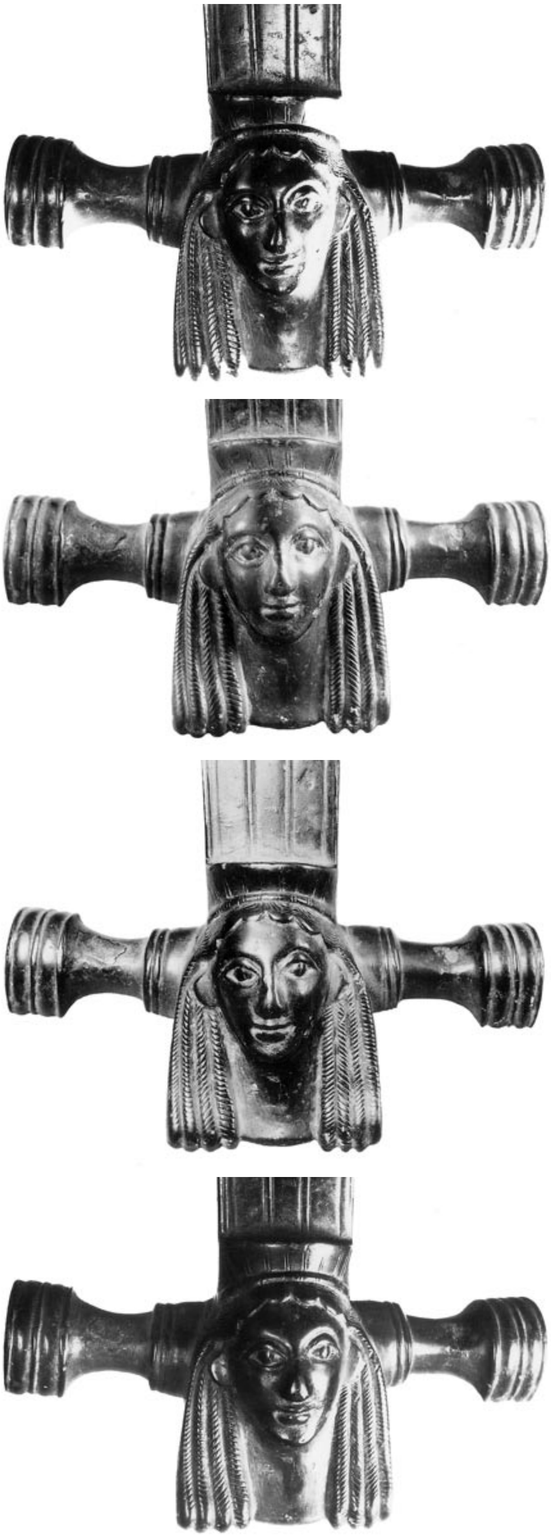


Fig. 2. The same, with different lightings.

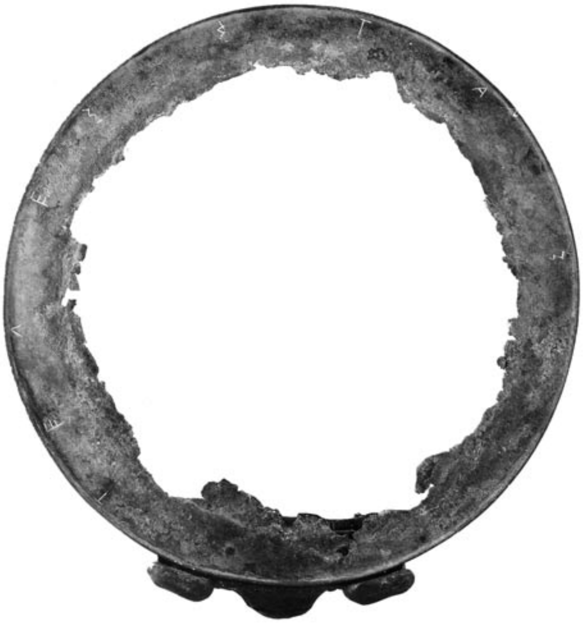


Fig. 3. The same, inscription on top of rim.

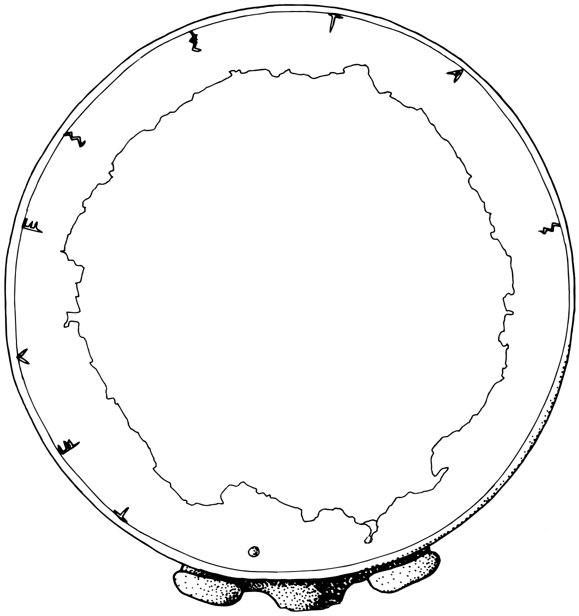


Fig. 4. The same, drawing of inscription.

(Boeotia) and now in Mainz.[10] The name is not just scratched in: each letter has been carefully and distinctly incised along the rim (*fig. 4*). Only this rim together with the handles has been preserved. It cannot be proved, of course, that the Telestas of Pausanias and the Telestas of the hydria are one and the same man, but the degree of probability is high.[11]

As an additional argument in favour of this identification, the exceptionally high quality of the female protome at the lower attachment of the vertical handle should be mentioned. If the name of Telestas, together with that of his brother Ariston, stands for the masters and proprietors of a bronze workshop, this may very well be a piece by the hand of Telestas himself, whereas similar handles, of lesser quality but showing the same iconography, would be the products of his assistants or associates.

This exceptional quality lies in the liveliness and variety of the aspects of the face, and becomes apparent when viewed from different angles and under different lighting (*figs. 1-2*). There is a balance of all the details: the eyes neither too small nor too big, the eyelids and eyebrows finely worked out without the overemphasis often found in Laconian faces, the mouth with well-shaped lips (not too thick, as often happens) and showing a subtle smiling; the hair above the forehead, the polos and its band, the four braids on each side of the face falling down in not too heavy a mass; all are of a refined finish. Only the ears have retained the primitive plain shaping of earlier times. A Laconian feature can be recognized in the axis of the eyes, which are not set at the same level (the right eye is placed lower on the face than the left).[12] Otherwise even the proportions of the head relative to the other parts of the handle (the half-reels and the grip) are well-balanced.

For the handle as a whole, the simplicity of its decorations may be called characteristic, especially if compared with the exact opposite: the show-handle, as found with a whole group of Laconian bronze hydriae of the same period (see below). So there is reason enough to suppose that it was a master bronze-worker who designed, as a new concept, that most simple handle-decoration shown by the hydria in Mainz.

The hand of the master also becomes apparent when we compare the Telestas female protome with the other protomes of the same group. One of the closest parallels is found in the handle from Atena Lucana (ancient Atina), belonging to a hydria of which the rim, part of the neck, the side-handles and the foot are also preserved: cat. no. 2.[13] In particular the shaping of the eyes on the protome, which are not very big and framed by heavy, angular eyelids[14] placed at different levels, a smiling mouth and four obliquely hatched braids on each side of the face are very similar. The contour of the face, however, which makes a

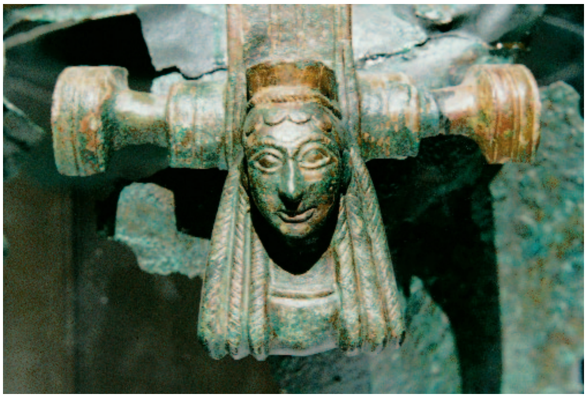


Fig. 5. Hydria from Capua, Santa Maria Capua Vetere. Cat. no. 3. Detail.

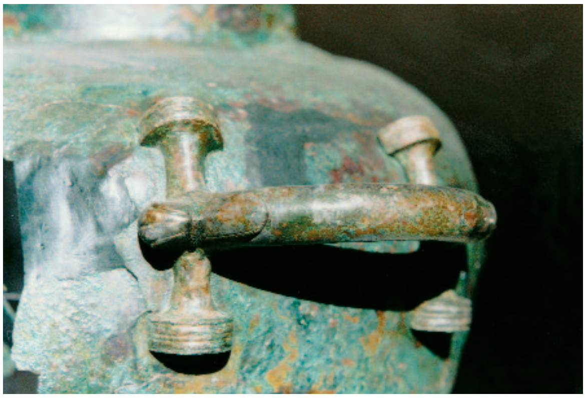


Fig. 6. The same, side handle.

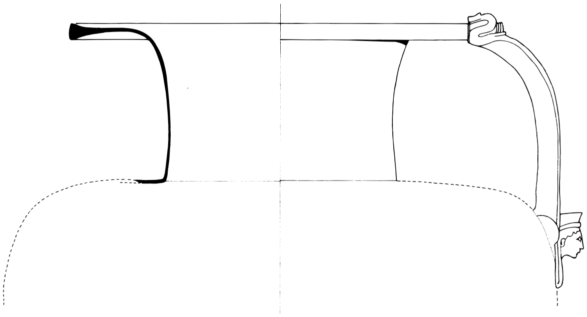


Fig. 7. The same, drawing of profile.

lengthy oval (instead of the broader shape of the Telestas hydria face), constitutes a link to the other parallels (see below). Remarkable features also include the secondary ornaments on the rim (metopes at the outer face, just as with the Telestas hydria) and on the foot (a tongue pattern, omitted on the Telestas hydria). The find place is also significant, as it lies on the overland trade-route which connects Sybaris with Poseidonia (Paestum) and then with Campania (Capua). This route was still in use for bronze vessels of later groups (see below).

The hydria from Atena Lucana has been dated ca. 600 BC by its publisher, W. Johannowsky.[15] He arrives at this rather precise date by comparison with another hydria of the same type, here no. 3, figs. 5-7, which was discovered in a datable context in Santa Maria Capua Vetere (ancient Capua). The context (*figs. 8-10*) includes Corinthian pottery from the late part of the Early Corinthian period.[16] This fact, according to Johannowsky, makes possible a dating of the bronze hydria from Capua in the decade 600-590. As a consequence, the hydria from Atena Lucana, which he considers a little older for stylistic reasons, can be dated ca. 600 BC.

If this is right, it would mean that the Telestas hydria, which we have found above to be even older than the hydria from Atena Lucana, should be dated before 600 BC. We return to the problem of dating below. For the moment we may keep in mind the following chronological sequence: 1 the Telestas hydria; 2 the Atena Lucana hydria and 3 the hydria from Capua.[17]

The hydria from Capua, which Johannowsky (1980, 449-450 with Fig. 6) could publish only provisionally because it was still to be cleaned and restored, has since been made known with new photographs, a profile drawing and a short description of the context.[18] As a result, we can confirm the preliminary observations made by Johannowsky regarding the features of the face of the female protome (*fig. 5*): the eyes are more rounded and the eyebrows have taken the shape of an obliquely carved frame.[19] Moreover the contour of the face is narrower and the braids are reduced to three, if compared with the female protomes of the two other hydriae hitherto considered.[20]

An aspect of the hydria from Capua, not mentioned by Johannowsky, is the shape of the rim, neck and shoulder (*fig. 7*), which clearly represent a later stage of development than that of a second hydria from the same grave-context, showing a duck's head at the lower attachment of the vertical handle (*fig. 50*). On this hydria see below, p. 34 no. 45.

A next step within the series which depends on the Telestas hydria may be seen in an isolated, rather worn handle from Olympia, here no. 4, fig. 11. The find place is important, because it contributes to the attribution of the whole group to Sparta or Laconia, Olympia being so to speak the shop-window for the Spartan or Laconian bronze

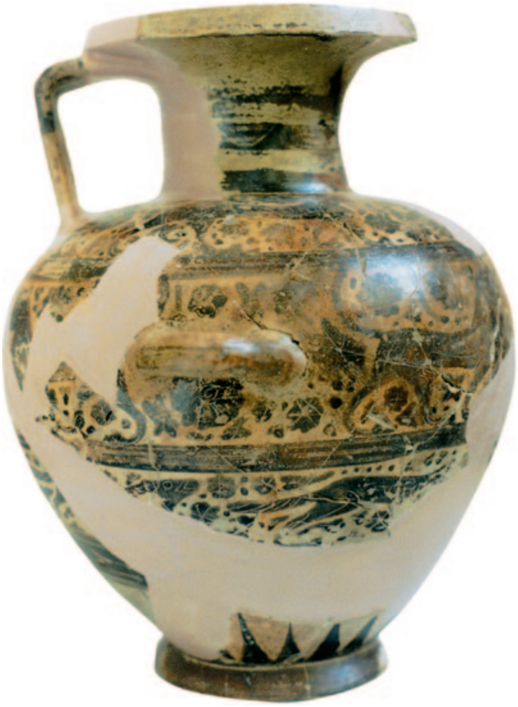


Fig. 8. EC-context of the same.

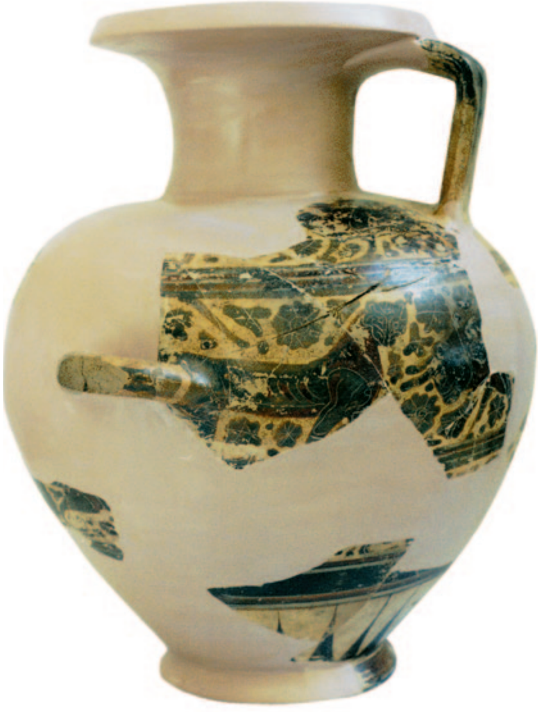


Fig. 9. EC-context of the same.

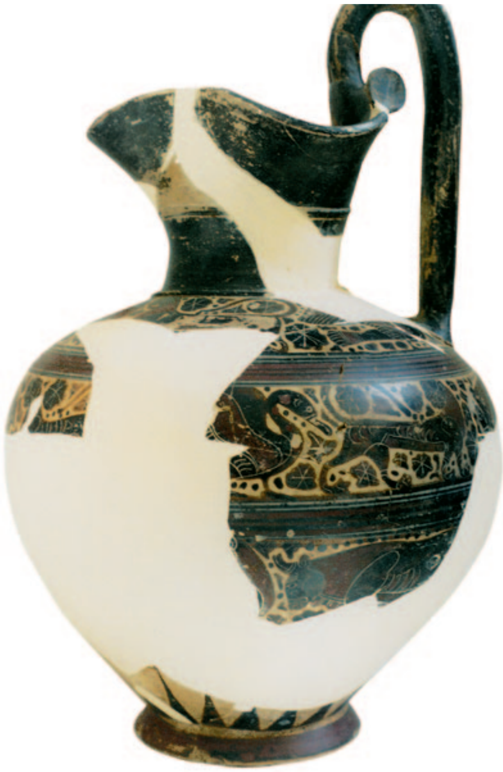


Fig. 10. EC-context of the same.

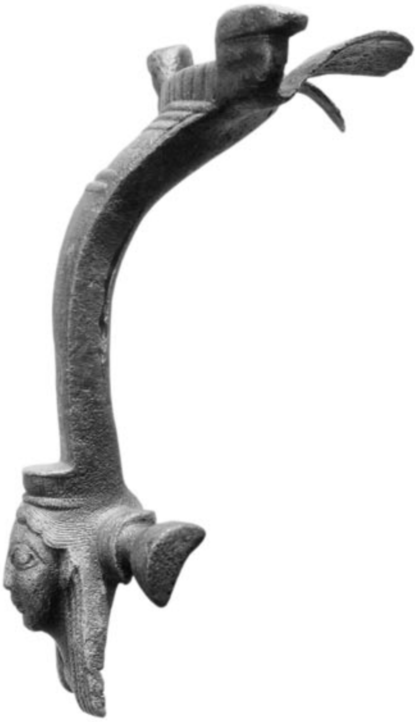


Fig. 11. Vertical hydria handle from Olympia. Cat. no. 4. Olympia, Museum B 175.

industry.[21] The face of the female protome this time is dominated by almost excessive big round eyes with relatively tiny eyelids. The eyebrows show (invisible on photographs) a fine hatching[22] accompanied by an incised line.[23] There is no reason to suppose that the differing details which are balanced by a lot of stylistic and technical agreements would be the result of a production long after the Telestas hydria.[24]

The same can be said of a hydria from Gela in Syracuse, here no. 5, fig. 12. This almost completely preserved piece has been restored with an angular shoulder, which would give it a late date.[25] But it is exactly the transition of the shoulder into the lower body which is not preserved. The restoration should be rejected in its present form, the shoulder originally having been rounded as with the other hydriae of the Telestas group. The female protome of no. 5, with its big round eyes and lengthy oval contour, looks very similar to the one from Olympia, no. 4.[26] So do the braids which fall low from behind the ears instead of higher up and around the ears; the straight mouth is not smiling.[27] It should be noted, furthermore, that the engraved design of vertical lines on the grip, which, with nos. 1 and 2, consisted of four equidistant courses, has been reduced to two courses by contraction of the two central lines. This differing design has been seen already with the grip of no. 4 and it returns with no. 6.

After Lebadeia, Atena Lucana, Capua, Olympia and Gela nobody would be surprised to hear that Epirus (which may stand for Dodona) is the alleged provenance of a complete set of three hydria handles, here no. 6. The distribution of find places is a clear evidence of the acceptance of Laconian bronze products on the 'international' markets. With no. 6 the face of the female protome again shows the big eyes and other features of the Telestas workshop. The surprise this time comes from the side handles which, instead of the more common ducks' heads, repeat the protome of the vertical handle four times on a smaller scale, between the half-reels. This oddity may be explained as a variant of similar extravagancies seen on side-handles in the group of show handles (chapter 5, below), where lion- and horse-protomes are found (*fig. 38*). Apparently the maker of no. 6 was inspired by examples from that opposite quarter.

A fragmentary handle, no. 7, figs. 13-14, in the University of Columbia, Missouri, may be welcomed as a new member of our group. The rather well-preserved face is dominated again by big eyes, a long nose and slightly smiling lips. Some details recall nos. 1 and 5, the polos being as wide as the grip, and nos. 4 and 5, for the shaping of the eyes. No. 7, of which the provenance is unknown, contributes anyway to our knowledge of the output of the Telestas workshop.

At the end of the series we put a handle in a private collection in Germany, no. 8. The reason why this piece is listed at the end is the decoration of the grip: here, for the first time, we meet a vertical row of beadings at the centre. Moreover the decoration at the top of the grip has been reduced to a narrow row of small triangles. As for the beadings: they are found elsewhere with a well-preserved hydria, again for the first time, on no. 29, dated 580-570. A similar dating may also be valid for our handle. The face of its female protome seems to be a rather close imitation of the Telestas prototype, but its differing contour betrays a later date of production.

A special case

An isolated vertical handle in the Louvre, no. 9, with the vague provenance 'Greece', deserves our special attention because it combines the iconographic formula of the Telestas group with stylistic details, which point to a production date

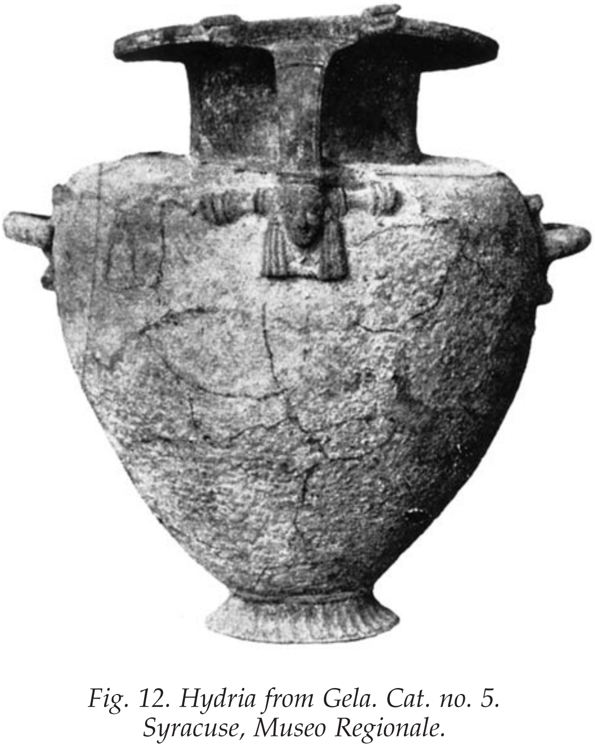


Fig. 12. Hydria from Gela. Cat. no. 5. Syracuse, Museo Regionale.

before the Telestas-handle itself, that is, in our concept, before the whole Telestas series.[28] That there are in fact quite a few bronze hydriae of an older generation with female protomes, will be demonstrated below (subchapter 2), but not one of them comes as close as the Louvre handle to the Telestas series itself.[29] The stylistic details have, in the past, caused a curious disagreement among scholars about the dating of the Louvre handle.[30]

Some close reading may help to find a solution for the problem. The design of the grip with four vertical courses between five equidistant carved lines, finishing above against two horizontal friezes with incised decorations, comes very near to the grips of our nos. 1 and 2. But at the upper attachment the snake protomes coil up more vigorously and the snakes have beards, whereas the convex 'tongues' between them are only eight in number.

The female protome shows the same type of eyes and eyelids as nos. 1 and 2, but the eyebrows are plastically accentuated. The four long tresses on each side of the face do appear to emerge from behind the ears, but rather from the side of the head, as with heads of the late-dedalic period (630-620).[31] The shape of the face is as broad as with no. 1, but the hair above the forehead has a wider plain central part due to the division of the curls, which hang down in the most old-fashioned manner, three by three on each side, from the straight horizontal line of the polos-band.[32] The polos itself has a much higher and concave shape with each leaf or tongue hollowed out instead of being incised. This type of polos, again, can be seen with an older generation of female protomes.[33]

There are quite a few reasons, therefore, to propose a dating before the Telestas-series, that is, as we have seen above, before 600 BC. If this is right, we need to explain the striking iconographic relationship of the Louvre handle with the Telestas group.[34] Of the several possible options the present writer would prefer the following: when Telestas was working in Sparta or Laconia in the years around 600 BC, a colleague (not an apprentice, but someone older) with his own independent workshop, observed the success of Telestas' output of hydriae. This colleague, while retaining the style of the older tradition in which he was trained, then imitated his fellow-bronze worker, and by doing so, succeeded in selling his products to foreign clients.

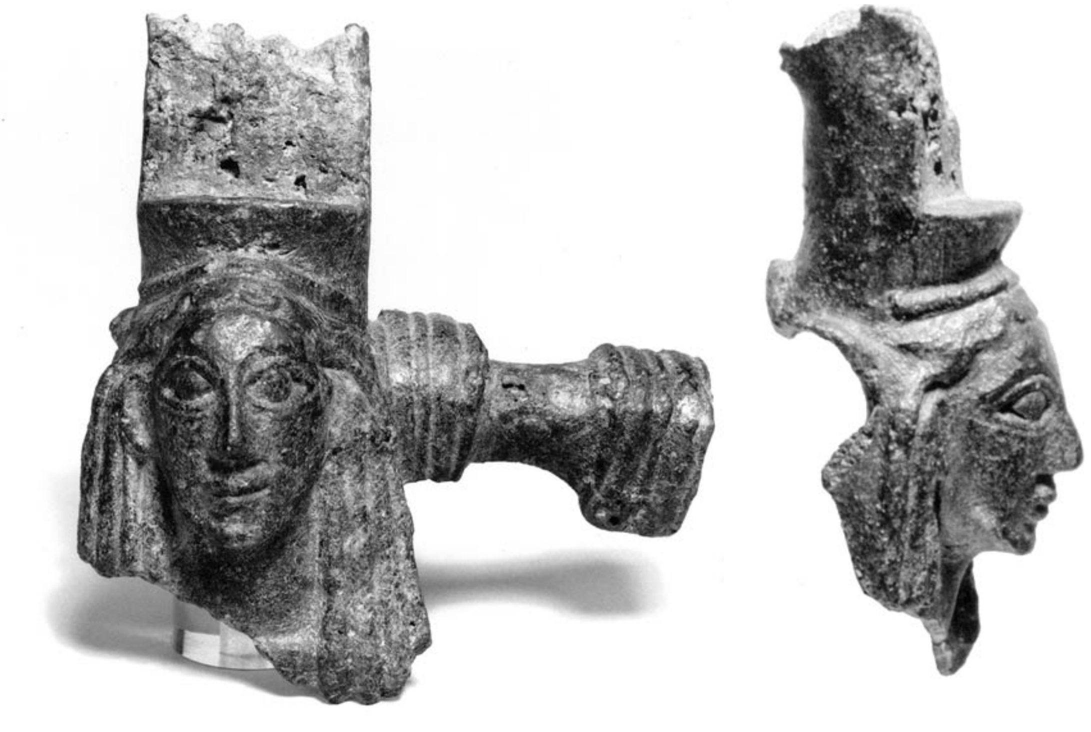


Fig. 13/14. Fragment of hydria handle. Cat. no. 7. Philadelphia, University of Missouri, acc. no. 87.1.

Conclusion

The amazing success of the Telestas hydriae in the 'international' markets of the time can be illustrated not only by the spreading of the hitherto known find places on the Greek mainland and in the west, but also by some striking imitations in terracotta. Already known for a long time are a female head from Sparta,[35] and another from Taranto in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford,[36] which reflect the face, big eyes and haircut of nos. 4-7. The polos, in this case, has taken a different shape. Another instance is a terracotta head from Lokroi, used as decoration on top of a curious handle, which seems close to our no. 3.[37] Yet another, though less convincing, example from Lokroi is in the Louvre.[38] From Sparta itself, a female protome of the Telestas type, used as decoration on the horizontal (!) handles of a pyxis, has recently been published. This is again of the same type as our nos. 4-7.[39] Since these and other terracotta heads reflect the general acceptance of the works of Telestas and his workshop, it becomes all the more probable that later generations of bronze workers would also have been influenced by this success. That this is indeed the case will be shown below (Gitiadas group).

Although no examples of bronze hydriae of the Telestas type have hitherto come to light in Sparta or Laconia, the attribution to a Laconian master and his workshop can be confirmed by the following arguments.

1. For the absence at Sparta of the products of particular Laconian artists and their workshops there are parallels in other disciplines, such as vase-painting.[40] The explanation is that these workshops were not located in Sparta itself, or that the master would travel in order to serve his clients elsewhere.[41]
2. The absence of bronzes of the Telestas group in Sparta is balanced by the female terracotta heads found in Sparta, which reflect exactly those bronzes, as shown above.
3. The stylistic comparison with female heads in other materials from Sparta has always been the main argument.[42]
4. The inscription on the rim of the Telestas hydria in Mainz has the Laconian type of alphabet.[43]

A major problem is that of exact dating. The publication of the hydria no. 3, figs. 5-7, with a context including some Corinthian pottery of the later phase of the Early Corinthian period (595-590) for the first time offers a rather secure *terminus ante quem* for that hydria and the other hydriae stylistically connected with it. Since yet another bronze hydria (here no. 45, *figs. 49-50*), apparently of an earlier date, has been found in the same grave-context, we should await the outcome of the analysis of that hydria and its contemporaries (see below, p. 34) for a final judgement on the chronology of the Telestas group. For the time being we have dated the Telestas hydria (no. 1) before 600, and the hydria from Atena Lucana (no. 2) around 600 on the base of a stylistic comparison with the hydria from Capua (no. 3). If we accept the dating of 580-570 for the youngest member of the series, no. 8, the whole group should have been produced between ca. 610 and 580-570, which seems to be a rather long period for such a coherent series. It would be prudent, therefore, to restrict production to within the chronological boundaries 600-580 BC.

2 HYDRIAE BEFORE TELESTAS

Introduction

The idea of using a female protome as the main decoration at the base of a vertical handle, as realized in the Telestas group *stricto sensu*, was not new. There is a group of forerunners, from which Telestas probably took the idea, but he transformed it into his own formula. The group of predecessors is much less homogeneous and coherent. There is always a female protome, but otherwise the group is distinguished by its experimental character and lack of stylistic and iconographic coherence. Most members of this group have been known for a long time and are discussed here only for relevant aspects, such as their relationship with the Telestas group proper, experimental features and problems of dating. The group comprises, for the moment, eight pieces (nos. 10-17), of which one, no. 10, is introduced for the first time.

The pre-Telestas group

No. 10, figs. 15-25, a newcomer in the field, adds significantly to our knowledge.[44] This almost completely preserved hydria is of normal size and, at a first glance, seems to show only traditional decorative elements: animal protomes at the upper attachment of the vertical handle and a female flanked by half-spools at the lower attachment. The hanging palmette is not uncommon also. But closer examination reveals many peculiar features.[45]

The biggest surprises await us at the upper attachment, where, between two rams' heads of

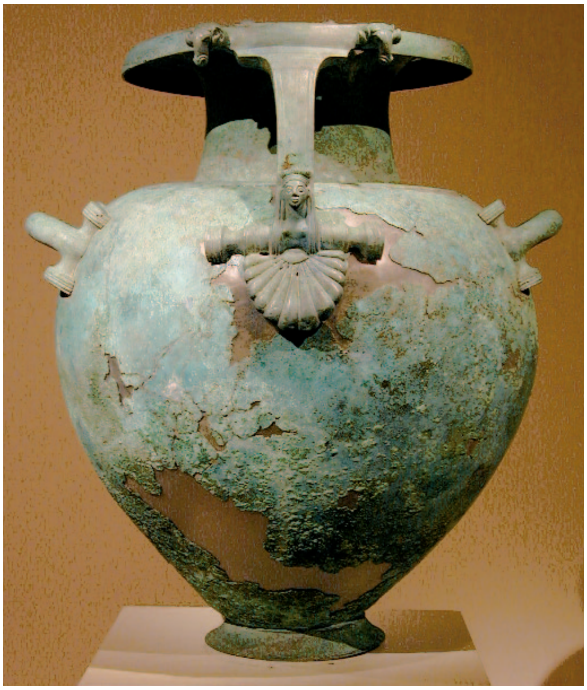


Fig. 15. Hydria. Cat. no. 10.
United States, private collection.

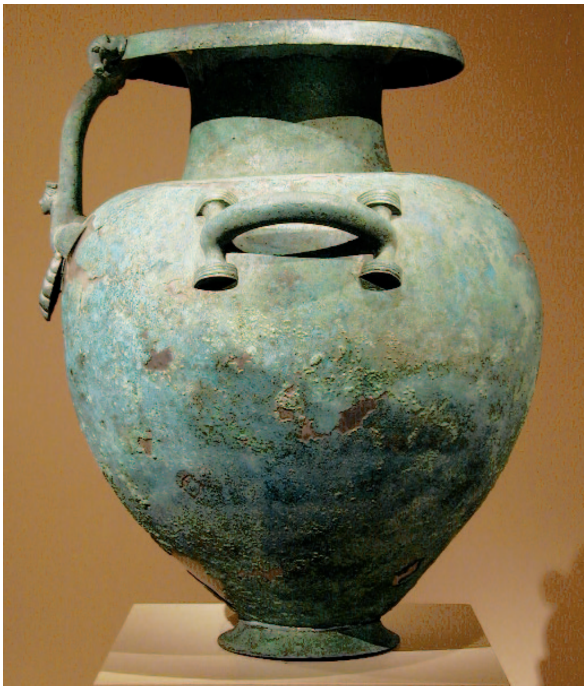


Fig. 16. The same, side view.

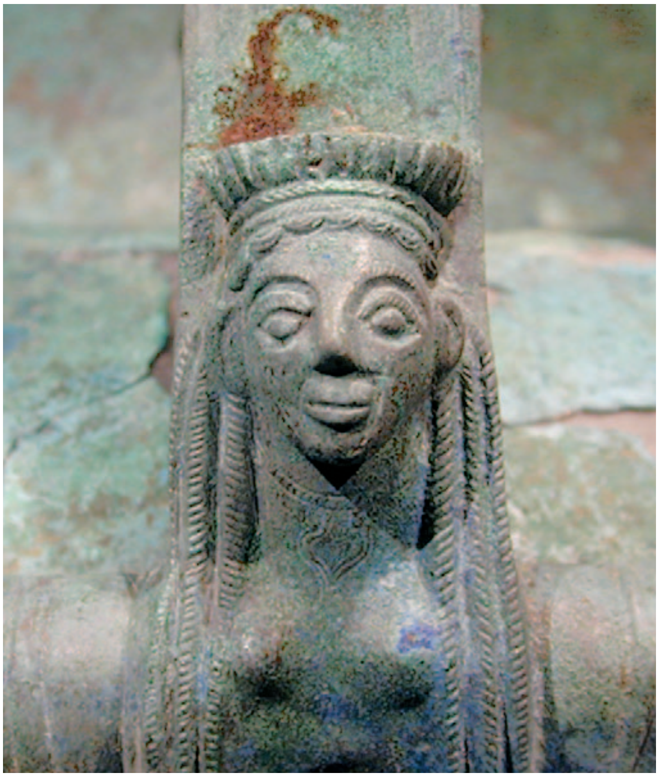


Fig. 19. The same, female protome.

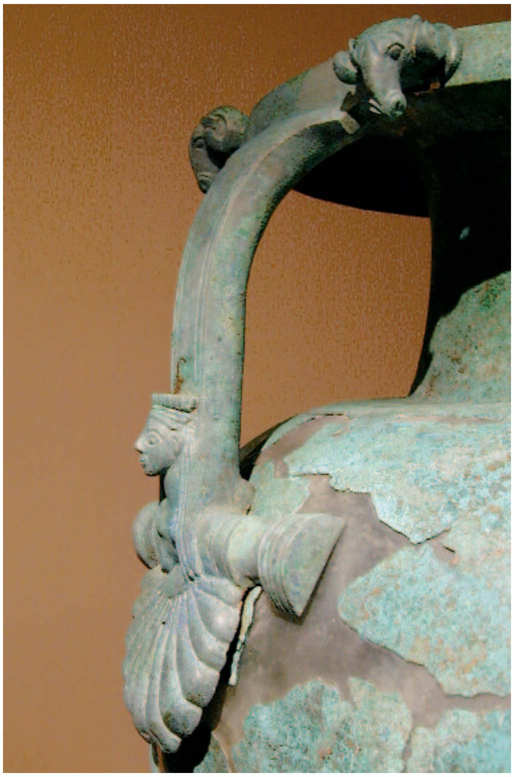


Fig. 18. The same, side view of vertical handle.

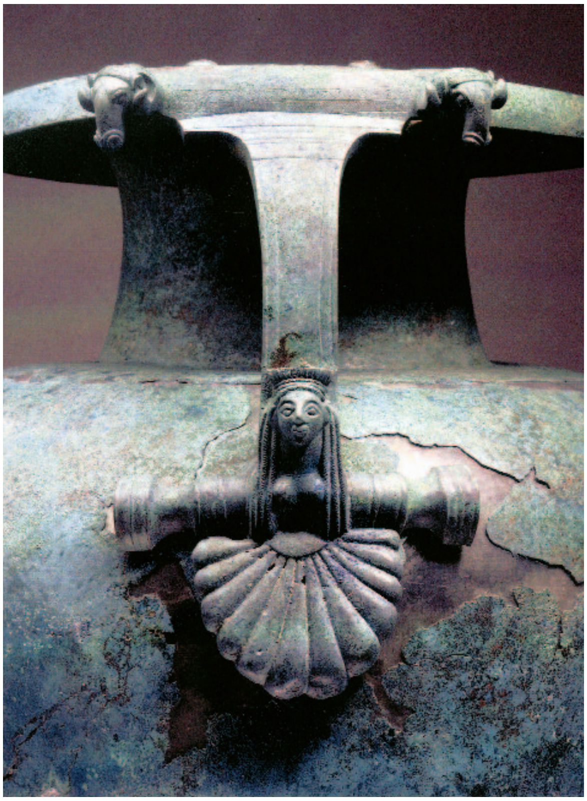


Fig. 17. The same, detail, front view.

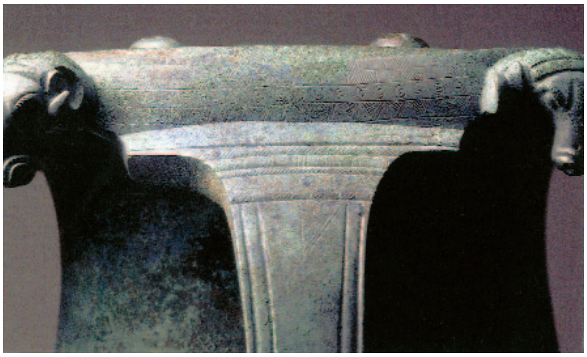


Fig. 20. The same, upper part of vertical handle.

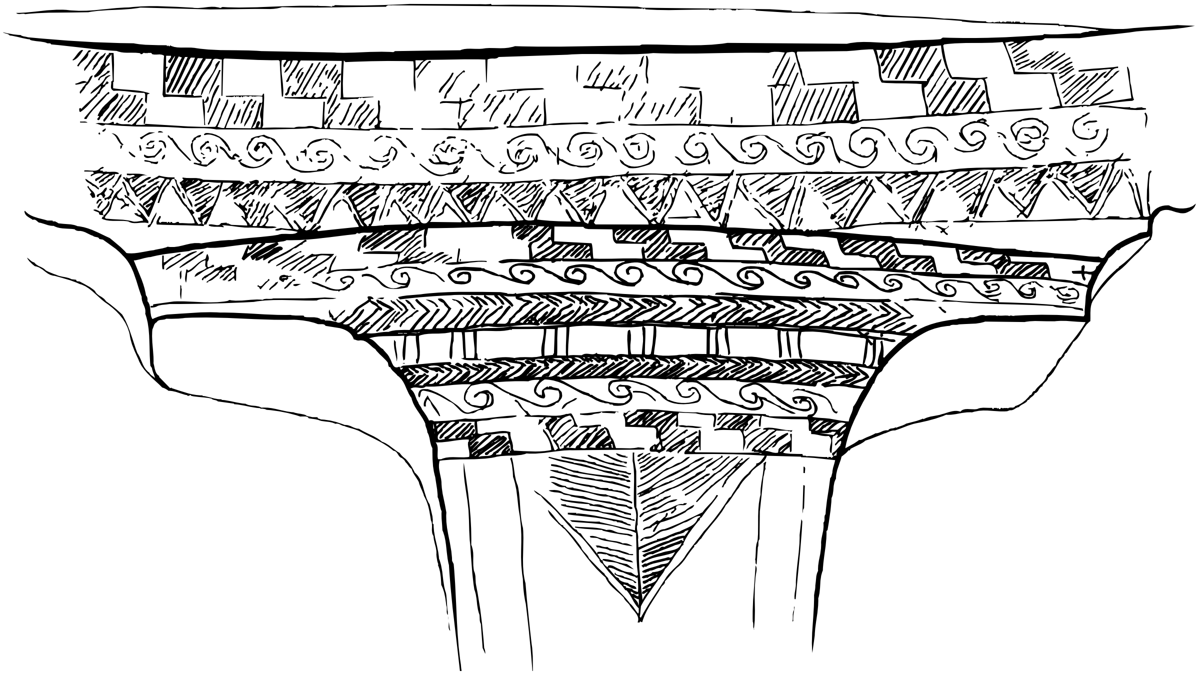


Fig. 21. The same, computer drawing of decorations at upper party of vertical handle.

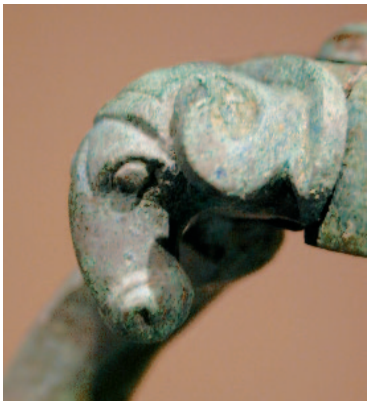
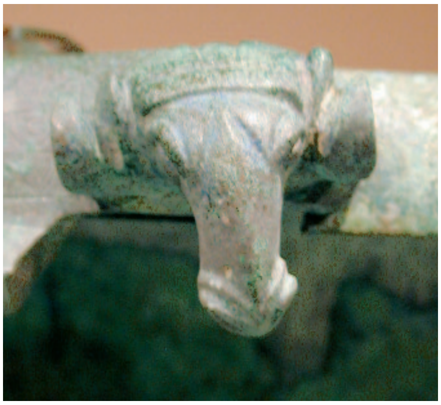


Fig. 22. Side view.



The same, ram's head at right side.
Fig. 23. Front view.

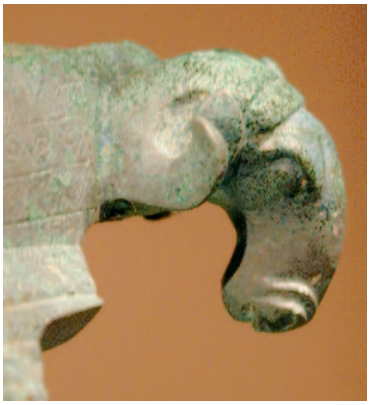


Fig. 24. Other side view.

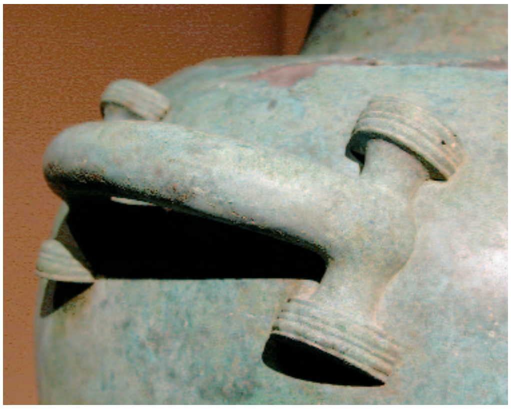


Fig. 25. The same, side handle.

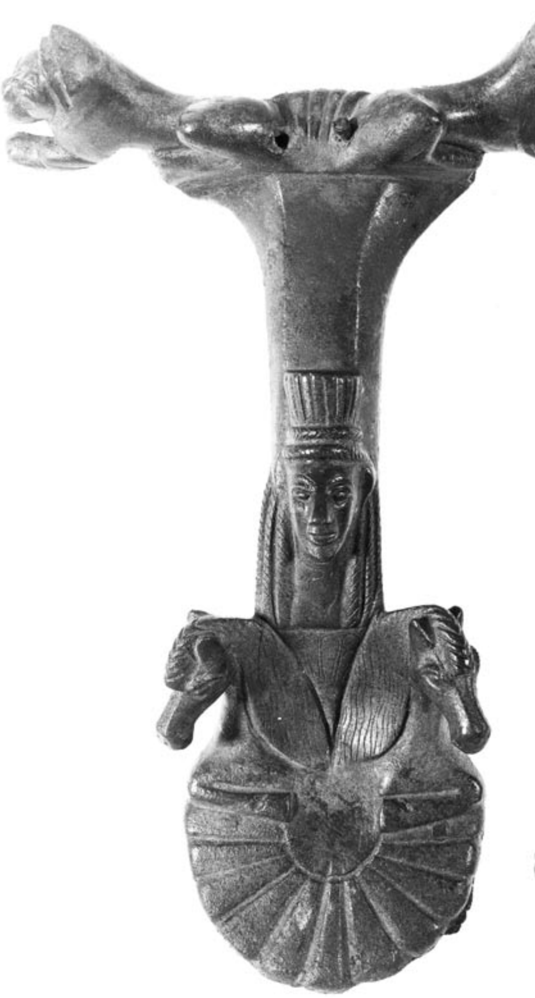


Fig. 26. Vertical handle from Capua. Cat. no. 13. Jerusalem, Israel Museum 91.71. 315.

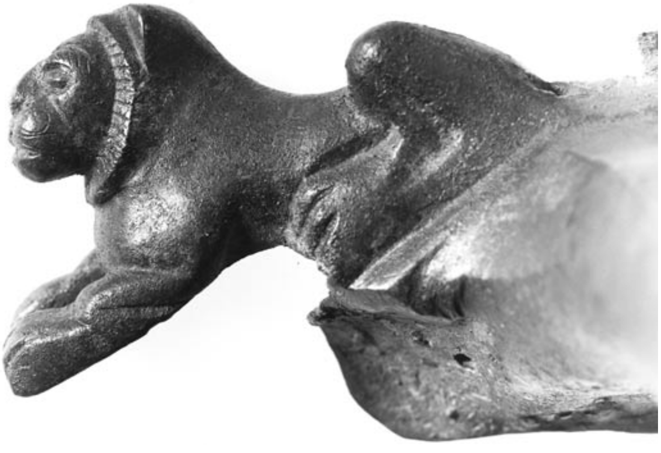


Fig. 27. The same, detail: lion at upper attachment.

the finest workmanship, cast in one piece with the handle, a series of decorative horizontal bands has been carved in, fig. 21 (difficult to recognize on the photograph fig. 20). A frieze of thick sigmas is repeated three times. This pattern is popular with early Laconian fictile kraters (on the rims) and other Laconian black-glazed wares,[46] but never found on bronze hydriae. Also a running spiral pattern, familiar from Laconian pottery,[47] is repeated three times. Other patterns are unique or traditional, such as the chevron dividing bands. The ram-protomes are exceptional both for their presence as such on hydriae[48] and also for their stylistic quality. They show heavily framed eyes and nostrils, the eyelids hatched in the Laconian manner. The plain horns end in front of the pointed ears. An obliquely carved band between the horns separates the forehead from the wavy fleece on the neck. Between the eyes an open triangle stretches over the forehead, as often seen with lions.[49] The lengthy curved muzzles are striking. The type of the rams' heads clearly precedes that of the early and middle sixth century.[50] It comes nearer to those which are dated around 650.[51] So these heads may be dated between those extremes, in the later second half of the 7th century BC.[52]

Moving down the plain upper face of the grip, bordered at both sides by vertical pairs of carved lines, we reach the female head at the bottom. This is placed so high up the handle that the bronze worker was able to transform the protome into a bust: he neatly indicated the female breasts between unusually long tresses falling down to the level of the palmette below. On the neck there is an incised necklace with a heart-shaped pendant, in the Laconian tradition.[53] The face has a rather broad outline, like the protome on the Telestas hydria (*figs. 1-2*), but the eyes are deeply carved in a primitive manner, without the smooth transitions to the surrounding parts, as seen with the Telestas protome. The heavy eyelids and eyebrows, however, are obliquely hatched, as usual with early Laconian faces;[54] another Laconian feature, also found with the Telestas protome, is the positioning of the eyes on different levels (the right eye set lower than the left). As a consequence the right ear has also been placed lower than the left. The straight mouth has thick lips. Above the forehead wavy carved locks emerge from under two mouldings, the upper one showing a chevron pattern.[55] From there the plastically rendered leaves of a low crown (polos) rise and spread over almost the entire width of the grip. From behind the ears three obliquely hatched braids all hang down over the attachment of the short and thick half-spools to the palmette. The palmette has twelve leaves with round tips and a plain heart. It is attached to the half-spools without intermittent volutes. This type of palmette, for which quite a few parallels are known, can be dated towards the end of the 7th century BC.[56]

Turning now at the side handles, we observe that they have a round section and no decoration at their endings between the half-reels. This lack of decoration is a sign of an early production date.[57] This early dating is also confirmed by the shape of the vase and by a lack of decoration at the outer face of the rim (in contrast to the Telestas group, where the rims are usually decorated with a band of metopes). The shape is characterized by a rather narrow rim with a slanting outer face, a concave neck, a flat shoulder with a round transition into a wide body tapering steeply down to a flared foot which is again left plain (rather than decorated with a row of tongues, as with the Telestas group). The shape suggest a dating around 630-600 BC.[58]

There are a few more hydria handles with a female protome and a palmette at their lower attachment, showing a strong experimental bias and belonging to the same period as no. 10.[59] A robust handle in the Louvre, no. 11, is extremely unconventional. At the upper attachment are recumbent rams (one preserved), which are later found flanking the lower attachment;[60] the grip is angular (trapezium-shaped);[61] the woman's protome lacks a polos;[62] it is flanked by recumbent lions with up curling tails;[63] the palmette is incised and has inverted volutes.[64] The handle has been discussed within the framework of its stylistic relations and dated before by me around 600 BC.[65]

Like no. 11, no. 12, from Gela, has a hanging palmette with inverted volutes, though the palmette itself is of quite another type and dates from the end of the seventh century.[66] The eyes of the female protome resemble those of nos. 10 and 15. The row of 'tongues' (between the dog-like lion protomes at the upper attachment) remind us of the canonical decoration of the Telestas group. Otherwise the handle is quite exceptional in shaping and decoration.

Another exceptional piece, an isolated handle from Capua, no. 13, figs. 26-27, is now, following a period in New York, in the Israel Museum in Jerusalem. The piece has been discussed recently with the result that it should be assigned to our experimental group dating to the last quarter of the seventh century.[67] The grip has the same trapezium form as nos. 11 and 17. The eyes are of the same type as with the female protomes of nos. 10, 12 and 14, framed by hatched eyelids and eyebrows. The moulding under the polos[68] has a chevron decoration as with no. 10; the palmette without volutes resembles those of nos. 10, 12 and others.[69] The horse protomes are not exceptional for their type, but for their positioning between the female head and the palmette.[70] As such they suggest that this handle should be regarded as transitional to the show handles (see below, subchapter 5).

A fragment of a similar hydria handle in a private collection in The Netherlands, no. 14, fig. 28, seems to represent the same type as no. 13, but at a slightly older stage, dating from shortly after 625.[71]

A fragmentary hydria in Nîmes, no. 15, fig. 29, with a vague provenance from Italy,[72] has often been associated with the handle from Capua, no. 13, especially because of the type of the eyes, erroneously considered a southern Italian feature.[73] We have already met the same type with nos. 10 and 12. It will be repeated on no. 16 and others,[74] all of them of good Laconian stock.[75] They were all produced in the same early period. In the case of the hydria in Nîmes, this early dating is confirmed by the well-preserved parts of the vase: the narrow, outward slanting, undecorated rim,

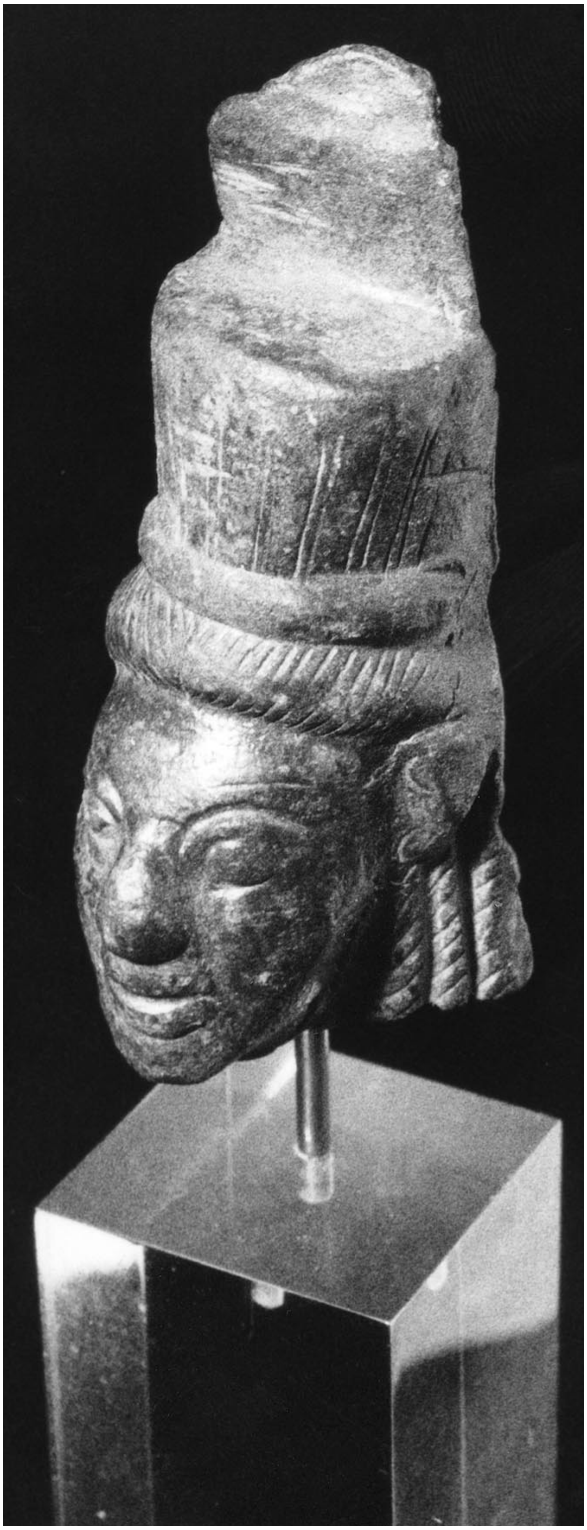


Fig. 28. Fragment of vertical handle. Cat. no. 14. The Netherlands, private collection.

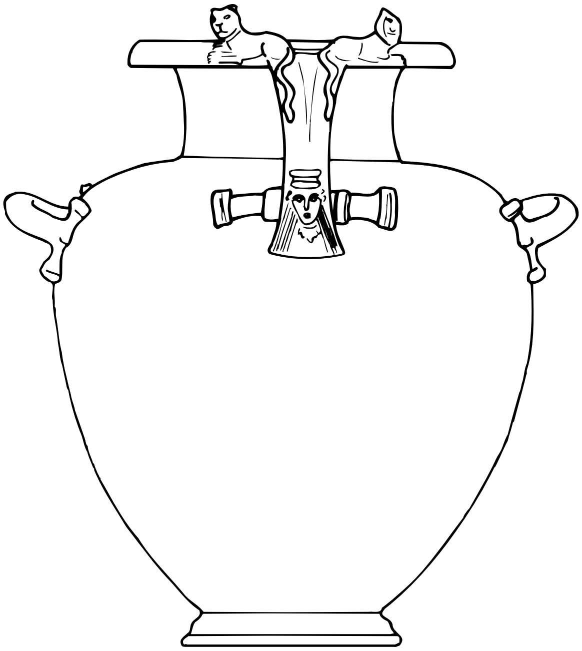


Fig. 29. Hydria from Italy. Cat. no. 15. Nîmes, Musée Archéologique. Drawing after Rolley 1988.

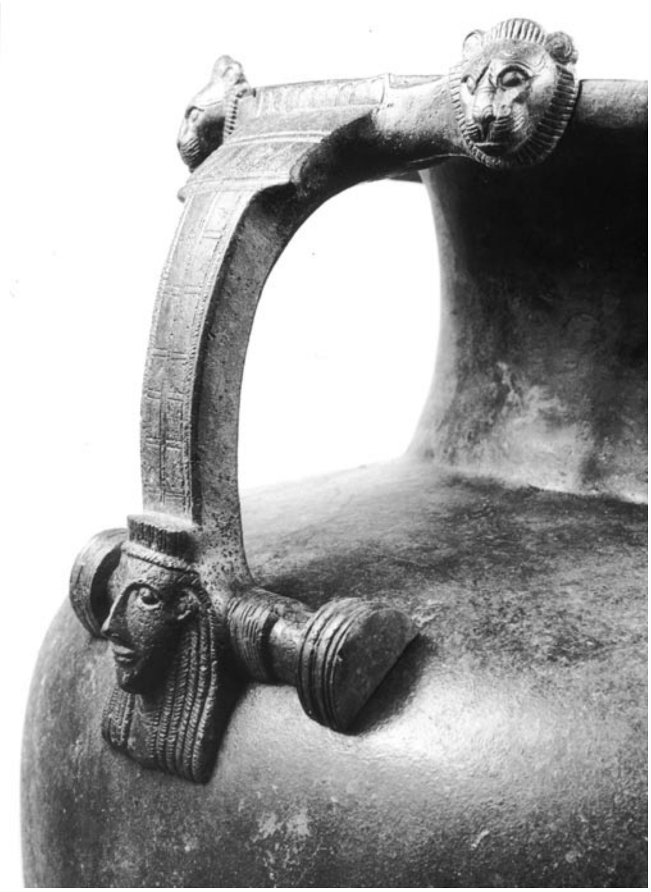


Fig. 30. Vertical handle. Cat. no. 16. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 1995.92.

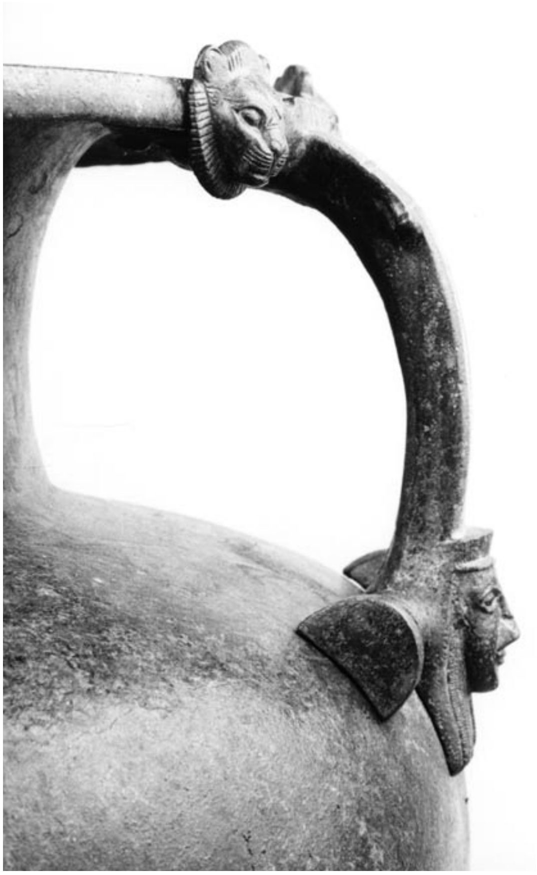


Fig. 31. The same, side view.

the round shoulder, and the side handles left plain at their endings between the half-reels. We observed these characteristic features earlier with no. 10, figs. 17 and 25, the only better-preserved example of the group we have discussed hitherto. Experimental details can be recognized in the rather unusual rendering of the lions at the upper attachment (their tails coiling elegantly on the grip) and the female protome below (note the worked-out ears and the braids extending stiffly on both sides).

The third hydria of the pre-Telestas group whose shape can be studied, no. 16, figs. 30-31, known as the Rosenbaum hydria, has been restored in a satisfying way, the original parts being the rim, the neck, the start of the shoulder, the handles and the foot.[76] All the features which we noted for nos. 10 and 15 are present again. The individual hand of the bronze worker is recognizable in the decoration of the vertical handle, whereas the side handles show the more traditional ducks' heads (see below, subchapter 6). The late dedalic character of the female protome, which, as with nos. 15 and 17, is not combined with a hanging palmette or other, figural, decorations, points to a production date of about 630-610 BC.[77] The eyes

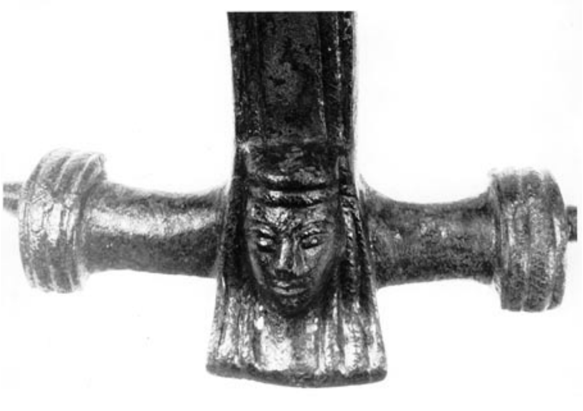


Fig. 32. Female protome. Cat. no. 17. Athens, National Arch. Museum 16450.

of the protome are carved in the same unrefined way as in nos. 10-15, but this time the eyelids and eyebrows are only accentuated by carving (not by additional hatching). A curious incised zigzag line on the forehead seems to be a mistake by the artist.[78] Experimental details are the design of lengthy metopes on the grip of the handle and the fine modelling and incising of the lion protomes at the upper attachment. Note also the clusters of oblique bars on the moulding between the body and the foot of the vessel.[79]

An isolated handle in Athens, no. 17, fig. 32, is also very interesting. Probably from a Greek find place, which can no longer be traced, it is now in the National Archaeological Museum. Apart from the female protome, which recalls the features we noted on nos. 12-16, all the details point to a experimental stage in which the most unorthodox solutions could be realized, even in a crude way: for example the lion protomes with roaring mouths, far too large; the distance between them, far too small, and filled with only one row of incised triangles, emphasized by stippling; the half-reels with one rather than two transverse mouldings, equipped with pointed reinforcements; and finally the female protome itself, whose ears are missing.

3 THE GITIADAS HYDRIAE

Introduction

The Gitiadas hydriae are presented here for the first time under this name.[80] They will be discussed as a parallel case to the Telestas hydriae of our first subchapter. Just as Telestas has been recognized as the leading master of a bronze workshop where, in addition to hydriae, bronze statues were produced in the first quarter of the 6th century BC., the possibility is envisaged that Gitiadas was the leading personality of a bronze workshop in Sparta in the second quarter of the 6th century BC. Both personalities are known from literature. For Telestas the relevant quotations have been presented above; for Gitiadas the reader is referred to my study on the krater from Vix, in which not only that most important masterwork, but also the relevant hydriae and some oinochoae have already been linked with Gitiadas.[81]

As a starting point we take the completely preserved hydria no. 18, fig. 33, which was found in a princely grave in Sala Consilina, on the inland trade-route from Sybaris to Poseidonia (Paestum; cf. above, no. 2), in 1896.[82] As with the Telestas vase, this hydria may be considered a master work, from which a whole series of closely related hydriae, produced in one and the same workshop, depend. No inscription is preserved in this case, but there are enough arguments in favour of our supposition that in the case of no. 18 we are dealing with a master piece by Gitiadas' own hand, as will be shown below.

The Gitiadas Group

Just like the Telestas hydria, the hydria no. 18 is decorated with a female protome at the lower attachment of the vertical handle. The basic idea, therefore, is much the same, but otherwise the decorations have changed considerably: instead of half-reels there are recumbent rams; instead of snake protomes there are recumbent lions at the upper attachment; a hanging palmette with broad flat volutes makes a satisfactory ending from the protome down to the body of the vase. Among the smaller details the most striking is the absence of a polos on the woman's head. Here we suspect a change of concept which may have deeper roots (see below). Of the four vertical carved lines on the grip, which we also noted with the Telestas group, the two central lines are no longer left plain but are filled with a row of beadings. The wide horizontal decoration-bands at the upper end of the grip, as seen with the Telestas group, are reduced to a single narrow band of beadings; the tongues above are retained, but there are only five of them, and they are concave rather than convex in shape.

The other decorations can be compared in the same way. On the side handles the ducks' heads return, but they have lost weight, and a row of beads runs between them on the grip; beautiful small palmettes, moreover, make a nice transition from the handle to the body of the vase, while the old-fashioned half-reels are more elegantly shaped and embellished, in their turn, with beadings on their upper faces. The simple metopes on the rim are replaced by a balanced combination of fine beadings above and prismas below. On the foot the traditional tongues reappear, but they are executed in a more refined way, with double framing lines.[83]

If we look at the shape of no. 18 and compare the better preserved examples of the Telestas group, especially the well-dated no. 3, fig. 7, it becomes clear immediately that the neck is not straight anymore, but slanting outwards, and the shoulder is not horizontal but tapers downwards, making a sharp transition to the body instead of being rounded. For the lower part we can compare no. 5, fig. 12, which has a narrower foot. With no. 18 all the parts seem to be more balanced than with the Telestas group hydriae.

For the personal style of the bronze worker we must look a little closer at the woman's protome.[84] If compared with the heads of the Telestas group, the closeness appears to be striking. Again the eyes are not set at the same level (a general characteristic of Laconian faces), they are not big, and they are framed by heavy lids. The lids of no. 18, however, seem to be more natural in as far as they show recesses at the inner and outer corners - a detail which makes all the difference: it betrays the hand of the younger master. It is also found with the faces of his workshop and his later followers.[85]

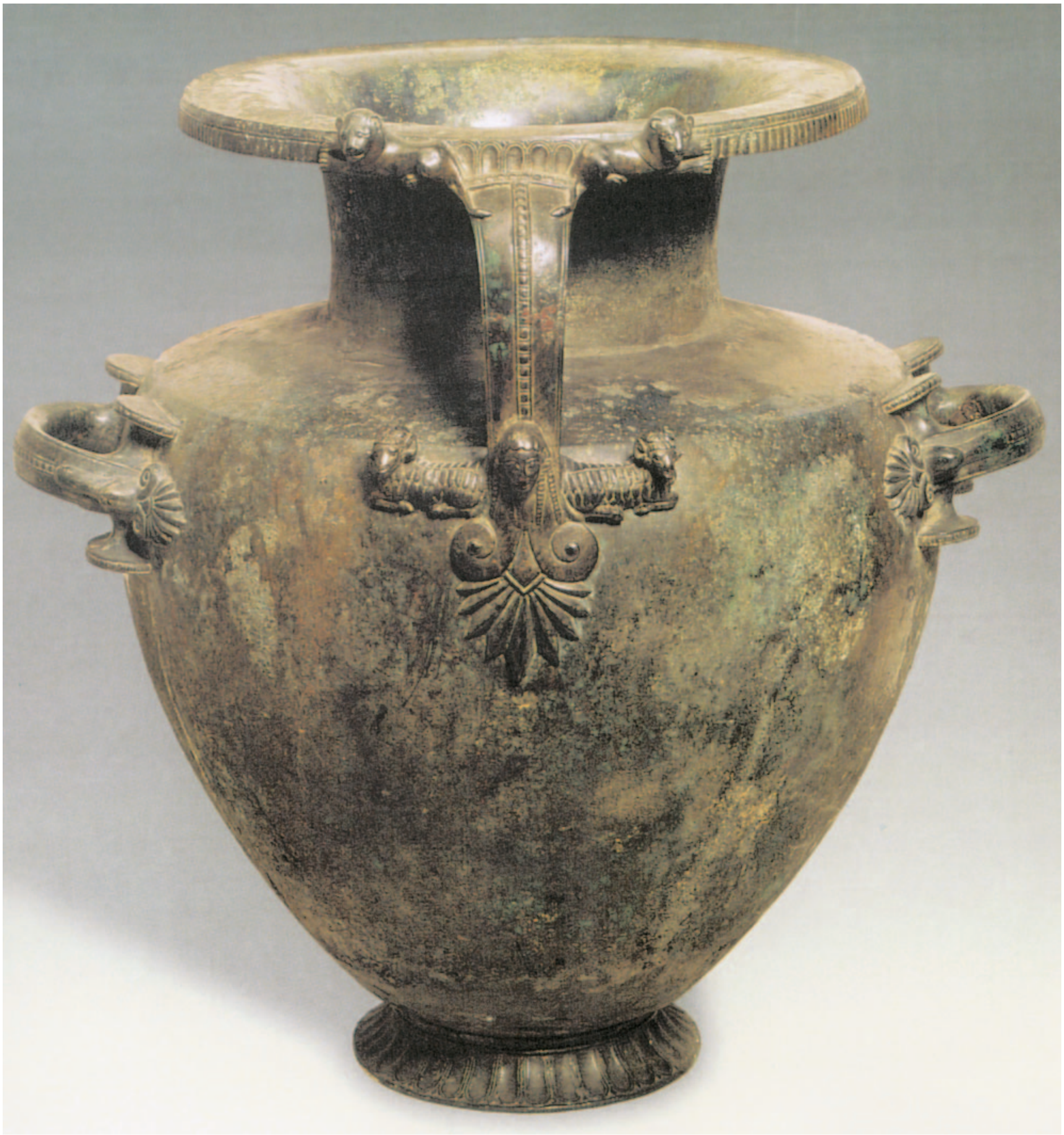


Fig. 33. Hydria from Sala Consilina. Cat. no. 18. Paris, Musée du Petit Palais.

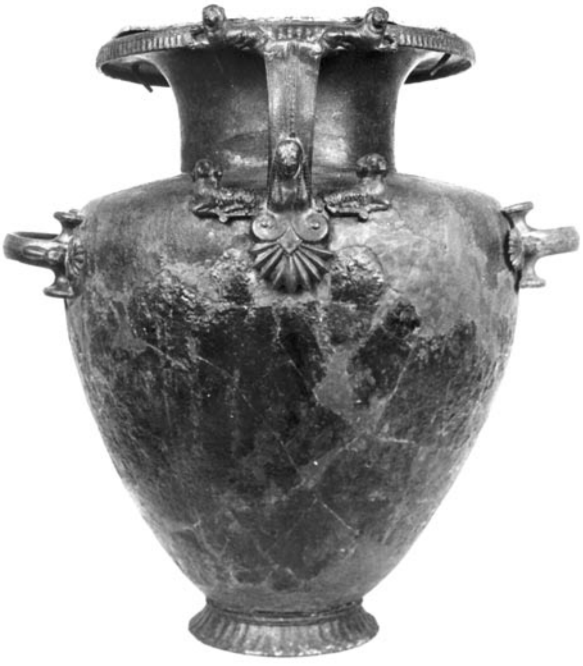


Fig. 34. Hydria from Eretria. Cat. no. 19. Athens, National Arch. Museum 15137.

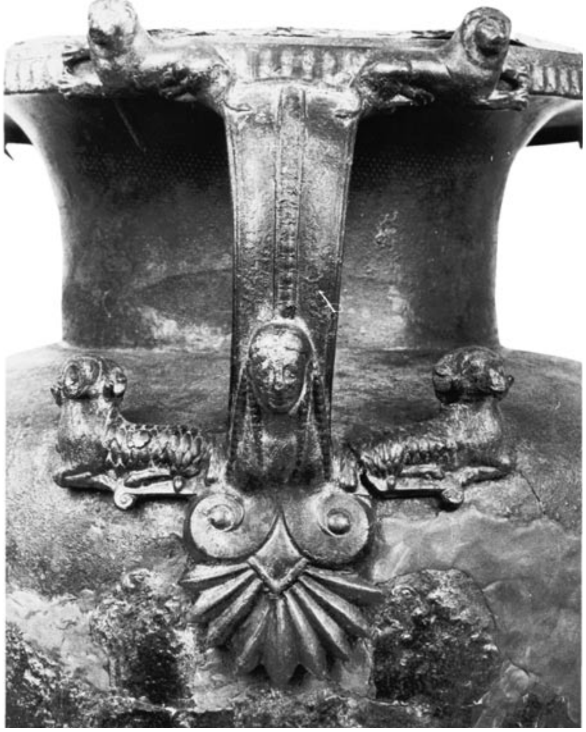


Fig. 35. The same, side view.

The eyebrows are emphasized in the Laconian tradition, with no. 18 not only by an engraved line, but also by a plastic ridge. The hair above the forehead is left plain but shows exactly the same wavy line as with the Telestas heads. The braids are very different: no. 18 has only two on each side of the face, falling down detached from each other and horizontally notched according to a fashion which comes into being only in the second quarter of the 6th century.[86] The holders below the ears are unique.[87] The egg-shaped outline of the face seems to be better balanced than those of the Telestas series, where they are wider (no. 1) or narrower and elliptical (nos. 2-8).

Our comparison of the Gitiadas hydria no. 18 with the Telestas hydria no. 1 and others may be summarized as follows: the impression is that no. 18 in its general outlook and in many details is still close to nos. 1-8, but at a more advanced level. This level, which is characterised by a precise iconographical concept including the introduction of lions instead of snakes, and rams instead of half-reels, by a better equilibrium of the whole and the parts and by a more refined execution of the details, should only have been reached one generation later, which is in the second quarter of the 6th century BC. The new level, which clearly remains within the borders of the Laconian tradition, is probably due to one pioneering master, because a whole series of hydriae of the same type can be connected with him and attributed to his workshop. This master could have been very well Gitiadas himself, the bronze worker who made the cult-statue of Athena Chalkioikos on the acropolis of Sparta, adorned her temple with mythological reliefs in bronze, and composed a hymn to the goddess. Pausanias, to whom we owe this information, tells us that at Amyclae he also saw some bronze tripods which were attributed to Gitiadas by the ancients.[88]

Related hydriae

Closely related to the hydria from Sala Consilina (no. 18) is a hydria which came to light in 1926 in a tomb belonging to a necropolis to the west of the ancient town of Eretria: no. 19, figs. 34-35. It was published in 1936 by L. Politis, who took this vessel as the starting point for what may be called the first comprehensive study of archaic Greek bronze hydriae.[89] This publication, however, has long been superseded, not only because of much new evidence from elsewhere, but also because of the subsequent discovery of the missing parts of the vessel itself. An almost complete restoration was made possible, with more than half the vase recovered from fragments in the storerooms of the National Archaeological Museum at Athens.[90]

The face of the female protome at the lower attachment of the vertical handle is badly damaged, but the general outline can still be recognized as the same as with no. 18. Significant details, such as the pointed heart of the palmette and the fleeces of the rams which are not simply crosshatched (as usual, e.g. with nos. 21-25), but finely designed in a system of elongated diamonds,[91] connect this hydria with no. 18. So do all the other parts of the decoration and the shape.[92]

An isolated handle from Olympia, no. 20, is important for its find place and for its close resemblance to nos. 18 and 19. The well-preserved palmette shows the same pointed heart as with nos. 18 and 19, and the design of the fleece of its rams is of the same elaborate type as with those two hydriae.[93] The three hydriae from Sala Consilina, Eretria and Olympia, taken together, constitute a strong argument not only for being the products of one and the same bronze worker, but also for being made on the Greek mainland. Their Laconian style suggests moreover that they were produced in Sparta, by Gitiadas himself.

Three well-preserved hydriae from Paestum, nos. 21-23, which from their body-shape and other details seem to be of a slightly later date when compared with no. 18, may be considered as the apogee in the development of the Laconian bronze hydriae in general. A 'classical' balance of the shape in all its parts and of the decorations both in their entirety and in every detail has been achieved. This climax can be dated, on the base of a comparison with the Laconian pottery industry in general, in the second quarter of the 6th century BC.[94] For a more exact dating of nos. 18-23, in relation to the krater from Vix, which can be considered as a product of the same workshop, see below (Chronology).

Three handles belonging to one hydria, no. 24, fig. 36, in Heidelberg, were acquired in 1900/1901 from a British owner; they were probably bought in Greece. They therefore offer another indication for a Greek mainland origin for the whole group. Their quality is again excellent, as far as one can judge from the better preserved parts. All details point to an exact repetition of the three hydriae from Paestum, nos. 21-23, the only iconographic variation being discernable in the forepaws of the lions, which are not placed next to each other (as with nos. 21-23), but are crossed, with the innermost leg over the outer. This detail is not without interest, because it provides a link to some bronze Laconian oinochoae equipped with a handle in the shape of a naked youth between recumbent lions of the same type. They are dated 565-555 and 555-550 respectively and could have been produced in the same workshop.[95]

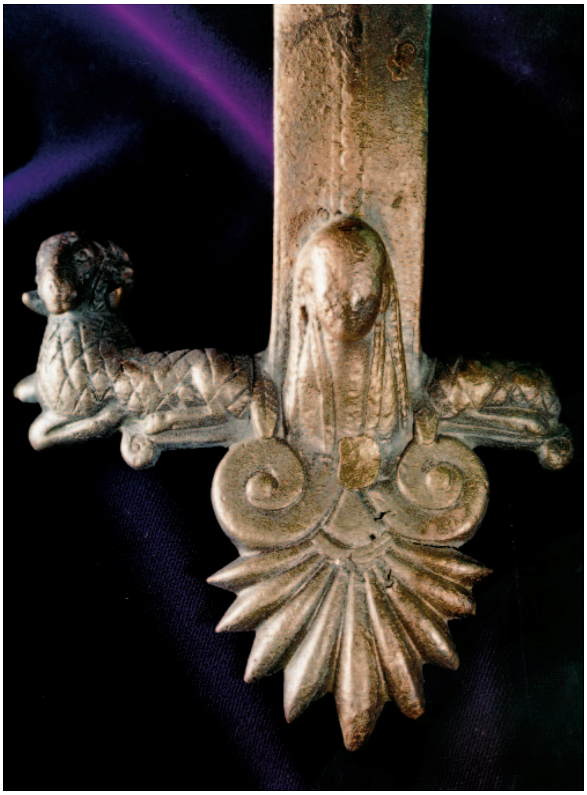


Fig. 36. Vertical handle, from Greece. Detail. Cat. no. 24. Heidelberg, Universitätssammlung F 162.

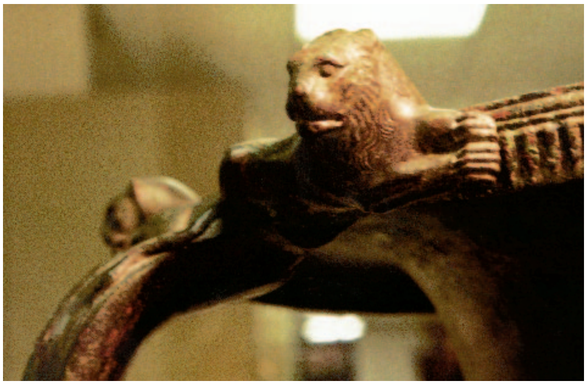


Fig. 37. Hydria from Sicily. Detail. Cat. no. 26. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 67.11.7.

The last member of the group *stricto sensu* is a fragmentary handle in Oxford, no. 25.[96] It adds little to our knowledge, apart from its value as a statistic. Perhaps the woman's breasts between her braids are accentuated a little more than is the case with the other members of the group. This detail stresses the relation with the forerunner no. 10, fig. 19.

4 HYDRIAE BEFORE GITIADAS

There are a few hydriae which, equipped with a female protome, must be located between the Telestas- and Gitiadas-groups, as defined above.

A well-preserved hydria in New York, no. 26, is very close to the Gitiadas series: this has a female head of the Gitiadas type, but is flanked by half-reels rather than rams. Other differences are the straight line of the hair above the forehead, the presence of a necklace or garment border, and the rendering of the lion-manes (*fig. 37*). The pointed heart of the palmette links this hydria with nos. 18-20, which are the three earliest of the Gitiadas series, as shown above.

Also close to the Gitiadas group is a handle fragment from Olympia, no. 27. The damaged female head, again flanked by half-reels rather than rams (as with no. 26 and the Telestas group), seems to be of the Gitiadas type. The palmette is interesting: this, with its convex volutes and uncanonic leaves - as found for example on an oinochoe handle in Copenhagen dated 565-555 - clearly predates the Gitiadas series.[97]

A curious hybrid in shape and decoration: this is how we may describe hydria no. 28, in Hamburg. I shall not repeat my analysis given on an earlier occasion,[98] but concentrate on those features which are relevant for its relationship with the Gitiadas group. The syntax of the decoration of that group is already completely present, but in an old-fashioned form. This fact alone suggests that Gitiadas took over the idea from an older generation, giving it a more advanced and balanced outlook. The contradictory elements in no. 28 are difficult to explain. We could suppose that the bronze worker imitated a hydria of the first generation, like our nos. 10-17, while naively betraying his own chronological position by such treacherous indicators as the hanging palmette under the female protome, which points to a production date of about 570-560.

The unusual style of the braids which, close to each other, show the old-fashioned pearl-shape, is found also with no. 29. We have here generally the same mixed style and shape as with no. 28, though perhaps at an even earlier stage.[99] The face of the female protome is clearly related to the Telestas group, whereas the decoration of the grip with its concave tongues, beadings and lions precedes the Gitiadas group. The ambivalence of the iconography also becomes apparent from the fact that the female protome at the vertical handle has no crown (polos), whereas those at the side handles (imitating the earlier hydria from Treia, no. 31, *fig. 41*) have retained their poloi. The outer face of the rim shows only horizontally carved lines, not filled with 'metopes' (as with the Telestas group) nor with beadings and additional prismas (as with the Gitiadas group). The hanging palmette, which betrays the ability of the bronze worker, confirms the dating of about 580-570 BC.[100]

II HYDRIAE WITH OTHER DECORATIONS

5 HYDRIAE WITH SHOW-HANDLES

Introduction

After the Gitiadas group and its forerunners we loop back through time once more to reach an early group of bronze hydriae which can be defined as the opposite of the Telestas group. In the latter group the decorations of the vertical handle were reduced to a minimum, whereas in the show-handle group they are extended to a maximum, so as to leave, in some cases, not even the slightest trace of a grip. Nevertheless a strong stylistic and even iconographic relationship between the two groups can be detected, due to the fact that both are of Laconian origin.

Most hydriae equipped with show-handles have been known for a long time and discussed extensively. In this article, therefore, attention will be focussed on one special aspect: the relationship with the groups of Part I.

Not only the elaborations of the vertical handle, but the side handles too, bear witness to a quasi-baroque taste: they often show extravagant ornaments, such as horse protomes made in the round combined with palmettes or human protomes. That the boundaries between the group of show-handles and other groups are not always clear-cut, can be seen in a series of vertical handles which should be understood as transitional to simpler solutions, as have been already noted with no. 13, fig. 26 (showing a female head, horse protomes and a palmette), no. 29 (showing side handles with female protomes), and other examples which will be discussed below.[101]

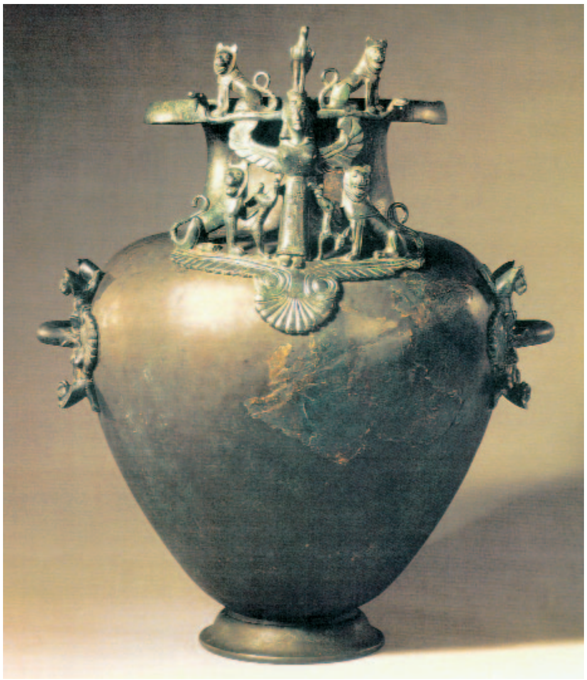


Fig. 38. Hydria from Grächwil. Cat. no. 30. Bern, Bernisches Historisches Museum 11620.

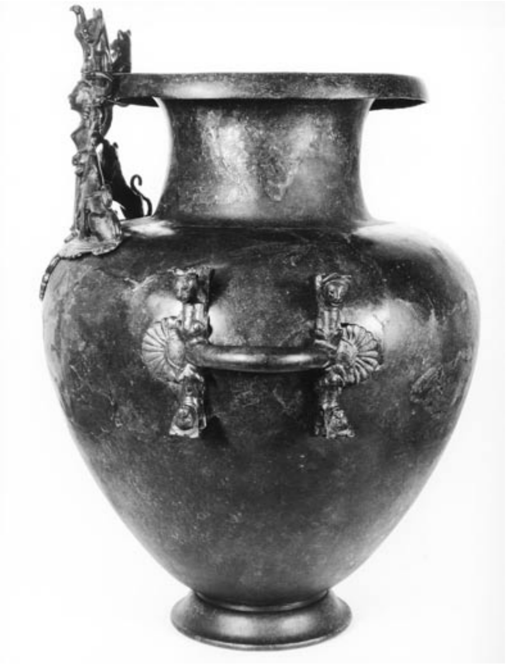


Fig. 39. The same, side view.

Show handles

The hydria from Grächwil, no. 30, figs. 38-40, which came to light in the princely tomb of a Celtic chieftain near Bern (Switzerland) in 1851,[102] is one of the most discussed pieces of all Laconian hydriae.[103] It is unique because so far it constitutes the only example of a hydria on which the vertical handle has been replaced unmistakably by the figure of a goddess, the Potnia Theron.[104] Most significantly for Sparta, she has a male counterpart in the guise of a warrior on no. 31, found in a grave in central Italy (Treia) as early as 1759.[105]

For our understanding of the iconography of the decorations on Laconian bronze hydriae in general the two hydriae from Grächwil and Treia are fundamental. The Potnia Theron from Grächwil has been convincingly explained as a sort of synthesis of the different Spartan representations of Artemis Orthia, that is as a summary of all the aspects of her realm.[106] We are very fortunate that exactly this image of the goddess, which was so important for the Spartans, has survived. Many elements of less abundant decorations on the handles of Laconian bronze hydriae may by explained as abbreviations or variations of this image.

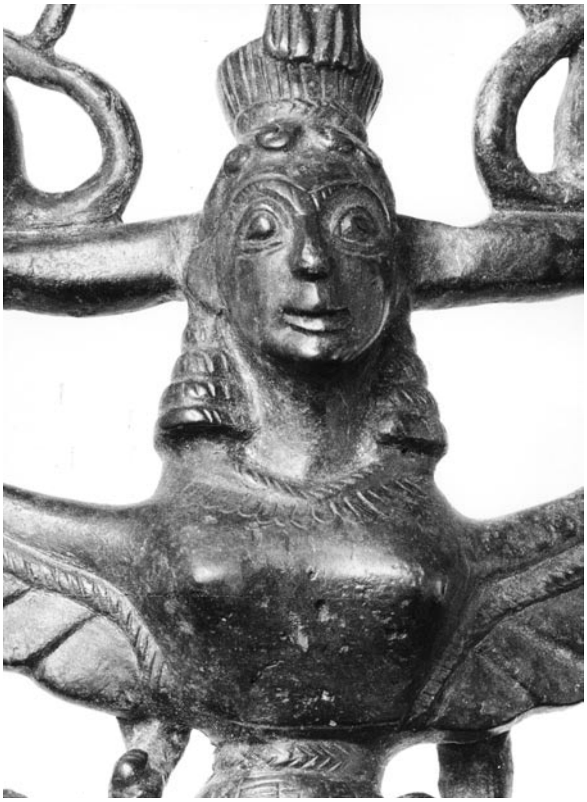


Fig. 40. The same, detail.

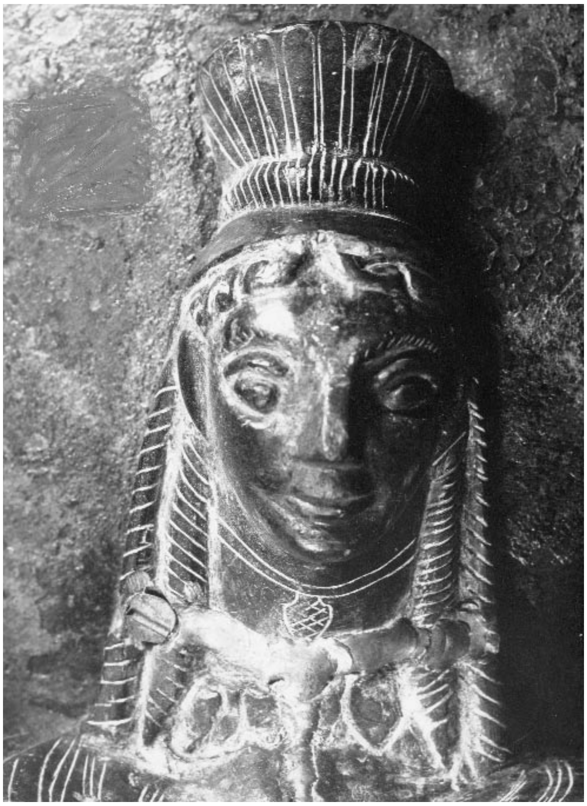


Fig. 41. Side handle, detail. Cat. no. 31. Pesaro, Museo Oliveriano 3316.

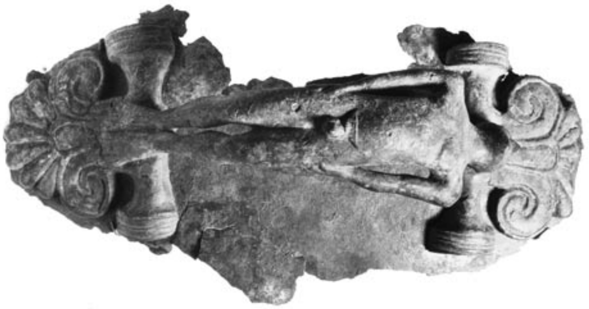


Fig. 42. Side handle. Cat. no. 32a. Pesaro, Museo Oliveriano 3387.

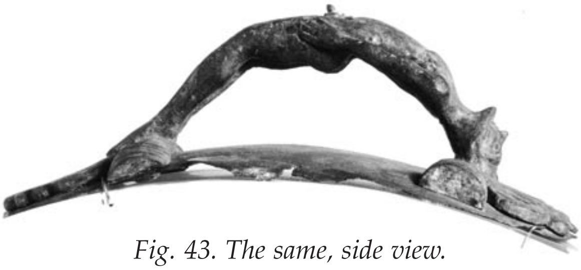


Fig. 43. The same, side view.

So we can understand the origin and meaning of the female protomes, combined with snake heads, on the vertical handles of the Telestas group, as shorthand indications symbolizing the Mistress of Animals. The head bearing a polos stands for the goddess, the snakes representing the animal world around her, as seen in the Grächwil hydria, where snakes are found at the upper attachment, combined with lions. The lions, in their turn, represent the same animal world where they are seen recumbent at the upper attachment with the Gitiadas group. Additional animals, such as horses and rams, which equally belong to the realm of Artemis Orthia, are found with such variations as seen on the hydria from Treia, no. 31, or on the hydria no. 10, figs. 22-24. In the case of a female protome without a polos, which remains an exception in the early groups (see nos. 9 and 29) but becomes the rule with the Gitiadas group, another tradition or understanding must have been involved.[107]

The side-handles of both the hydriae from Grächwil and Treia are also remarkable. Those of the former (*fig. 39*) have recumbent lions in an eccentric position rather than half-reels, but at the end of the grip there are beautiful palmettes of the same type as found below the feet of the goddess. On the side-handles of the Treia hydria the half-reels are replaced by horse protomes-in-the-round, and instead of palmettes there are female protomes with poloi (*fig. 41*), representing twice on each handle - that is four times in all - the goddess who here cedes her place on the vertical handle to her colleague, the Master of the Horses. We have seen already seen this same combination of a female protome with horse protomes and a palmette on the vertical handle from Capua in Jerusalem, no. 13, fig. 26. The idea of using horse protomes-in-the-round seems extravagant and not really suitable for the purpose. They would do better, for example, on the upper rings of rod-tripods, from where they perhaps were borrowed.[108] At a later stage they are, more adequately, replaced by protomes in relief.[109]

Daring, extravagant experiments are characteristic of a period of discovery and innovation. We may regard a side-handle in the shape of a naked bearded man from Treia, no. 32a, figs. 42-43, as one of these experiments. It belongs to a hydria to which a vertical handle from Treia, no. 32b, showing a more conventional battle scene, most probably also belongs.[110] The handle man, who stylistically joins the other show-handles without problems,[111] is unique. He precedes some more unsuccessful experiments and may perhaps also be regarded at as a source for the later series of vertical handles in the shape of a naked youth.[112] A dating around 585-575 for no. 32a would therefore be appropriate.[113]

Two fragments also belong to the small group of fully developed show-handles (leaving no trace of the grip): one from the Acropolis of Athens, no. 33, showing the remains of a human figure between (this time) outward turned horses; the other in Naples, no. 34, showing a warrior and the tail of a horse, again turned away from him. Apparently the theme of the Master of the Horses was popular with Laconian bronzesmiths, permitting quite a few variants, as shown by local imitations in central Italy which reflect Laconian originals unknown to us.[114] The find place of no. 31 is important: it proves that the show handles originate from the Greek mainland and confirms the strong presence of Laconian bronze products dedicated in the central sanctuary of Athens in the archaic period.[115]

As well as the fully developed show handles we have a series of transitional or semi-show handles, which clearly demonstrate that the entire group should be considered as one of the ramifications of the many-branched tree of the archaic Laconian bronze industry.

A very fine and iconographical interesting handle in Brussels, allegedly from Cerveteri (Caere) has already been presented as a link.[116] The incised, bifurcated design on the grip can be compared with the handle in Nîmes, no. 15, a contemporary piece. The pair of winged daemons treading on serpents is probably adapted from oriental prototypes[117] and reveals once more the near-eastern source of inspiration for the whole group. The use of serpents as a base for figures may be regarded as an invention and a trademark of the anonymous master of the workshop in Sparta or Laconia, where the group originated (cf. nos. 30, 31, 32b), including vessels of a different shape such as a bronze amphora with twisted handles in Princeton.[118]

Two side handles, also in Brussels, no. 35b, may join the vertical handle no. 35a, although the same provenance is not documented. They again have the horse protomes made in the round, combined with palmettes, as with the side handles nos. 30 and 31 (see also nos. 36 and 37).

An isolated side handle of exactly the same type and style turned up in 1989 in the New York art market: no. 36. In the same year a splendid and almost completely preserved hydria came to light in the necropolis of ancient Pydna, no. 37, fig. 44. Again it has the same type of side handles, but in

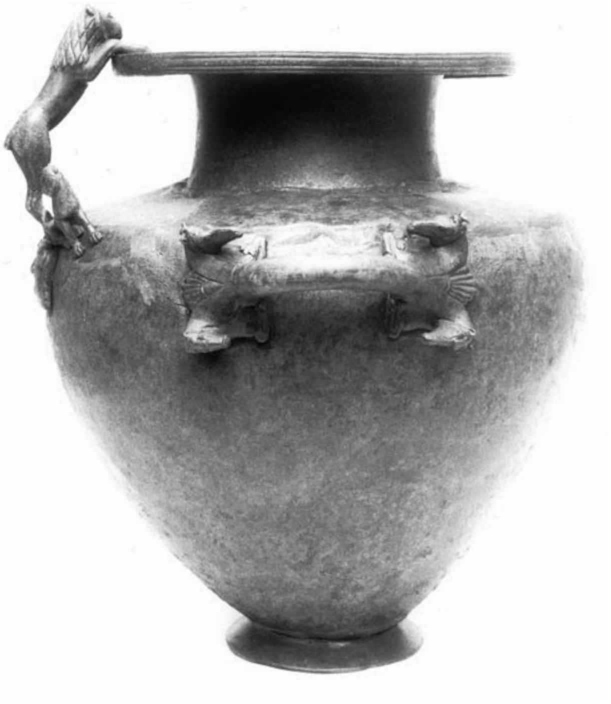


Fig. 44. Hydria from Pydna. Side view. Cat. no. 37. Thessaloniki, Arch. Museum Py 601.

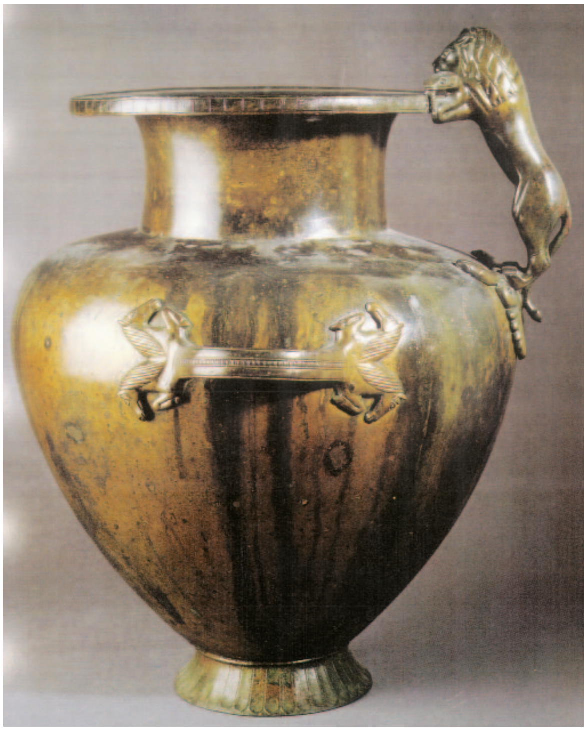


Fig. 45. Hydria from Paestum. Side view. Cat. no. 38. Paestum, Museum.

a different style. The vertical handle is replaced by a rampant lion, flanked by panthers and snake protomes (one panther preserved, only faint traces of the snake protomes). I have commented on this important discovery elsewhere.[119] There is an excellent parallel available from Paestum, no. 38, fig. 45, again equipped with a rampant lion, flanked by snake protomes above, but without the sitting panthers below. This hydria was included among the show handles earlier.[120] The snake protomes, in both cases, are in accordance with the iconography of the Telestas group. So is the outer decoration of the rims (metopes, with no. 37 between hatched bands). A similarity and at the same time characteristic difference between nos. 37 and 38 is seen in the side handles: with 37 there are still the horse protomes made in the round, where no. 38 has them reduced to reliefs:[121] the latter form being a clear sign of a later stage. Nevertheless the chronological distance between the two lion vessels cannot be too great, as shown by their shapes: they have the same broad, rounded shoulders and similar narrow feet (plain with no. 37, decorated with tongues with no. 38). The dating of 590-580 for the hydria from Pydna and 570-560 for that from Paestum, as proposed earlier,[122] can be confirmed.

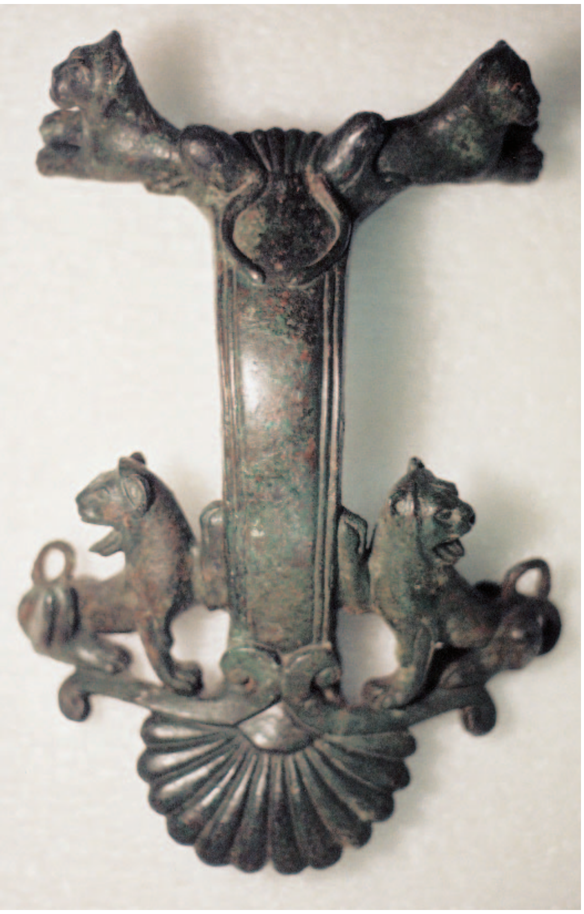


Fig. 46. Vertical handle. Cat. no. 40. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 1989.11.1.

A word should be said about the gorgoneion which takes the place of a palmette under the feet of the lion of no. 37. It is of the early Laconian type, of which quite a few examples are known today.[123] At first glance a gorgoneion might seem to be a foreign intruder on the show handle scene, but at a closer inspection the gorgoneion, being an abbreviation for the complete Gorgo (just as the female head with a polos has been explained above as a pars-pro-toto for the Potnia Theron), turns out to be nothing else but another aspect of the same goddess. This can be shown by those images which represent the Gorgo as a Mistress of Animals.[124] The great Goddess of nature has two aspects, like Persephone. In her chthonic aspect she takes the shape of the horrifying Gorgo.[125] Underworld, darkness and ugliness are the opposite of florescence, abundance and beauty. The goddess, as a beautiful woman or even a girl, as seen in the Telestas series, may turn her face and become a gorgoneion.

The two opposite qualities of the goddess of nature are combined at the lower attachment of a hydria handle in Harvard, no. 39.[126] The beauty and the monster were apparently part of a wider composition, of which only the spiral ending of the tail of a snake, serving as a base in the usual way, is preserved. A Laconian origin for this piece has been generally accepted, but on the dating opinions, as always, differ greatly. I still adhere to my dating of about 580-570.[127]

As a final member of the group, a hydria handle in New York, no. 40, fig. 46, should be introduced here. Two roaring lions at the lower attachment are accommodated in a sitting pose on volutes. These volutes seem to be a simplified edition of the feathered base on which the lions of the hydria from Grächwil, no. 30, fig. 38, are seated. The palmette below is of the common type, as seen on the group (cf. nos. 30, 31, 33, 35a-b, 36). On the upper part of the grip the lion tails are resting in the same elegant way as with the hydria from Nîmes, no. 15. The heraldic pose in which the two lions below are represented, with their raised forepaws resting against the grip of the handle, their heads looking backwards, has a near-eastern flavour, the same association as we observed for nos. 30, 31 and 35a.

6 DUCKS' HEAD HYDRIAE

Introduction

Many of the 40 hydriae discussed above, especially those of the Telestas and Gitiadas groups, are or were equipped with side-handles showing a duck's head, seen from above, at each end of the grip. The phenomenon is interesting for several reasons. First, the idea as such seems to be rather odd and asks for an explanation. One could argue that water birds belong to the realm of the Potnia Theron and would therefore be not out of place in her party on a hydria. Granted! But even so the strange positioning remains to be explained. The problem can perhaps be solved by invoking the sense of humour of the Laconian bronze workers of the first generation. Possibly their witty spirit and proclivity towards experiment caused them to recognize an 'aerial view', as it were, of a duck's head in the simple square piece of metal which acted as a fastening for the base of a vertical handle.[128]

This supposition makes us start with four examples of vertical handles, nos. 41-44, which seem to show such a squarish piece of metal as reinforcement of the lower base and, at the same time, to suggest the appearance of a duck's head seen from above.

A second reason why the invention of the duck's head may be considered of interest is that this decoration, which was only used on vertical handles for a short period (see nos. 45, 46), was then banished to the side-handles where it remained tenaciously in use for more than half a century. During that period it passed through a stylistic development ('from stout to slender') which offers to us trustworthy arguments for dating.

Vertical handles with a duck's head

The isolated handle no. 41 must be one of the oldest of the series. It has the same short half-reels with thick protruding mouldings as the Rosenbaum hydria, no. 16, figs. 30-31, dated 630-610 BC. There are still no snakes or lion protomes at the upper attachment, where only a minor repetition of the half-reels has been applied. The find place, Olympia, also favours an early dating, because Laconian bronze workers were active there from the eighth century onwards.[129] The same can be said of no. 42, on which a short beak (the head is broken off) can be recognized.[130] The shape of the grip resembles those of the early handles nos. 11, 13 and 14.

After these two forerunners[131] a third vertical handle from Olympia, no. 43, showing a squarish *cheniskos* at the lower attachment, should be transitional to the rest of this group and the other early groups by way of the decoration of its grip (engraved lines at the edges) and at the upper attachment (incised triangles and inverted snake heads). Like the duck's head the snake heads are seen from above, an experimental positioning, which returns with some other early handles.[132]

A next step brings us to a recently published discovery from the storerooms of the National Museum at Ancona, no. 44, fig. 47.[133] The find place, a tomb in Belmonte Piceno, deserves attention. The presence of this early Laconian hydria in Picenum should be seen in the wider context of Laconian exports along the trade routes through the Adriatic to the north, to which quite a few bronze vessels, especially hydriae, can be assigned: apart from no. 44, the hydriae from Treia mentioned above, nos. 31 and 32; the hydria from Grächwil, no. 30; that from Ártánd, no. 46; and, perhaps, a hydria from Pilatovici (Yugoslavia, see Addenda no. 64). These exports from Laconia correspond to the presence of bronze vessels on the other side of the Italian peninsula, especially those found in Etruria (no. 35), Capua (nos. 3, 13) and Paestum (nos. 21-23). Apart from the finds from Paestum, they all belong to the earliest groups, a fact which throws a special light on the successful early Laconian bronze production and commercial relations.

No. 44, fig. 47, has the same short and heavy half-reels as nos. 41 and 42, and a similar decorative syntax to no. 43. The snake heads at the upper attachment, seen from above like the duck's head below, are even more primitive. Very worn, and invisible on a photograph, are the horizontal decorations at the upper attachment: they include several friezes of incised triangles.[134] The side handles have at their ends an unclear plastic decoration, perhaps a leaf-motif.[135] The dating of no. 44 can be established approximately with the help of the profile of the rim, fig. 48, which, by its slanting type, should be put on the same level as no. 45, that is in the first phase of the development of the hydria shape in general. Its primitive style, moreover, would put it at the very beginning of that phase, which is about 630-620 BC or even a little earlier.[136]

More advanced in style is the vertical handle of the next hydria, no. 45, fig. 49, which has, for the first time in this group, a more naturalistic rendering of the duck's head. Also the snake protomes at the upper attachment are already on the

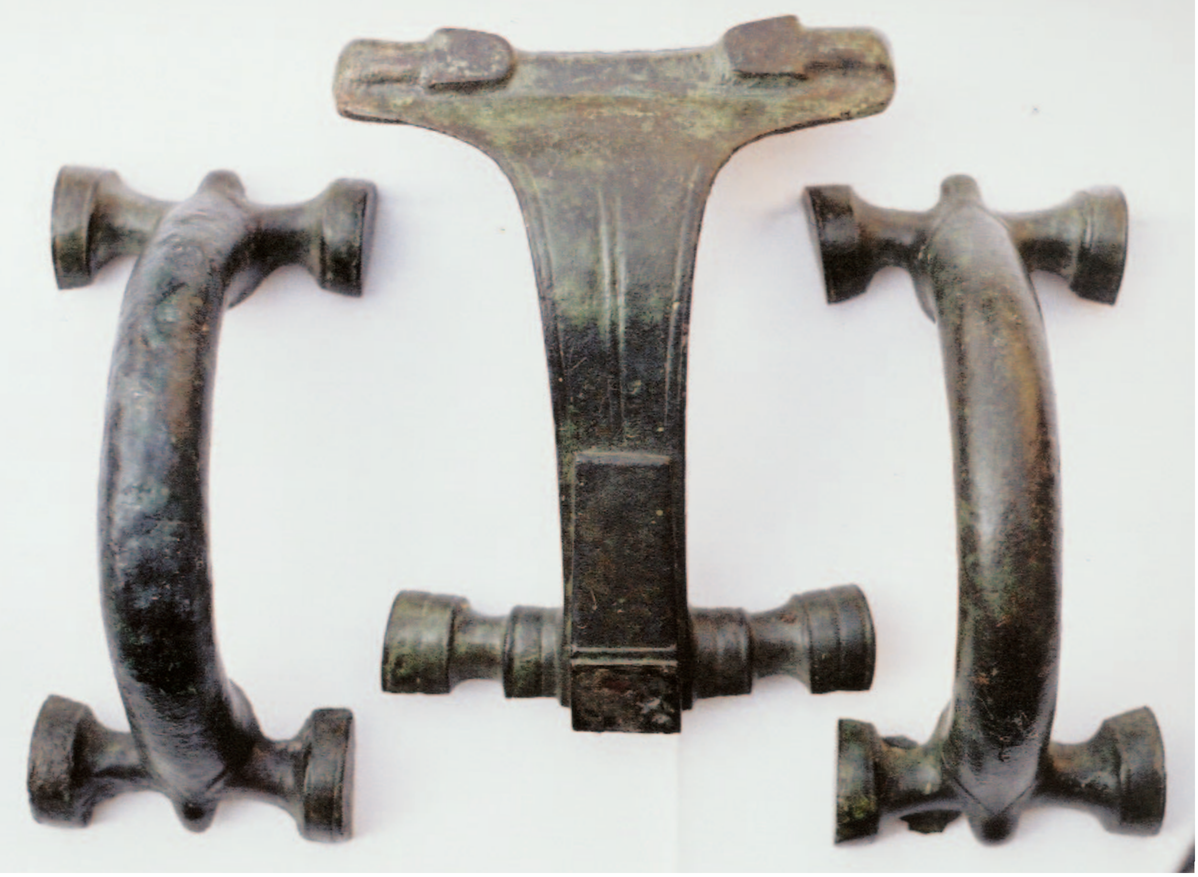


Fig. 47. Three handles from Belmonte Piceno. Cat. no. 44. Ancona, Museo Arch. Nazionale 11379 and 11377a-b.

way to adopting the fine shape and up coiling attitude of the Telestas group. So does the row of 'tongues' between them. The shape of the vase (*fig. 50*) is still of the type of the first phase (as no. 44). Its dating can be established with the help of a firm *terminus ante quem* of 595-590, obtained on the basis of its early Corinthian context.[137] The decennium following on that of no. 44 would be appropriate: 620-610 BC.

On the same level of shape and decoration stands the rather well preserved hydria no. 46 from Ártánd (in Hungary, near Oradea), which was discovered in 1953 in a princely burial. Again the find place is as interesting as the vessel itself, since it represents one of the final destinations of the trade routes to northern Europe for Laconian bronze vessels. It may have reached those princely clients across the Adriatic, like those which ended up in Picenum or in Grächwil, but an alternative, more direct route across the Aegean and through the Republic of Macedonia and Yugoslavia is also conceivable.[138] Nos. 45 and 46 are enough close in style and shape to have been produced in the same period in the same workshop in Sparta.[139]

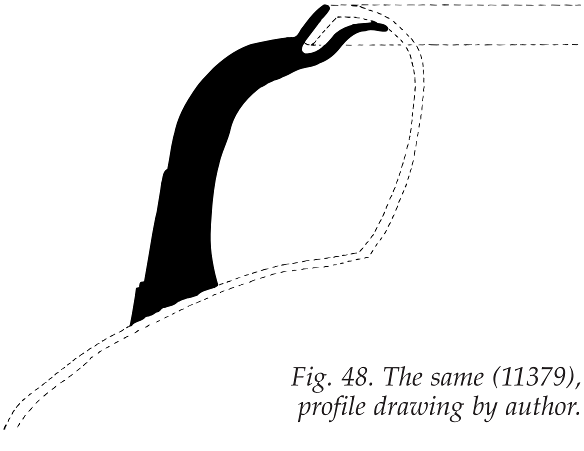


Fig. 48. The same (11379), profile drawing by author.

I would like to add here an isolated fragment of a side handle with a well preserved duck's head between half-reels: no. 47, fig. 51. The style of the head has been compared above with the heavily framed eyes of the rams on no. 10, figs. 22-24. A dating within the last quarter of the 7th century seems to be warranted by this comparison. Here, again, the find place is significant: the Acropolis of Athens. The rich finds of Laconian bronzes from there can be explained by the existence of an intensively used trade route from Laconia to the north along the east coast of the Greek mainland, passing Athens.[140]

7 HYDRIAE DECORATED WITH A PALMETTE

Introduction

Palmettes are found, in combination with other ornaments, in almost every group. Only the master of the Telestas group seems to have consciously renounced the use of palmettes.[141] The frequent occurrence of the ornament on Laconian bronze vessels makes it possible to use it as an indicator for chronology.[142]

Hydriae decorated only with a palmette as the central motif at the lower attachment of the vertical handle constitute a sort of a background music or basso continuo behind the hydriae of the other groups with more ambitious designs.[143] The rather easy solution of applying only a palmette as the main decoration also seems to have inspired bronze workers outside Laconia, especially in the second half of the sixth century. These later groups are surveyed elsewhere and are not revisited in this study.[144]

The palmette group

The oldest example, no. 48, from Capua, shows all the characteristic features of the first phase in the development of the hydria shape.[145] Note the plain, outward slanting rim, the round shoulder and the side handles with no decoration at their ends (like nos. 10, 15). The vertical handle has the heavy shape of the early hydriae, the snakes emerging from the outcurving sides of the upper attachment, as with the duck's head hydria, no. 45, fig. 49, also from Capua. The palmette is an early example of the flat type, showing volutes with raised centres, which became popular with the Gitiadas group and later hydriae. In other respects it betrays its early date of production too (note the loop-shaped heart and the round-tipped leaves).[146] The dating by Herfort-Koch (1986, 83, no. K11), ca. 610-600 BC, may be on target.

A similar grip, but with a totally different design of vertical handle, is seen on the isolated no. 49 in Munich (ex Bodwell). The palmette is accompanied by robust half-reels of the early type and at the upper end by lion protomes which recall no. 17, whereas the 'tongues' between them are of the type of nos. 11, 45, fig. 49, and 46, which precede the Telestas group. The palmette is again flat, but the many leaves are incised. This early type has been dated to the end of the 7th century BC.[147]

An isolated handle from Delphi, no. 50, has been rather neglected up to now. It is an interesting example of the experimental phase of Laconian bronze working before and around 600 BC. A huge palmette with nine convex round-tipped leaves and similar volutes has a loop-shaped heart like no. 48, and 'horns' like no. 51.[148] The snake protomes are seen from above, as with nos. 43 and 44. A broad vertical central band, offset from the rest of the (rounded) grip has engraved vertical lines at the borders and finishes above in a bunch of leaves styled as the palmette below. The shape of the grip recalls the grips of nos. 11, 13 and 14 (trapezoid in section), whereas the palmette-like ending at the upper end returns in a similar fan-like bunch with nos. 15, 40 and 55.

Another isolated handle, no. 51, from Olympia this time, has a palmette which can be compared with no. 50 because of its loop-shaped heart, its twelve round-tipped leaves and its 'horns'. The slightly convex grip, however, with its four vertical engraved lines of which the central pair forms a narrow band (still without beadings!), indicates a later date of production: ca. 585-575, contemporary with no. 32a, which has a similar palmette.

Another isolated handle which is difficult to place is no. 52, from Olympia, which has been linked, because of its incised parts, with such early experimental palmettes as here on no. 49. On the other hand, a lower dating, around 580, is suggested by its high and refined quality, which is nearer to handles such as no. 32a (dated 585-575) and no. 29 (dated 580-570).[149]

Yet another handle from Olympia, no. 53, can be compared with no. 51 for the design of its grip, the central vertical band being still left plain, without beadings. Even more old-fashioned are the lion protomes at the upper attachment, combined with snake protomes seen from above (as with nos. 43, 44, 49 and 61). The style of the lion protomes seems to suggest a dating not much later than no. 51, which is ca. 570.[150]

Lion protomes recur on a handle belonging to a hydria from Cumae, no. 54, of which the upper part is completely preserved. The grip is of the same type as with nos. 51 and 53, but the palmette is a little more advanced: it belongs to a transitional

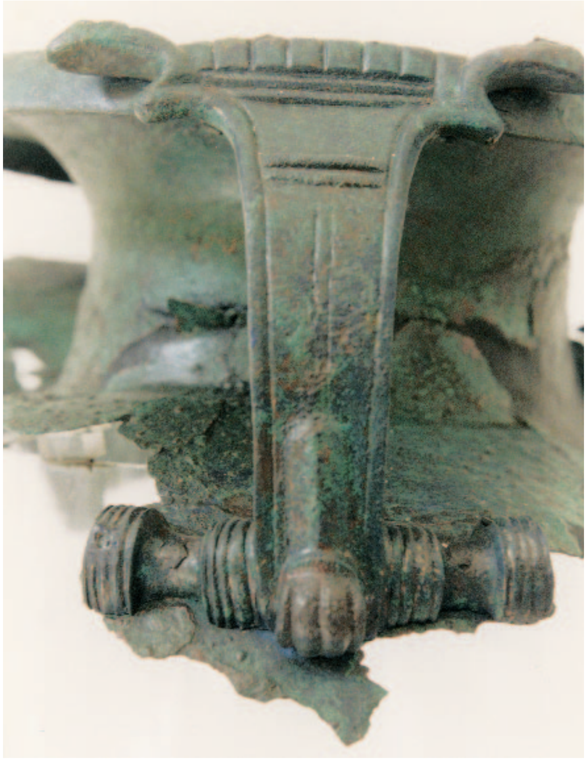


Fig. 49. Hydria from Capua. Detail. Cat. no. 45. Santa Maria Capua Vetere, Museo 264138.

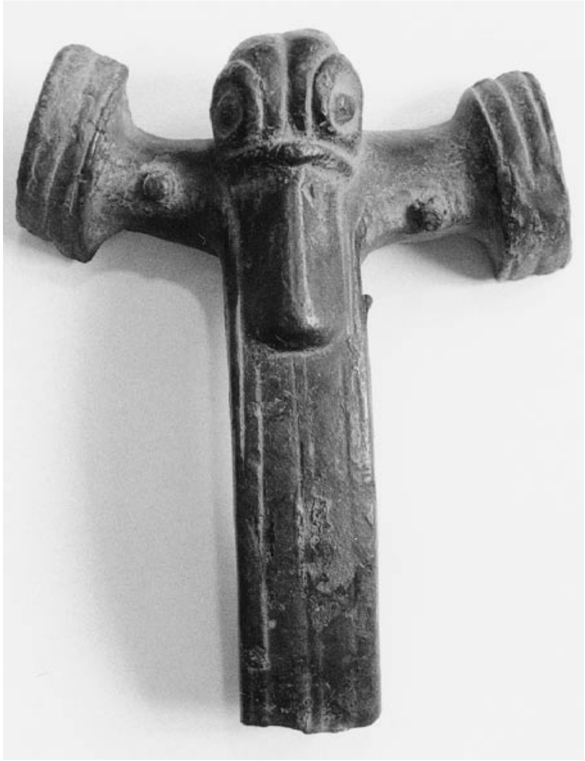


Fig. 51. Side handle from Athens. Cat. no. 47. Athens, National Arch. Museum 7140.

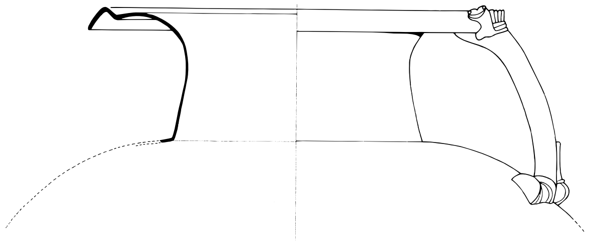


Fig. 50. The same, profile drawing by author.

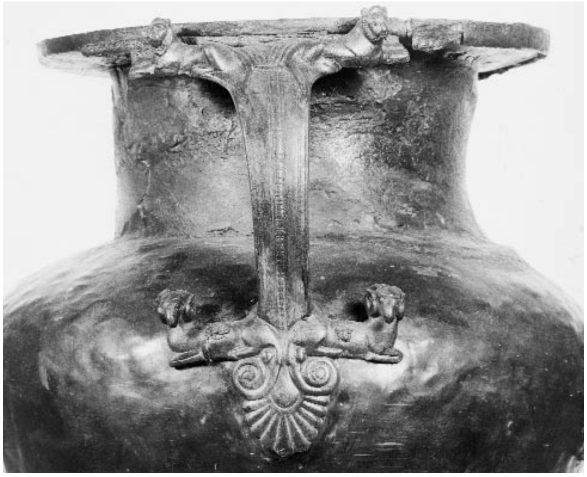


Fig. 52. Hydria from Gela. Detail. Cat. no. 55. Syracuse, Museo Regionale.

type that antedates the palmettes seen on the Gitiadas hydriae.[151] On the side handles are horse protomes, according to the old tradition, but this time made in relief.[152] The shape is sturdy but has a sloping and rounded shoulder. All these features point to a production date of ca. 570 BC.

No. 55, fig. 52, a much-restored complete hydria from Gela, seems to be closer to the Gitiadas group than no. 54, because of its recumbent lions (above) and rams (below) and also because of the vertical row of beadings on the grip. On the other hand the palmette gives an old fashioned impression[153] and the rams have still the plain coats which are characteristic of the early rams, as on nos. 11, 28 and others. The side handles, moreover, show an early type of duck's head and of half-reels. So this is again a transitional piece, perhaps even a little older than no. 54.[154]

No. 56, allegedly from the Athenian Acropolis, has a conventional grip showing a lower part with a palmette flanked by rams, but a unique decoration at the upper attachment: two antithetic lions devouring a ram lying on its back. The motif is at home in Athens rather than Laconia, but the lower part fits without difficulty into the transitional phase of the Laconian series: the palmette has eleven bluntly-pointed leaves in half circle contour, and the same type of volutes, as no. 52; the rams still have plain coats, as with no. 55; and the central band of the grip is not yet filled with beadings. Thus a date around 570 may be appropriate, with the attribution remaining uncertain.[155]

The palmette at the lower attachment of the grip of no. 57, a most curious hydria from Paestum, is related to the one which we have considered above with no. 56: the leaves are bluntly pointed within the contour of a half circle, and the volutes do not touch each other, leaving a lengthy heart between them. A dating at the end of the cited transitional phase, ca. 555, has been proposed before.[156] The side handles have lion protomes in relief instead of horse protomes. The many anomalies of this hydria and its stylistic relationship with the Gitiadas group (cf. the lion protome at the upper handle attachment) suggest that it was produced by a Corinthian fellow bronze worker in the workshop of Gitiadas.[157] Another variant of protome decoration at a side handle is shown by a fragment from Francavilla Marittima (Sybaris), Addendum no. 62: there are rams' protomes in relief with a palmette between them as seen at the vertical handles of nos. 56 and 57.

With a rather well preserved hydria from Rudiae, no. 59, we finally arrive at the level of the Gitiadas hydriae proper; the palmette is of the canonical type: nine pointed, ribbed leaves arranged around a central elongated one, flat volutes with a raised centre and a (still pointed) offset heart.[158] Only the half-reels and the snake protomes are reminiscent of the Telestas group, whereas the still-rounded shoulder and the horse protomes in relief at the side handles clearly demonstrate its being produced at the end of the cited transitional phase, around 560-555. A bronze worker still caught in older traditions may have been influenced by some progressive works of Gitiadas when making this hydria, perhaps at home in Sparta or during a travelling period in Magna Grecia.

Another possibility of Gitiadas group influence is seen on an isolated handle in Munich, no. 59, with an alleged provenance from Greece and even from Sparta itself. The grip has a concave front face without lines and without beadings, ending above in a degenerate remainder of a row of tongues between recumbent lions, and below in a row of five prominent balls between recumbent rams. The palmette is a clumsy imitation of the type of the Gitiadas group, the nine leaves being reduced to eight. This is the last stage, probably from the third quarter of the 6th century in Laconia, before Corinth takes over (see no. 60).

Two fragments found in Olympia, no. 60, probably belonging to one and the same vertical handle, have been called 'a masterpiece of refinement' and interpreted as 'one of those Laconian predecessors of Group K which was manufactured in the northern Peloponnese in the second half of the 6th century.'[159] The fragments were dated not long before another handle, equipped with the same type of flat, carved palmette, no. 61, allegedly from Sparta, from about 550 BC. This handle still has a heavy grip and a palmette with a circular contour, whereas the volutes are of the Gitiadas group type. The side handles belonging to the same hydria are interesting because they show, for the last time, the horse protomes in relief, which go back to the old Laconian tradition.[160]

COMPARANDA AND ADDENDA

Two worn fragments of side handles from Francavilla Marittima, nos. 62 and 63, which otherwise would have attracted little attention, are upgraded by Rolley 1982 (54-55 and 70-71) as the only archaeological arguments in favour of his hypothesis that in neighbouring Sybaris an important bronze industry would have flourished shortly before the destruction of the town in 510 BC. I have discussed the far-reaching consequences of this rather weak starting point elsewhere; the reader is referred to that publication.[161] Here I would only like to stress the fact that the fragments 62 and 63 should be considered as indicators for the existence of an overland trade route from the harbour of Sybaris northwards, that is to central Italy, including Poseidonia (Paestum). The Laconian hydriae from Atena Lucana, no. 2, and Sala Consilina, no. 8, were found along that same trade route.

A recently published recumbent Laconian lion from Pilatovici in central Yugoslavia, no. 64, belongs to the upper attachment of the vertical handle of a bronze hydria. It should be contemporary with the hydria from Ártánd, no. 46 and was probably transported along the same trade route from Laconia to the north. Like no. 46, no. 64 could be seen also in the context of the other

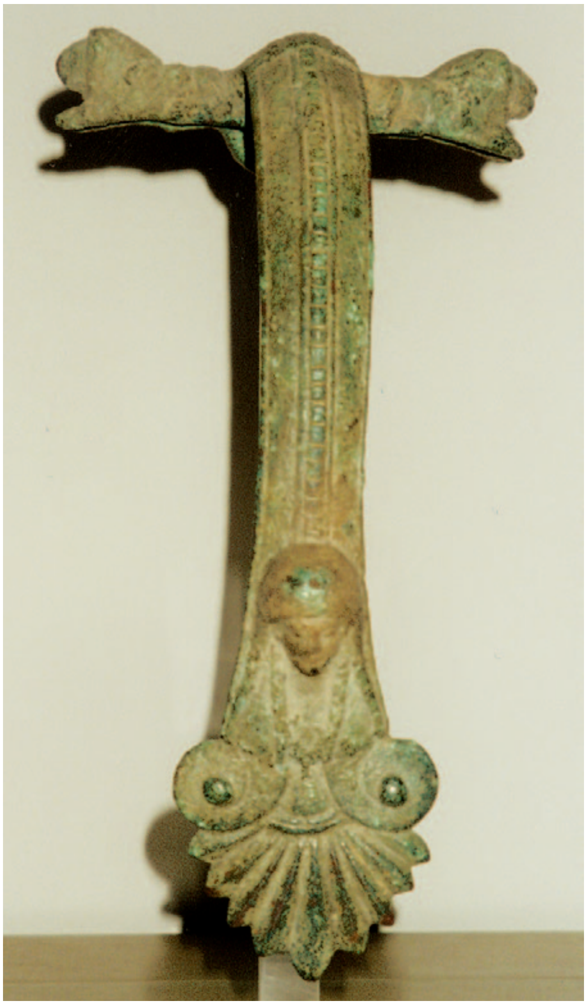


Fig. 53. Oinochoe handle. Cat. no. 65.
Basel, Art Market.

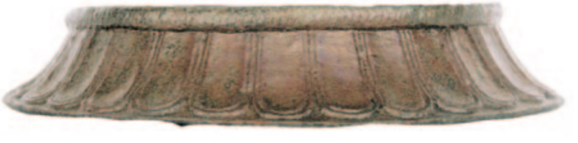


Fig. 54. Foot of hydria from the Amyklaion.
Sparta, Museum.

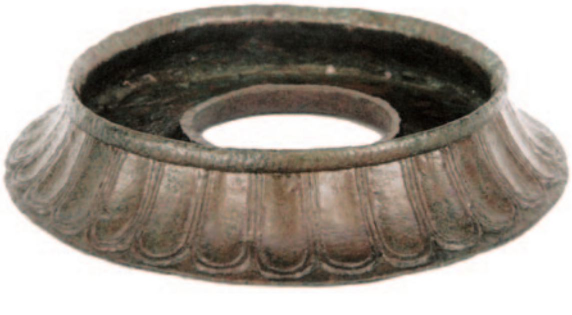


Fig. 55. The same, detail.

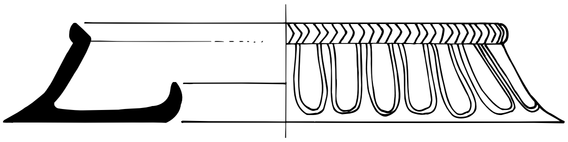


Fig. 56. The same, profile drawing by author.

early Laconian exports which travelled through the Adriatic, like the hydriae found in Picenum, nos. 31-32, and in Grächwil, no. 30.

An unpublished oinochoe handle in the Swiss art market, no. 65, fig. 53, is included here, because it is an example of the influence which spread from the Gitiadas group to other workshops and other shapes. At the upper attachment there are the recumbent lions looking straight ahead, as usual with oinochoae; the usual lion's protome looking into the vase is also present. What makes the handle unique so far is the combination of a female protome with a hanging palmette and flat volutes with raised centres at the lower attachment, which clearly imitate the same combination at the vertical handles of the hydriae of the Gitiadas group, but without the flanking rams (cf. no. 14-24, *figs. 33-36*).[162]

Another unpublished piece, a foot of a hydria from the Amyklaion, no. 66, figs. 54-56, is added here as one more proof for the fact that Laconian bronze hydriae are also found in Laconia itself (not only abroad, as one would perhaps conclude from the catalogue). Together with a few more fragments of bronze hydriae from Laconia and Sparta (a fragmentary left-side ram of the lower attachment of a vertical handle, Rolley 1982, fig. 136; a right-side lion from the upper attachment of a vertical handle, *Pharos* 8, 2000, 77-81; and a fragmentary kouros-handle, Rolley 1982, figs. 134-135) it may serve to convince those who remain sceptical about the origin of our bronze hydriae as long as there are no finds from that place of origin.

CHRONOLOGY

One of my concerns in this article has been to show the close coherence of the hydriae belonging to the Telestas and the Gitiadas groups. The first should be dated in the first, the second in the second quarter of the 6th century BC. This has been made plausible by the many stylistic and iconographic links between the two groups.

Decisive for the dating is the discovery of two Laconian fragmentary hydriae, here nos. 3 and 45, in a grave context with Corinthian pottery of the later part of the Early Corinthian period (595-590). With this secure date in hand the relative chronology of the members of the Telestas group itself and of the other groups around it (subchapters 2-7) could be established.

We have found starting points for dating throughout our inquiry, as well as independently of the above-mentioned grave context. Thus a first generation of Laconian bronze workers could be detected, on stylistic grounds, as early as the last three decades of the 7th century BC (Subgroup 2: Hydriae before Telestas). A strong experimental bias combined with late dedalic features is characteristic of this group.[163] Circa 600-580 a first stylistically coherent production of bronze hydriae came into being in the workshop of a sculptor known as Telestas. His work can be arranged depending on a masterpiece by his own hand, no. 1, figs. 1-4, and dated on the base of its relation to no. 3, figs. 5-10, a hydria with an early Corinthian context, offering a *terminus ante quem* of about 595-590. So the earliest hydriae of the Telestas group may be assigned to a period of about 610-590, whereas the lower end of the production can be established with the help of a comparison of stylistic details, such as the beadings on the grip, which are found for the first time with no. 8 (Telestas group) and also with the complete preserved hydria no. 29 (Hydriae before Gitiadas).

A word should be said in this connection on the somewhat outdated, but still influential, chronology of Claude Rolley, in his fundamental study and publication of the hydriae from the heroon at Paestum. He rightly states that there are two elements on which a dating system for hydriae decorated with a female head at the lower attachment of the vertical handle can rely: the profile of the vase, if it is preserved, and the style of the female protomes.[164] Unfortunately he was not able to incorporate a third criterion: the grave context of the hydria from Capua, here no. 3 (see above), which was published only after his text was already finished for print.[165] So he missed the chance to use this exceptional possibility of an independent grave context for his dating system. Instead he based himself on the profiles of some Laconian pottery hydriae, which were attributed to the Naukratis- and Hunt-Painters and dated ca. 570-560 and 555-545 respectively.[166] By comparing the bronze hydriae from Ártánd, here no. 46, and in Nîmes, here no. 15, he arrives at a dating 'towards 580-570' for the latter two, because their shoulders would have been a little more rounded than those seen with the pottery hydriae of the Naukratis Painter. I do not think this is a sound method, firstly because the bronze and pottery material used for comparison is much too limited in quantity and quality, and secondly because the pottery shapes have their own rules and often depend largely on metal prototypes. On top of this, the two bronze hydriae taken into consideration by Rolley can today be shown to be products of the first generation of Laconian bronze workers (see subchapter 2).

As for the second element on which Rolley's dating would rely, the style of the female protomes: he makes no clear distinction between those of the Telestas group *stricto sensu*, and those which have been separated here in our subchapter 2 as belonging to the experimental group of forerunners. As a result he puts the handle Louvre 2645, no. 9, into relation with the hydria from Sala Consilina, no. 18, which is presented here as a much later work by Gitiadas himself. Such isolated and rather arbitrary comparisons are of little help. What we need instead is to clarify the relationship between the female heads of the two main groups, here named after two representative artists of their periods: Telestas and Gitiadas. By showing their close stylistic relationship we have been able to solve one of the main chronological problems in the field: the Gitiadas group should be dated in the second quarter of the 6th century and not in the third or even fourth quarter of that century, as maintained by Rolley and others.

The greatest stumbling block on the way to a *communis opinio* on dating among specialists in the field of Archaic Greek bronzes is still the krater from Vix. The connection with our hydriae is immediate, because the stylistic relationship between them and the krater has been clearly demonstrated by Rolley and others.[167] Rolley's dating of the krater around 530-520, however, compels him to date the related hydriae to about the same time. The present writer has treated the case extensively again in a more recent study with the result that the krater can be dated ca. 570-560.[168] This dating would be in harmony with the independent dating of the Gitiadas hydriae, as presented above.

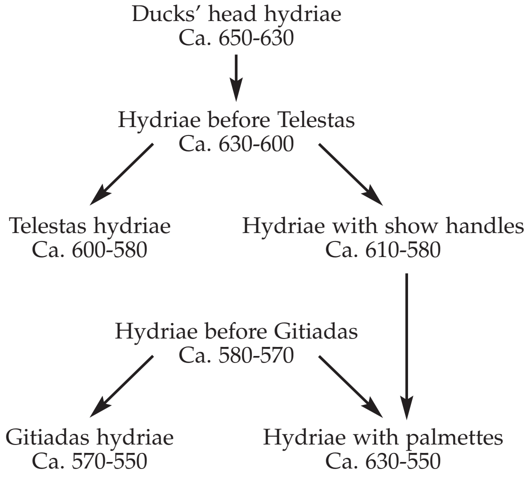
Finally, it should be stressed that today we are in a much more comfortable position with regard to the establishment of a firm chronology for the Archaic Greek bronze production than we were, say, 25 years ago. We owe this position to several circumstances. One is the discovery of a burial complex in Capua, mentioned above, in which two Laconian bronze hydriae and two oinochoae, combined with Corinthian pottery of the later part of the Early Corinthian period, were found. This, for the first time, gives us a trustworthy *terminus ante quem* for these bronze vessels, and for all the others which stylistically can be compared with them.[169] We have repeatedly referred to this burial complex in the present study. Furthermore we can rely today on information offered by much more material. Several sequences are important: the shape of the hydriae allows us to follow the development of every single detail within every single period, from about 625 to about 500 BC; the same can be said of the palmettes, for which a trustworthy system has been found;[170] even the sequence of the ducks' heads, first at the vertical handles (here subchapter 6) and later with the side handles, has been clarified.

CONCLUSIONS

In this article all known groups of Laconian bronze hydriae have been treated, except one: the group with vertical handles in the shape of a naked youth. This group has been left aside because it has been discussed by the present author in a recent publication.[171] An additional reason is that the group starts rather late in the second quarter of the 6th century and continues in the third quarter. It was followed by a series of Corinthian imitations, just as we observed above with the Palmette group and the closely related Gorgoneion group.[172] In this article, however, our main concern was to show the development of the earlier Laconian groups.

The early Laconian groups of bronze hydriae have been presented here, not in a chronological sequence, but in the perspective of their artistic and iconographical importance. Therefore the Telestas group, dated about 600-580 comes first; this is followed by its group of forerunners, dated about 630-600, which provides a kind of background for a better understanding of the achievement of Telestas and his workshop. The same can be said of the Gitiadas group, dated about 570-550, which has been explained as a parallel phenomenon to the Telestas group, but active a quarter of a century later. This group too has its forerunners, which are taken together in subchapter 4. The group of showhandles, in subchapter 5, is presented as the extreme opposite of the contemporary Telestas group, because its baroque character seems to express exactly the opposite spirit to that which prevails with the Telestas hydriae, where the decorations are reduced to an absolute minimum. The female and snake protomes of the latter are explained as abbreviations of the complete scene of the show handle of no. 30 (from Grächwil). For the Telestas and Gitiadas groups the names of two Laconian bronze workers, known from literature, were available. We do not have such a name for the group of the show handles, although it would be appropriate to attribute that group to a similar outstanding bronze worker. For the time being 'the master of the show handles' will have to do. The remaining Subgroups 6 and 7 do not have any great artistic significance of their own, but they round off the picture of the unusual rich Laconian production of bronze hydriae between 650-550 BC.

If we were to put the groups in a chronological order, the following scheme would emerge:



One may ask why the hydria was so successful a product of the Laconian bronze workshops, rather than some other shape of vase. The main reason may have been that the hydria was of medium size, if compared with the other vessels used at a Greek symposium, especially the larger krater and the smaller oinochoe, and so lent itself to a medium effort for a bronze worker from a technical and from an aesthetic point of view. It would therefore have been affordable for a fairly average customer. When compared with an amphora of similar size, the hydria has the advantage of three handles, the vertical one almost demanding particular elaboration. One should not forget, furthermore, that the output of Laconian oinochoae was also considerable, if we take into consideration the number of preserved specimens, which have only recently started to be recognized by scholars.[173] As for bronze kraters, they were probably difficult to make and transport, and were expensive, that is difficult to sell. The very few Laconian bronze volute kraters which have come down to us in a rather good state of preservation, such as the krater from Vix and the krater from Trebenishte in Sofia, betray the high level of Laconian craftsmanship and, at the same time, the reason why such works, even in ancient times, would have been affordable only by the happy few.

CATALOGUE

1 Telestas Group

1. Mainz, Archäologische Sammlung der Universität 201. Provenance: allegedly from Lebadeia (Boeotia). *Figs. 1-4*. Rim and three handles. Rim D. 26.5. Vertical handle H. 17.5. Side handles L. 14.0.
   Neugebauer 1938, 329-338, Figs. 1-3; Kunze 1938, 121-123; Hafner 1957, 118-126, Pl. XVI-XVII, 3, Fig. 6; Stibbe 1992, 12-13, 54 no C5 (bibl.), Fig. 17, 18; Shefton 2000, 32.

2. Atena Lucana, Antiquarium Comunale. Provenance: Atena Lucana (Atina). Rim, three handles and foot. Rim D. 27.0. Vertical handle H. 17.5. Foot D. 14.8, H. 2.6.
   Johannowsky 1980, 445-550, Figs. 1-5; Stibbe 1992, 12, 53-4 no. C1 (bibl.), Fig. 16; Shefton 2000, 32.

3. Santa Maria Capua Vetere, Museo 264130. Provenance: Santa Maria Capua Vetere (Capua). *Figs. 5-10*. Fragmentary hydria. Rim D. 27.5. Body D. max. 34.5. Vertical handle H. 21.6. Side handles L. 13.0.
   Johannowsky 1980, 447-451, Fig. 6; Stibbe 1992, 12, 54 no. C2 (bibl.); Id. 2000a, 6-10, Fig. 2, Pl. 1, 5-6; 2, 1-3.

4. Olympia, Museum B 175. Provenance: Olympia ('Stadion-Südwall IV'). *Fig. 11*. Vertical handle. H. 18.7.
   Hafner 1957, 122 no. 4, Pl. XVII, 1; Gauer 1991, 99, 258 no. Hy 12 (bibl.), Pl. 86,1; Stibbe 1992, 13, 54 no. C8.

5. Syracuse, Museo Regionale. Provenance: Gela ('Sepolcreto di Spinasanta'). *Fig. 12*. Complete preserved, restored. H. 42.0.
   Johannowksy 1980, 451; Herfort-Koch 1986, 81 no. K 3, Pl. 1, 3 (bibl.); Stibbe 1992, 13, 54 no. C7 (bibl.); Pelagatti, in Pelagatti/Stibbe 1992, 194, Pl. XIX b (in colours); Shefton 2000, 32.

6. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung 10389. Provenance: art market Athens, allegedly from Epirus. Three handles. Vertical handle H. 16.2. Side handles L. 20.7 and 20.3.
   Johannowsky 1980, 450-451; Herfort-Koch 1986, 82 no. K5 (bibl.); Stibbe 1992, 13, 54 no. C6, Fig. 19 (bibl.); Shefton 2000, 32.

7. Philadelphia, Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Columbia, acc. no. 87.1. Provenance: unknown. *Figs. 13-14*. Fragment of vertical handle. H. 8.5, W. 7.8.
   Hammond 1995-1996, 50-73, Figs. 1a-b.

8. Germany, Private Collection in the 'Rheinland'. Provenance: unknown. Vertical handle. H. 16.0.
   Herfort-Koch 1986, 82 no. K6 (bibl.); Stibbe 1992, 12, 54 no. C4 (bibl.); Shefton 2000, 32.

9. Paris, Louvre Br. 2645. Provenance: Greece. Vertical handle. H. 17.5, H. of female protome 6.5, W. of upper attachment with snakes 11.2, W. of half-reels 10.0.
   Herfort-Koch 1986, 82 no. K 7 (bibl.), Pl. 2,2; Stibbe 1992, 12, 54 no. C3; Shefton 2000, 32.

2 Hydriae before Telestas

10. United States, Private Collection. Provenance: unknown. *Figs. 15-25*. Almost complete preserved, restored. H. 49.0, H. of neck 13.0, H. of foot 2.5, D. rim 29.0, D. body max. 37.0, D. foot 15.0. Green patina. Not previously published.

11. Paris, Louvre Br. 2646. Provenance: unknown (ex Campana). Vertical handle. H. 20.0, H. of protome 2.8, W. max. 15.5.
    Stibbe 1992, 20, 55 no. F10 (bibl.); Id. 1996, 360-364 no. 4, Pl. 27, 1.

12. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1891, 411. Provenance: Gela. Vertical handle.
    Stibbe 1992, 15, 54 no. D4 (bibl.); Id. 1996, 367, Pl. 33, 3.

13. Jerusalem, Israel Museum 91.71.315. Provenance: Capua. *Figs. 26-27*. Vertical handle. H. 21.6, W. max. 14.4.
    Stibbe 1996, 357-360, no. 2 (bibl.), Pl. 26, 1-8, Fig. 1.

14. The Netherlands, Private Collection. Provenance: unknown (art market, Basle). *Fig. 28*. Fragment of vertical handle. H. 5.7, H. of female protome 2.7, W. protome 1.6.
    Stibbe 1996, 355-356, Pl. 25, 1-4.

15. Nîmes, Musée Archéologique. Provenance: Italy. *Fig. 29*. Fragmentary hydria, restored, neck and lower part of body missing.
    Herfort-Koch 1986, 16 n. 53 (bibl.); Stibbe 1992, 13, 54 no. C10; Id. 1996, 362 n. 35, Pl. 30, 4-5; Bieg 2002, 57; Gauer 2002, 194.

16. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 1995.92. Provenance: allegedly Peloponnese. *Figs. 30-31*. Fragmentary hydria, restored ('Rosenbaum hydria'). H. 43,2.
    Stibbe 1994, 86-93, Figs. 1-6; K. Sommer, *BABesch* 69, 1994, 103-113, Figs; D. von Bothmer, *BullMetrMus* Fall 1995, 8 with ill.

17. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 16450. Provenance: unknown. *Fig. 32*. Vertical handle. H. 16.0
    D. von Bothmer, *Gnomon* 37, 1965, 600; Stibbe 1996, 366-367 no. 5, Pl. 34, 1-2.

3 Gitiadas Group

18. Paris, Musée du Petit Palais (coll. Dutuit). Provenance: Sala Consilina. *Fig. 33*. Complete preserved. H. 42.2, D. body max. 43.3.
Rolley, 1982, 17-19 no. 4 and passim; Gauer 1991, 104; Stibbe 1992, 18-19, 55 no. F5, Fig. 27; Id. 2000b, 78-79.

19. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 15137. Provenance: Eretria. *Figs. 34-35*. Fragmentary hydria, restored. H. 43.0, D. rim 28.0, D. body max. 31.0.
Politis 1936, 147-149, Pl. 1, Figs. 1, 9-10; Rolley 1982, 40, Fig. 145; Stibbe 1992, 18-19, 55 no. F6; Id. 2000b, 78-79.

20. Olympia, Museum B5262. Provenance: Olympia ('SO, P37, "Knochenschicht"; 20.3.1963'). Vertical handle. H. 18.6
Gauer 1991, 103-104, 259 no. Hy 14 (bibl.), Pl. 1, 4; 74, 3-4; 87, 3; Stibbe 1992, 18-19, 55 no. F7; Id. 2000b, 78-79.

21. Paestum, Museum. Provenance: Paestum, heroon. Complete preserved. H. 41.7, D. rim 27.1, D. body max. 32.5.
Rolley 1982, 17-19 no. 1 and passim; Gauer 1991, 103-105; Stibbe 1992, 17-19, 55 no. F2; Id. 2000b, 78-80.

22. Paestum, Museum. Provenance: Paestum, heroon. Complete preserved. H. 42.8, D. rim 27.4, D. body max. 34.5.
Rolley 1982, 17-19 no. 2 and passim; Gauer 1991, 103-105; Stibbe 1992, 17-19, no. F3; Id. 2000b, 78-80.

23. Paestum, Museum. Provenance: Paestum, heroon. Complete preserved. H. 41.7, D. rim 27.4, D. body max. 32.5.
Rolley 1982, 17-19 no. 3 and passim; Gauer 1991, 103-105; Stibbe 1992, 17-19, 55 no. F4; Id. 2000b, 78-80.

24. Heidelberg, Universitätsammlung F 162 a-c. Provenance: allegedly Greece. *Fig. 36*. Three handles. a H. 19.6, b L. 19.0, c L. pres. 17.7.
Stibbe 1992, 17-19, 55 no. F8 (bibl.), Figs. 28-30.

25. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1962.288. Provenance: unknown (ex E.G. Spencer Churchill). Fragmentary vertical handle with part of rim. H. 17.5, D. of rim est. 30.0.
Stibbe 1992, 17-19, 55 no. F9 (bibl.), Fig. 31.

4 Hydriae before Gitiadas

26. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 67. 11.7. Provenance: allegedly Sicily. *Fig. 37*. Complete preserved. H. 41.9.
Stibbe 1992, 15, 54 no. D3 (bibl.), Fig. 21.

27. Olympia, Museum B 5290. Provenance: Olympia ('SO, P37, spätarch. Knochenschicht; 23.3.1963'). Lower half of vertical handle. H. 12.3, W. 5.45.
Stibbe 1992, 15, 54 no. D2 (bibl.).

28. Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe. Provenance: unknown (ex Kropatscheck). Fragmentary hydria, restored. H. 55.9.
Stibbe 1992, 16-17, 55 no. F1 (bibl.).

29. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung Br. 30880. Provenance: southern Italy. Fig. Complete preserved. H. 43.0.
Neugebauer 1925, 188-189, Fig. 8; Stibbe 1992, 14, 54 no. D1 (bibl.), Fig. 20.5.

5 Hydriae with show handles

30. Bern, Bernisches Historisches Museum 11620. Provenance: Grächwil. *Figs. 38-40*. Fragmentary hydria, restored. H. 51.0.
Stibbe 1992, 20, 55 no. G1 (bibl.), Figs. 32, 35; Id. 1995, 74-79, Pl. 18, 5; Id. *The Sons of Hephaistos* 114, Fig. 71; Shefton 2000, 10-19; Bieg 2002, 55-59; Gauer 2002, 194-197.

31. Pesaro, Museo Oliveriano 3314 and 3316. Provenance: Treia, province of Macerata (Le Marche). *Fig. 41*. Fragmentary hydria. H. 35.5.
Stibbe 1992, 24-25, 56 no. G2 (bibl.), Figs. 33-35; Id. 1995, 68-71 no. 1, Pl. 17, 1-3; Shefton 2000, 12-19; Bieg 2002, 57.

32a. Pesaro, Museo Oliveriano 3387. Provenance: as no. 31. *Figs. 42-43*. Side handle in shape of naked man.
Stibbe 1992, 27, 56 no. G6 (bibl.); Shefton 2000, 12-19.

32b. Pesaro, Museo Oliveriano 3315. Provenance: as no. 31. Show handle, battle scene. H. 22.4.
Stibbe 1992, 26, 56 no. G5 (bibl.), Fig. 36; Id. 1995, 72-74, Pl. 18, 4; Shefton 2000, 12-19.

33. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6781. Provenance: Athens, Acropolis. Fragment of show handle: warrior between horses. H. 4.2, W. 12.0.
Stibbe 1992, 26, 56 no. G4 (bibl.); Id. 1995, 71-72, no. 2, Pl. 17, 3.

34. Naples, Museo Nazionale 110880. Provenance: unknown. Fragment of show handle: warrior between horses. H. 16.5.
Stibbe 1992, 26, 56 no. G3 (bibl.); Id. 1995, 72, Pl. 18, 1-3.

35a. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire R 1179. Provenance: allegedly Cerveteri (Caere). Show handle with winged figures. H. 18.0.
Stibbe 1992, 27, 56 no. G7 (bibl.), Fig. 37; Id. *The Sons of Hephaistos*, 114-115, Fig. 72.

35b. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire R 1183a-b. Provenance: unknown. Two side handles with horse protomes.
Stibbe 1992, 56 no. G8 (bibl.), Fig. 38; Bieg 2002, 57.

36. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum. Provenance: unknown (ex Fleischmann). Side handle with horse protomes. L. 22.0.
M. True, in *A Passion for Antiquities. Ancient Art from the Collection of Barbara and Lawrence Fleischmann*. Catalogue for the exhibition Malibu, J.P. Getty Museum 13.10.1994-15.1.1995, 116 no. 51, Fig. 51; Bieg 2002, 57, Fig. 49b.

37. Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum Py 601. Provenance: Makrygialos, ancient Pydna, grave 109. Almost complete hydria, restored. *Fig. 44*. H. 41,5. D. rim 27.0.
Vokotopoulou 1996, 231. Ead. 1997, 117-119, 246-247, Pls. 105-108; Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos*, 102-111, Figs. 63-66.

38. Paestum, Museum. Provenance: Paestum, heroon. Complete hydria with lion handle. *Fig. 45*. H. 43.5, D. rim 27.6, D. body max. 35.0
Rolley 1982, 19 no. 5 and passim; Stibbe 1992, 29-30, 56 no. G11 (bibl.), Fig. 39.

39. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Art Museums, Fog Art Museum 1962.178. Provenance: allegedly Greece. Lower attachment of vertical handle with female protome and gorgoneion. H. 11.4, W. 6.2.
Stibbe 1992, 29, 56 no. G10 (bibl.); Id. 1994b, 93-97, Fig. 13.

40. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 1989.11.1. Provenance: unknown. *Fig. 46*. Vertical handle with four lions. H. 24.0, W. (lions at rim) 15.0.
Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos*, 111-115 (bibl.), Figs. 68-70.

6 Duck's head hydriae

41. Formerly Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung Br 5220. Provenance: Olympia ('Südfront des Prytaneion'). Vertical handle. No measurements available.
Gauer 1991, 99, 258 no. Hy 10 (bibl.); Stibbe 1992, 6, Fig. 7.

42. Olympia, Museum Br. 3568. Provenance: Olympia ('vor Megarer Schatzhaus'). Vertical handle. H. 15.0, W. 9.6.
Gauer 1991, 98, 257 no. Hy 6 (bibl.), Pl. 85,5.

43. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6404 = Olympia Br. 12996. Provenance: Olympia ('Bouleuterion'). Vertical handle. H. 14.4, W. ca. 12.0.
Gauer 1991, 99, 258 no. Hy 9 (bibl.); Shefton 2000, 20 n. 29, Fig. 8.

44. Ancona, Museo Archeologico Nazionale delle Marche 11379 and 11377a, b. Provenance: Belmonte Piceno, tomb 88. *Figs. 47-48*. Three handles. H. vertical handle: 13.6, W. 10.2 (across rotelles). L. side handles: 14.1.
Cat. *Eroi e Regine. Piceni Popolo d'Europa*, 2001, 344-345, nos. 117-119 with ill.; Shefton 2002, 19ff., with n. 29, Fig. 7a-b.

45. Santa Maria Capua Vetere, Museo 264138. Provenance: Santa Maria Capua Vetere (Capua), tomb 1505. *Figs. 49-50*. Upper part of hydria with the three handles. H. vertical handle: 15.0. L. side handles: 12.0.
Stibbe 2000a, 4ff. no. 1 (bibl.), Figs. 1; 3, 1-3. Pl. 1, 1-4.

46. Budapest, Musée des Beaux Arts 60.3.11. Provenance: Ártánd. Fragmentary hydria. H. ca. 43.0, D. body ca. 37.5. H. vertical handle 14.75.
Stibbe 1992, 6, 53 no. A2 (bibl.); Id. 2000a, 9-10, Fig. 4; Shefton 2000, 21-24, Fig. 9a-d.

47. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7140. Provenance: Athens, Acropolis. *Fig. 51*. Fragment of side handle. L. 9.6, W. half reels ca. 8.0.
Herfort-Koch 1986, 14, 82 no. K 9 (bibl.); Stibbe/Vasic, *Trebenishte*, 93 no. 4, Fig. 59.

7 Hydriae decorated with palmettes

48. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1890.590. Provenance: Santa Maria Capua Vetere, 19th cent. excavations. Fragmentary hydria. H. 39.0
Stibbe 1992, 6-7, 53 no. B1 (bibl.), Fig. 8; Id. 1996, 363 n. 36; Id. 2000a, 5 no. 8 (bibl.)

49. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen Br 183. Provenance: unknown (ex Dodwell). Vertical handle. H.19.0, W. 12.5.
Stibbe 1992, 10-11, 53 no. B9 (bibl.), Fig. 14; Id. 1996, 361, 374, Pl. 29, 3-4; Gauer 2002, 195.

50. Delphi, Museum 6. Provenance: Delphi ('trouvaille de 1892'). Vertical handle. H. 16.5, W. of palmette 7.4.
P. Perdrizet, *FdD* V, 1908, 88 no. 396, Fig. 294; Stibbe 1994b, 99 no. 3, Fig. 20; Id. 1997b, 39, 52 no. 19, Subgroup II D.

51. Olympia, Museum B 4340, 4250. Provenance: Olympia ('StN, Brunnen 8').Vertical handle. H. 20.25. W. 11, 4.
Gauer 1991, 101, 259 no. Hy 17 (bibl.), Pl. 11, 1; 88, 1; Stibbe 1992, 8, 52 no. B3; Id. 1997b, 39, 53 no. 16, Fig. 1.

52. Olympia, Museum B 6969. Provenance: Olympia ('SO, Brunnen 89'). Vertical handle. H. 16.3, W. 10.6.
Gauer 1991, 105-1066, 260 no. Hy 23, Fig. 27, 4; Pl. 88.2; Stibbe 1992, 11, 53 no. B10, Fig. 15; Id. 1997b, 38, 52 no. 4, Fig. 1.

53. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6407. Provenance: Olympia, Pelopion. Fragment of vertical handle. H. 4.5.
Gauer 1991, 103, 260 no. Hy 22 (bibl.), Pl. 10.3, 89.1, 90.3.

54. Naples, Museo Nazionale 86527. Provenance: Cumae. Fragmentary hydria, lower part missing. H. 34.5, W. body max. 35.0, D. mouth 26.3.
Stibbe 1992, 7-8, 53 no. B2 (bibl.), Fig. 9; Id. 1997b, 42, 55 no. 51, Subgroup IV A.

55. Syracuse, Museo Regionale. Provenance: Gela. *Fig. 52*. Fragmentary hydria, much restored. H. 46.0.
Stibbe 1992, 14-16, 54 no. E1 (bibl.); Id. 1997b, 41, 55 no. 49, Subgroup IV A.

56. Mariemont, Musée B 201. Provenance: allegedly Athens, Acropolis (ex Warroqué). Vertical handle. H. 22.0, W. 13.0.
Stibbe 1992, 16, 55 no. E3 (bibl.); Id. 1994b, Fig. 19; Id. 1997b, 41, 55 no. 50, Group IV A.

57. Paestum, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 49802. Provenance: Paestum, heroon. Complete preserved hydria. H. 41.6, D. rim 20.0, D. body max. 30.0.
Rolley 1982, 20, 24-25 and passim; Stibbe 1992, 9-10, 53 no. B6, Fig. 13; Id. 1997b, 42, 56 no. 64, Subgroup IV B; Id. 2000b, 80-81.

58. Lecce, Museo 2707. Provenance: Rudiae. Fragmentary hydriae, restored. H. 41.7, D. rim 26.0, D. body max. 32.0.
Stibbe 1992, 8, 53 no. B5 (bibl.), Fig. 12.

59. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 3860. Provenance: Greece ('aus Sparta', ex Arndt). Vertical handle. H. 18.0.
Stibbe 1992, 16, 55 no. E2 (bibl.), Fig. 23.

60. Olympia, Museum Br 11764 and Br 13875. Provenance: Olympia ('Nördl. Palästra, 26.3.1880, Streufund' and 'Südostbau; 17.1.1981'). Two fragments of vertical handle.
Gauer 1991, 159, 260 nos. Hy 24 and Hy 25 (bibl.), Pl. 89; Stibbe 1994b, 99 no. 4, Fig. 21.

61. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum VI 2907. Provenance: allegedly Peloponnese. Vertical handle.
Stibbe 1992, 8, 53 no. B4 (bibl.), Figs. 10-11; Id. 1997b, 40, 54 no. 33.

Comparanda et Addenda.

62. Museo Nazionale Archeologico della Sibaritide. Provenance: Francavilla Marittima (sanctuary on the Timpone della Motta). Fragment of side handle with ram's protomes. L. 7.5, W. of attachment 4.6.
M.W. Stoop, *BABesch* 55, 1980, 167-168 no. 4, Fig. 13; Rolley 1982, 54-55, Fig. 75.

63. Museo Nazionale Archeologico della Sibaritide. Provenance: Francavilla Marittima (sanctuary on the Timpone della Motta). Fragment of side handle with duck's head. L. 13.0
M.W. Stoop, *BABesch* 55, 1980, 168 no. 5, Fig. 14, a; Rolley 1982, 54-55, Fig. 39-40.

64. Užice, Narodni Muzej. Provenance: a grave in a princely mound near Pilatovici (central Yugoslavia). Recumbent lion from the upper attachment of a vertical hydria handle. L. 5.5.
R. Vasić, in Stibbe/Vasić, *Trebenishte*, 121, Fig. 79.

65. Basel, art market. Provenance: unknown. *Fig. 53*. Handle of a bronze oinochoe with female protome. H. ca. 10.0.
Not previously published.

66. Sparta, Museum 693. Provenance: Amyklai. *Figs. 54-56*. Foot of a bronze hydria. H. 2.5. D. 14.2.
Not previously published.

NOTES

[*] Acknowledgments.
I would like to express my warmest thanks, first of all to those persons and institutions who gave me permission to publish unknown material and the relevant illustrations: Mrs. A. Panajotopoulou (Sparta) for the hydria-foot no. 66; J. Kaltsas (Athens) for the hydria no. 19 in its recently restored state; the owners of the hydria no. 10 and the oinochoe no. 65; furthermore to the following persons and museums for providing me with photographs and the permission to publish them: the Archaeological Institute of the University of Mainz (for no. 1); Professoressa Paola Pelagatti (for nos. 5 and 55); the Museum of art and Archaeology, University of Missouri (for no. 7); a private collection in New York (for no.10); the Israel Museum in Jerusalem (for no. 13); a private collection in the Netherlands (for no. 14); Dr. Ines Jucker (for nos. 30, 31 and 32a); the Archaeological Museum in Thessaloniki (for no. 37). The drawing fig. 21 I owe to Mr. Th. Padavano (The remaining photographs and drawings - except fig. 29 - are my own). My English text was corrected by Martin Rush (Oxford).

[1] Bieg 2002, 95-103 and passim; Gauer 1991, 95-110; Id. 2002, 193-197; Stibbe 1992, 1-62; Id. 1994b, 86-101; Id. 1997b, 37-64; Id. 2000a, 4-16; Id. 2000b, 65-114. The final publication (50 years after its discovery!) of the krater from Vix and its tomb by C. Rolley and others (*La tombe princière de Vix*, sous la direction de Claude Rolley, 2003) came too late to my knowledge to be incorporated into this article. In fact, as far as the bronze hydriae are involved, it makes no difference, because Rolley repeats his old - according to the present writer, largely outdated - views about them (see Rolley 1982, passim).

[2] Neugebaur 1938, 330-338 with Fig. 1-3.

[3] Neugebauer 1938, 330. See also Hafner 1957, 119.

[4] Kunze 1937-1938, 121-123.

[5] Hafner 1957, 119-126.

[6] The standard type includes a female protome with a polos between half-reels, snakes at the upper attachment of the vertical handle, and ducks' protomes between half-reels at the horizontal handles. In more recent times the group has been dealt with several times; see Herfort-Koch 1986, 13-19; Gauer 1991, 99-100; Shefton 2000, 22 no. 31.

[7] The Cleitorians are the inhabitants of the town Cleitor in northern Arcadia. Some ruins are preserved near the modern village of Karnesi (Lousoi).

[8] A.S. Arvanitopoulou, *Polemon* 1 (1929) 158-160; Hafner 1957, 124 no. 18a; E. Meyer/F. Eckstein, *Pausanias Reisen in Griechenland, Olympia*, Zürich 1986-1987, 216, no. 16.

[9] Translations by W.H.S. Jones and H.A. Ormerod, in the Loeb Classical Library, *Pausanias* V, vol. II.

[10] See the catalogue p. 40. The alleged find place was used by R. Hampe and E. Simon, *Griechisches Leben im Spiegel der Kunst*, Mainz 1959, 4-5, to explain the hydria as a cult vase from the nearby sanctuary of Trophonios (the nose would have been worn by continuous use in the cult). But see: A. Greifenhagen, *Gnomon* 32 (1960) 78.

[11] Neugebauer 1938, 330-331 was the first who thought that it was the maker's name. After him Hafner 1957, 119ff. and others were of the same opinion. A. Greifenhagen, *Gnomon* 32 (1960) 78 maintains that the artist could be also the dedicator. Jeffery 1961 (2-1990) 189-190 says: 'But it may be doubted if that Telestas would sign a single small bronze hydria, or, if he did, would omit the significant verb. It is safer to infer only that this is the owner's name, cut by the bronze-worker either to safeguard his property, or he was going to dedicate it.' This seems to be an example how one can miss the target by putting 'safety first'.

[12] A good example offers the well-known head of a youth from Sparta in Boston: Herfort-Koch 1986, 43, 105 no. K 85, Pl. 11, 10-11.

[13] Johannowsky 1980, 445-450 with Figs. 1-5. The find-circumstances are described by Johannowsky, ibid. p. 445: The fragments were 'recuperate recentemente presso la famiglia del defunto ispettore onorario Dr. Carlo Caporale insieme con ceramica geometrica d'impasto e qualche vaso con ornamenti a vernice nera di età tardo-arcaica...'

[14] Johannowsky 1980, 447 states the character of these angular eyelids to be of subdedalic type (cf. Jenkins 1936, 59-60).

[15] Johannowsky 1980, 450.

[16] Stibbe 2000a, 6 no. 11 with Pl. 4. This rather fundamental publication was overlooked or ignored by C. Rolley in his recent treatment of the krater from Vix (see note 1).

[17] This sequence differs from the one proposed by Johannowsky 1980, 450-451, who would put the hydria from Atena Lucana on one line with the hydria handle in the Louvre (below no. 9). The stylistic closeness of the hydria from Atena Lucana to the Telestas hydria has not been noted by Johannowsky.

[18] Stibbe 2000a, 6-10, Fig. 2, Pl. 1, 5-6; 2, 1-3.

[19] Johannowsky 1980, 449: '...le sopracciglia sono costituite da un listello con intacchi..'

[20] For the rest the decorations of the three hydriae (from Lebadeia, Atena Lucana and Capua) are very similar: the vertical lining of the grip, the upper decorations on the grip (horizontal rows of triangles, convex 'tongues') with the snake-heads as well as the side-handles with their ducks' heads.

[21] In the same way, Samos played the role of a shopwindow for the Laconian pottery production from about 625 to 525 BC. Cf. Stibbe 1997, 41-47.

[22] Gauer 1991, 258: 'feine Brauenschraffur'. He also notes a 'brillenförmige Gravur' on the ears.

[23] Kunze 1937, 123, stresses the fact that the eyebrows are not plastically rendered, but 'durch eine vertiefte Linie wiedergegeben'.

[24] Kunze 1937, 122-123, who is credited by Gauer 1991, 99 to have put here a 'Markstein' for the chronology and topography of the 'hocharchaische Toreutik', places the Olympia handle between the Telestas hydria and the hydria in Berlin, here no. 29 (dated by Kunze p. 123 in the third decade of the 6th century). See p. 25. Hafner 1957, 126 suggests that Telestas would have made no. 4 during his stay at Olympia, when he worked with his brother Ariston on the statue of Zeus for the Cleitorians (see above no. 6).

[25] Cf. on the disagreements about the dating of this hydria Stibbe 1992, 13, no. C7. An angular shoulder is usually found with the hydriae of the Gitiadas Group, see p. 22. A photograph of no. 5 before the restoration, which I owe to the kindness of Paola Pelagatti, here fig. 12, gives an impression of the original, round shape of the shoulder, even in its poor state of preservation. On that photograph also the complete halfreels, omitted in part in the restoration, are still visible.

[26] Rolley 1982, 32 states, that both are taken from the same mould ('le même moule pour la tête').

[27] Cf. Stibbe 1992, 13 no. C7, where also the differing modern datings are cited: 610-600 by Herfort-Koch 1986 (her no. K3) and the second quarter of the 6th century by Johannowsky 1980, 451 and Rolley 1982, 35. I now would prefer a dating nearer to the one of Herfort-Koch, because of the similar shape of the rim and neck of the well-dated hydria from Capua, no. 3, fig. 7. On the dating problem see furthermore Chronology.

[28] I have stressed this point already in Stibbe 1994b, 86 with no. 6.

[29] Rolley 1982, 32 no. 1, puts the hydria handle in Nîmes, here no. 15, at the head of his list. As shall be shown below, this hydria belongs to another group. Furthermore it is absolutely unclear to me why Rolley 1982, 35 puts our no. 9 near the Sala Consilina hydria, here no. 18: there is no stylistic relationship whatsoever. See also the next note.

[30] Richter 1968, 36 no. 117, dates the Louvre handle in the last quarter of the seventh century, a dating which was called 'évidemment tout à fait impossible' by Rolley 1982, 33 no. 5: he prefers (p. 35) a date at the end of the series of all the known hydriae with female protomes. On the dating problems, see the chapter on Chronology.

[31] Jenkins 1936, Pl. VII, 5, 8. Jenkins 1932-1933, 77 Fig. 2b; Marangou 1969, Fig. 65.

[32] Cf. Marangou 1969, Figs. 56-58.

[33] See p. 17 no. 10, fig. 19 and Marangou 1969, Fig. 107 (terracotta), 113 a-b, 115, 118 (ivory and bone), Figs. 126-130 (same materials).

[34] Shefton 2000, 32 sees no problem in putting the Louvre handle in his list of the Telestas group on the second place, with the remark, however, 'stands somewhat apart'.

[35] Athens, National Archaeological Museum. Upper half of a statuette. H. 13.0. AO 151f. Pl. 35, 2; Jucker 1976, 29 with n., Pl. 9 c-b.

[36] Herfort-Koch 1986, 15 with no. 49 (bibl.); Vafopoulou 1991, 8 no. 5 with bibl.

[37] Rolley 1982, 39 with Fig. 132.

[38] A. Pasquier, *BCH* 106 (1982) 282, Figs. 1-3. A terracotta head from Camarina, here figs. A and B, seems to be another, less close, imitation; cf. Pelagatti, in Pelagatti/Stibbe 1990, 199 n. 200 and Figs. 227-229.

[39] Stibbe, *LBP* 3, 88, 179 no. B2, Fig. 208, Pl. 13, 1.

[40] Cf. Stibbe 1997a, 42.

[41] Cf. recently Gauer 2002, 193.

[42] See already Politis 1936, 153-154.

[43] Jeffery 1961 (2-1990), 189-190, 199 no. 7, Pl. 35.

[44] My warmest thanks go to the owner for giving me the permission to publish this hydria and for providing me with excellent photographs and the drawing fig. 21, made by Mr. Theo Padavano.

[45] H. 49.0, H. of neck 13.0, H. of foot 2.5, D. of rim 29.0, D. max. of body 37.0, D. of foot 15.0. Restored. Parts of body missing. Green patina.

[46] See e.g. Stibbe, *LBP* 1, 128, 131, no. 20; Id. *LBP* 2, 232, 241 no. 112; Id. *LBP* 3, 187, 191 no. 55.

[47] See e.g. Stibbe, *LV* 58, no. 19; Id. *LBP* 1, 129, 132 no. 35; Id. *LBP* 3, 187, 189 no. 9.

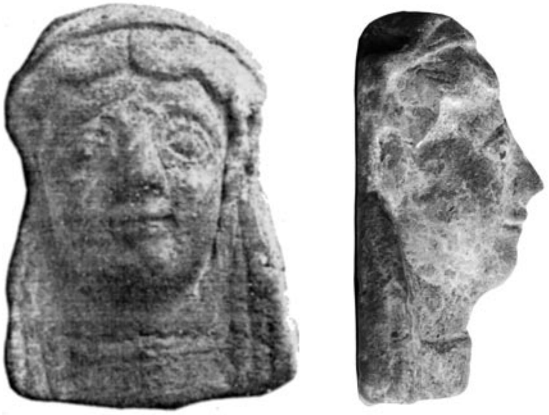


Fig. A. Terracotta female head from Camarina. See here note 38. Camarina, Museo. Fig. B. The same, side view.

[48] See Diehl 1964, 8, 213 no. B4, Pl. 1,1, Stibbe 1992, 46-47, 60, Group M. These handles are not included in this article, because they are probably of non-Laconian origin.

[49] Cf. Stibbe 1996, 365 Fig. 3. Pl. 34, 1, 3. 38, 4-5.

[50] Like the ram's head on a terracotta plaque from Sparta (*BSA* 29, 1927-1928, 105-107, Fig. 12. Floren-Herfort 1983, 29 no. 39, bibl., dated ca. 580). Cf. also the ram-protomes on the cauldron from Leontinoi in Berlin (Vokotopoulou 1997, 123 no. 112, in colours and Gauer 1991, Pl. 1 no. Le 67, dated ca. 550).

[51] Like the ram's head protomes at the ring support of a large marble basin from Isthmia: M.C. Sturgeon, The Gray-Marble Perirrhanterion, in *Isthmia* IV, *Sculpture* I, Princeton 1987, 25-26, Pl. 21. Cf. also the ram protomes from a tripod found at Kalapodi, in Lamia, dating from the first half of the seventh century, showing similar lengthy muzzles and heavy eyelids: Bieg 2002, 42, 150 no. ST 24, Fig. 28.

[52] Like the bronze ram protome from Olympia, published and dated in the late 7th century by Kunze 1937, 121 with Pl. 53. Cf. also the type of the eyes on a duck's head of a fragmentary side handle of an early Laconian hydria from Athens, here no. 47, fig. 51. For the lengthy curved muzzle one can compare a ram's protome from the Menelaion near Sparta, dated by its context to the Laconian II period (630-580). It is made from a very light and soft clay and betrays a high standard of quality, as found also with other products of the same material and provenance; see *BSA* 15 (1908-1909) 119, nos. 19 (ram's head) and 20 (horse's head), Pl. VI.

[53] Cf. Herfort-Koch 1986, 16 with no. 50; Stibbe 1996, 358 with no. 13.

[54] Cf. Stibbe 1996, 358 and passim; Id. *The Sons of Hephaistos* 107 with no. 19.

[55] As with the early Laconian female and lion protomes in Stibbe 1996, 357 no. 2 and 364 no. 4.

[56] Stibbe 1997b, 39, 52, Group IIA.

[57] Cf. nos. 15, 48.

[58] It belongs to the first phase as defined in Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos*, 5 with no. 9.

[59] In Stibbe 1992, 14-15, the heterogeneous (early and late) examples are taken together in Group D. Cf. here subchapter 4.

[60] There is one parallel, at the upper attachment of a handle with a twisted grip in Princeton. See Stibbe 1994b, 93-99, Fig. 13; Id. 1996, 362 no. 31.

[61] As with nos. 13 and 14.

[62] An exception with the early hydriae, but common with the Gitiadas group; see p. 22, subchapter 3.

[63] This detail is found only with two other hydria handles: nos. 40 and 56.

[64] The type is exceptional; it imitates, probably, those found with 'rhodische Bronzekannen'; see Shefton 1979, Pl. 7,1; 8,2; 9, 3. Stibbe 1996, 361.

[65] Stibbe 1996, 360-364, Pl. 27, 1.

[66] Stibbe 1997b, 39, 52, no. 9, Fig. 1.

[67] Stibbe 1996, 357-360, no. 2, Pl. 26, 1-8, Fig. 1.

[68] The polos itself seems to be a narrow version, with plastically rendered leaves, of the broad one on no. 10. The narrow or broad types apparently depend on the available space on the grip.

[69] Cf. Stibbe 1997b, 38-39, 52, no. 5.

[70] For the early Laconian horse type, common between 625 and 575, see now Bieg 2002, 58.

[71] Stibbe 1996, 356.

[72] Cf. Rolley 1988, 17-18 (with a report on the unclear provenance by R. Boyer), 29ff. (for the new restoration) and Rolley 1982, 32 no. 1. The restoration looks unsatisfying for the shaping of the lower half of the body and the foot, which should be imagined more like our no. 10, figs. 15-16.

[73] Cf. Stibbe 1996, 362 no. 35. This opinion is repeated again by Gauer 2002, 194.

[74] The type: small, obliquely carved, with heavily notched eyelids and/or eyebrows. Cf. the female protome on the fibula in Sparta, Museum 2142, Stibbe 1996, 364-366 no. 4, Pl. 27, 2-6, Fig. 3.

[75] Cf. Stibbe 1995, 76.

[76] See the report of the restorer, Klaus Sommer, *BABesch* 69 (1994) 103-113.

[77] See the extensive publication in Stibbe 1994b, 86-93.

[78] Such zigzag lines, being triangles on a small scale, are usually seen on dividing bands or mouldings, such as placed above the head of the protome on the fibula from Sparta (above no. 76) and here on no. 10, fig. 19, no. 15, fig. 29.

[79] Similar decorations of geometric taste are seen on the handles of some early Laconian bronze oinochoae from Capua: Stibbe 2000a, 8 Fig. 3, nos. 6 and 14.

[80] The group is often referred to as the Paestum-Sala Consilina series; see e.g. Stibbe 1992, 16-20, Group F, with further literature.

[81] Stibbe 2000b, passim.

[82] For the excavation see *NSc* 1896, 172.2 and 1897, 164. Later the hydria was acquired for the Collection Hirsch (see Collection Hirsch, *Vente Drouot,* Paris 1921). Finally the hydria was incorporated in the Collection Dutuit and the museum Petit Palais. Cf. Neugebauer 1923-1924, 343; Id. 1925, 193, Fig. 9. For the Collection Dutuit see J. Petit, *Musée du Petit Palais. Bronzes antiques de la collection Dutuit* I, Paris 1980, 9-11. For the find-circumstances and the context, see J. de la Genière, *Recherches sur l'Âge du Fer en Italie Méridionale*, Paris 1968, 16 and no. 19.

[83] See the photograph of the foot in Rolley 1982, Fig. 90.

[84] Since there is no close-up available, the reader is referred to the series of illuminating photographs of the protomes in Rolley 1982, Pl. XXVII, Fig. 138, where our protome is reproduced as the fourth from the left (front- and profile-views).

[85] See e.g. the girl serving as a handle of a mirror in Munich, Stibbe 2000b, Fig. 16 or the Palladion from Tegea, ibid. Fig. 7.

[86] See e.g. Herfort-Koch 1986, Pl. 6, 3-7; 7, 5-6; 9, 1-4; 14, 3-5.

[87] They recall the lower ridge of the helmet with palladia of the same period, such as Herfort-Koch 1986, no. K 41, Pl. 6, 4-6.

[88] See Stibbe 2000b, 65-75.

[89] Politis 1936, 147-174, especially 147-149 with Pl. 1, Figs. 1, 2,9-11.

[90] I thank the Director, N. Kaltsas, who gave me the permission to study the hydria from Eretria in its new, entire form and to publish the photographs figs. 34-35. The new measurements are: H. 43.0, H. of rim and neck 9.0, H. of foot with moulding 2.0, D. mouth 28.0, D. max. 31.0, D. of foot 14.0. L. of side handles 17.0. Green to black patina. There are four bronze pins in the rim which probably served for fastening a lid of which some remains in lead (now in gypsum) were preserved (see Politis 1936, 147).

[91] Found also with no. 20 and on the rams of a Laconian kouros-handle in Copenhagen, Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos*, 28-29 no. 2, Fig. 17, dated 565-555.

[92] The now complete palmette has the middle leaf less pronounced than with no. 18; as for the shape of the body: it is difficult to check because the restoration includes many missing parts, but it looks much the same as with no. 18.

[93] It has horizontally carved lines, a scale pattern, but within the same diamond-shaped flocks (this can be checked on the photograph in Gauer 1991, Pl. 1,4), in contrast to later renderings within a frame of crossing lines, as with the rams on the hydriae from Paestum, nos. 21-23, from Randazzo (Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos*, 39, Fig. 25) and from Novi Pazar (ibid. 49, Fig. 32). On the subject see also Stibbe 1994a, 114.

[94] Cf. Stibbe, *LBP* 1, 39 with nos. F11-F17; also nos. D24, E30, E67.

[95] See the kouros-handle in Copenhagen, already cited above for its rams; for a description of the lions, see Weber 1983, 274 no. I.D. 7; and the handle in London, British Museum 1856. 12-26.645, which is in every respect so close to no. 24, as to suggest the same hand; see Weber 1983, 273, no. I.D. 4 and Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos*, 37-38 no. 10, Fig. 24.

[96] The handle belonged originally to the collection of Sir Cecil H. Smith and was acquired by E.G. Spencer Churchill in 1930. See *Burlington Club Exhibition* 1904, D111 Pl. 78; *Sotheby Catalogue* 18.6.1930, no. 167, Pl. 12.

[97] For the oinochoe-handle in Copenhagen, see above no. 93 and Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos*, 28. For the type of the palmette, see Stibbe 1997b, 43, 56, Group IV B no. 67.

[98] Stibbe 1992, 16-17, no. F1.

[99] Cf. the dating by Kunze 1937, 123: 580-570.

[100] Stibbe 1997b, 39, 52-53 Group II B, no. 15. It has a nice parallel on a handle from Olympia, Gauer 1991, 105, 260 no. Hy 23 (dated by him ca. 550, which is surely too late; also his attribution to Argos of both Hy 23 and our no. 29 - p. 100, 105 - seems to be erroneous, since next to nothing is known about an Argive bronze industry of this quality in this period).

[101] 'Transitional' handles were discussed for the first time in Stibbe 1992, 22.

[102] The find circumstances are extensively treated by Jucker 1972, 42-45.

[103] After Neugebauer 1923-1924, 402-403 and id. 1925, 183, the hydria is usually attributed to Taras. In more recent studies, however, a Laconian origin of this and the other vases of the same type has been accepted. See Stibbe 1992, 22; Id. 1995, 74-79; Id. *The Sons of Hephaistos*, 114; Shefton 2000, 10 no. 9; Bieg 2002, 58.

[104] Cf. Bloesch 1943, 28-31; Christou 1968, 51-54; Hammond 1995/1996, 57-65; Marinatos 2000, 37-38, Fig. 2.10.

[105] On the typical relationship between the Mistress of Animals and warriors in general, see Marinatos 2000, passim.

[106] Christou 1968, 52: 'Die Gestalt erscheint als eine Art Synthese der verschiedenen spartanischen Orthia-Darstellungen, als zusammenfassende Darstellung aller ihrer Funktionsbereiche.'

[107] There are quite a few handles of oinochoae preserved showing a female protome without a polos, which probably go back to a parallel near eastern tradition, just as some isolated bronze female heads. Cf. Stibbe 1996, 372-373, Pls. 35a; 37, 3-4; 38, 1-3; Herfort-Koch 1986, 14, no. K16 and no. 46.

[108] Numerous examples are listed in Bieg 2002, 51-58, with Figs. 38-45, 152-155, nos. ST36-ST57.

[109] Cf. the side-handles of nos. 54, 58, 61 (Rolley 1982, Figs. 71, 72). The same happened, in one case at least, to lion-protomes; see no. 57 (Rolley 1982, Fig. 74) and rams, see Addenda no. 62 (Rolley 1982, Fig. 75).

[110] Cf. Jucker 1976, 89.

[111] The way in which the eyes are carved and the eyebrows are hatched recalls the similar rendering with some female heads of the series before Telestas; see no. 11 and no. 17, fig. 32.

[112] Cf. Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos* 110 no. 46, Fig. 67 and 27-56.

[113] The chronological distance between our handle no. 32a and the oldest extant example of a kouros-handle, dated 575-565 (see Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos*, 28, no. 1, Figs. 15-16), cannot be too large.

[114] See Stibbe 1992, 30-31, nos. G12-G16, Figs. 40-42). Also A.M. Sgubini-Moretti, Ricerche archeologiche a Vulci: 1985-1990, in M. Martelli (ed.), *Tyrrhenoi Philotechnoi, Atti della Giornata di Studio, Viterbo, 13 ottobre 1990*, Roma 1994, 37-38, Pl. A.

[115] See Stibbe/Vasić, *Trebenishte* 91-92 no. 8; Bieg 2002, 60, Fig. 50; 91, Fig. 89B and others.

[116] Stibbe 1992, 27; Hoffmann 1964, 185-186.

[117] Hoffmann 1972, 35. See also G. Rocco, Una laminetta di argento nei Musei Vaticani, *Xenia Antiqua* 4 (1995) 5-8.

[118] Here the recumbent rams at the upper attachment of the only complete preserved handle (the second being a fragment) are placed on snakes, whose tails end up in spirals (difficult to recognize on photographs). See Stibbe 1994, 93-99, no. 2, Figs. 13-14

[119] Stibbe *The Sons of Hephaistos*, 103-110, Figs. 63-67.

[120] Stibbe 1992, 29-30 no. G 11.

[121] See the examples cited in no. 107.

[122] Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos*, 108-109.

[123] See below no. 39 and Stibbe 1994b, 95, Figs. 13-17.

[124] Cf. a Rhodian plate of the late 7th century BC in E. Simon, *Die griechischen Vasen*, Munich 1976, 55-56, Pl. 32 (her interpretation as a mere apotropaeic device may be part of the truth, but no explanation for our case). See also Marinatos 2000, 48-56, with Fig. 3.1; 3.11.

[125] Christou 1986, 136-154.

[126] According to David Gordon Mitten, who kindly showed me the fragment, when I visited Harvard in 1997, the spiral end of a snake tail at the left side of the gorgoneion has no counterpart on the right side (no trace is left there). Perhaps the fragment was left unfinished.

[127] Stibbe 1994b, 95.

[128] Cf. Stibbe 1992, 6. Chronology is here involved: if the dating 630-610 for the Rosenbaum hydria, no. 16, on which the fully developed duck's heads at the side-handles are already present, is right, the rudimental heads on the handles 41-44 should be older. For the time being this cannot be proved.

[129] See P. Cartledge, *Spartan Reflections*, London 2001, 174-175.

[130] Gauer 1991, 257 no. Hy 6 puts it the other way around: 'Am unteren Ende kürbisförmige Zapfen (Cheniskos?), dessen Fortsatz (Schnabel?) unten abgebrochen ist.' This would go against the normal positioning of the (later) ducks' heads.

[131] Not catalogued are two other vertical handles from Olympia, possible forerunners also, without any decoration at all, if, indeed, they are vertical handles, as Gauer 1991, 97, 257 nos. Hy 2 and Hy 3, Pls. 85, 4a-b, presents them. Cf. the plain handles from Timpone della Motta (Sybaris), M.W. Stoop, *BABesch* 55 (1980) 168 nos. 6-6 and 169 no. 8, Figs. 14-15; Rolley 1982, 55, Fig. 166.

[132] Cf. nos. 44 and 50.

[133] This complete set of three handles we owe to the alertness of Brian Shefton, who claims to have noticed the set already many years ago; see Shefton 2000, 19. In the exhibition catalogue *Eroi e Regine. Piceni Popolo d'Europa*, Roma 2001, 344, the presence of more handles of the same type is mentioned, which remain, however, unpublished ('tre altre anse laconiche simili a quelle di cui seguono le schede').

[134] See the description in the catalogue *Eroi e Regine* (previous note), 345.

[135] In the same catalogue (previous notes) they are described as 'schematicamente una protome bovina o di gazzelle'.

[136] Cf. Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos*, 5 with no. 9.

[137] See Stibbe 2000a, 6, n.11.

[138] See Stibbe/Vasic, *Trebenishte*, 98-133 and below no. 47.

[139] See Stibbe 2000a, 9-10.

[140] See Stibbe/Vasic, *Trebenishte*, 91-94, Fig. 52.

[141] The duck's head hydriae (Group 6) appear to have been produced before the introduction of palmettes on bronze vases.

[142] See Stibbe 1997b, 37-38 and passim.

[143] Cf. Stibbe 1992, 6-11, 53 Group B.

[144] See Stibbe 1992, 42-44, 59, Group K. Hydriae decorated with a gorgoneion at the lower attachment of the vertical handle (the gorgoneion being a substitute for the palmette or vice-versa), ibid. 38-42, 58-59, Group I, constitute a similar case and are not considered here.

[145] See above no. 136.

[146] Stibbe 1997a, 48, 53 no. 27. See also no. 32a, Fig. 42-43, dated 585-575.

[147] Stibbe 1997b, 38, 48 no. 1. Gauer 2002, 195 thinks that the lion protomes are close to the masterpiece of a recumbent lion from Olympia in Athens (Bieg 2002, no L7, Fig. 121).

[148] It belongs to Subgroup II D in Stibbe 1997b, 39, 53 no. 19.

[149] Gauer's dating around 550 and attribution to an Argive workshop has been refuted by me earlier (Stibbe 1996b, 362).

[150] Gauer's dating around 550 cannot be accepted for several reasons. One is his erroneous dating of the tripod-fragment from Olympia B6100 (= his no. M 23 on p. 254); he compares rightly the heads of the rampant lions fragment with the lion protomes on no. 53 (see his Pl. 90), but the palmette on the same tripod fragment cannot be dated later than 570; cf. Stibbe 1997, 39, 52 no. 14.

[151] In Stibbe 1997b, 42 no. 47: ca. 570. Rolley 1982, 50, also recognizes the fact that this hydria is a bit older than those from Paestum (his nos. 1-5).

[152] More or less contemporary examples are found with nos. 54, 58, and 61 (see above n. 107).

[153] Compare also the fan-shaped palmette-like ending of the grip between the lions, which recalls the similar ending of no. 50.

[154] The type of the tongues on the foot recalls those on the foot of the lion-hydria from Paestum, here no. 38, fig. 45. Rolley 1982, Fig. 92.

[155] Cf. Stibbe 1992, 16 no. E3. One may speculate about the unique upper decoration, as being the result of a special commission by a local client to a traveling Laconian bronze worker.

[156] Stibbe 1997b, 42, 56 no. 64, Subgroup IV B.

[157] Already Rolley 1982, 25, noted the relationship with Corinthian bronze products. For another mixed Laconian-Corinthian workshop, at Dodona, see Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos*, 159-162.

[158] Stibbe 1997b, 44, 60 no. 73, Fig. 3. For the pointed heart cf. above nos. 18, 19, 20.

[159] Stibbe 1994b, 99.

[160] The criticism of Bieg 2002, 35 no. 177, about the isolation of no. 61, as presented in Stibbe 1992, 8, Fig. 10 (no. B4), has to be rejected: he did notice the similarities, but not the differences of no. 61 (= B4) and Group K (p. 42-44). Nevertheless some doubts remain, just as in the case of another probable Laconian forerunner of a Corinthian series from the second half of the 2nd century: the fragment published in Stibbe 1994b, 99-101, no. 5, Fig. 22. It has a gorgoneion instead of a palmette and is supposed to be the Laconian prototype for the Corinthian series Stibbe 1992, 38-42, 58-59, Group I, nos. I 1 - I 11. Cf. above note 143.

[161] Stibbe 2000b, 79.

[162] A woman's protome from Isthmia (*Isthmia* VI, 1998, Pl. 26, 138) seems to belong to a beaked jug and therefore should be Corinthian. Nevertheless it shows stylistic influence from the Laconian Telestas group, especially in the rendering of the hair above the forehead and the polos, which, however, exceptionally, has an additional wreath of pomegranates.

[163] Cf. also Stibbe 1996, passim, for a more comprehensive study of this period.

[164] Rolley 1982, 34.

[165] Rolley 1982, 33 no. 8 and p. 102.

[166] Rolley 1982, 34; he calls those hydriae 'veritable points de repère'.

[167] Rolley 1982, 57-71.

[168] Stibbe 2000b, passim.

[169] Stibbe 2000a, passim.

[170] Stibbe 1997b, passim.

[171] Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos*, 21-56.

[172] See above subchapter 7 with notes 143 and 160.

[173] See Pelagatti/Stibbe 1999, passim.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

AO = R.M. Dawkins e.a., *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* (*JHS* Suppl. 5), London 1929.

Bieg, G. 2002, *Hochdorf* V. *Der Bronzekessel aus dem späthallstattzeitlichen Fürstengrab von Eberdingen-Hochdorf (Kr. Ludwigsburg). Griechische Stabdreifüsse und Bronzekessel der archaischen Zeit mit figürlichem Schmuck*, Stuttgart.

Bloesch, H.J. 1943, *Antike Kunst in der Schweiz*, Zürich.

Christou, Chr. 1968, *Potnia Theron. Eine Untersuchung über Ursprung, Erscheiningsformen und Wandlungen der Gestalt einer Gottheit*, Thessaloniki.

Diehl, E. 1964, *Die Hydria. Formgeschichte und Verwendung im Kult des Altertums*, Mainz.

Floren J./M. Herfort 1983, Bemerkungen zur lakonischen Plastik, *Boreas* 6, 23-30.

Gauer, W. 1991, *Die Bronzegefässe aus Olympia* I. *Olympische Forschungen* XX, Berlin/New York.

Gauer, W. 2002, Fürstliche Auftraggeber - wandernde Toreuten: Hellas und Pyrene, in Bieg 2002, 187-197, Stuttgart.

Hafner, G. 1957, Die Hydria des Telestas, in *Charites*, *Festschrift für E. Langlotz*, Bonn, 119-126.

Hammond, L. 1995-1996, A Laconian Lady in Missouri, *Muse* 29-30, 51-73.

Herfort-Koch, M. 1986, *Archaische Bronzeplastik Lakoniens*, Münster.

Hoffmann, H. 1964, Two unknown Greek Bronzes of the Archaic Period, *AJA* 68, 185-188.

Hoffmann, H. 1972, *Early Cretan Armorers*, Mainz.

Jeffery, L.H. 1961 (²1990), *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece. Revised Edition with Supplement by A.W. Johnston*, Oxford.

Jenkins, R.J.H. 1936, *Dedalica. A Study of Dorian Art in the Seventh Century B.C.*, Cambridge.

Johannowsky, W. 1980, Bronzi arcaici da Atena Lucana, *PP* 195, 443-461.

Jucker, H. 1972, Altes und Neues zur Grächwiller Hydria, in *Zur Griechischen Kunst. Festschrift H. Bloesch*, (*AntK* 9. Beiheft), Bern, 42-62.

Jucker, H. 1976, Figürlicher Horizontalgriff einer Bronzehydria in Pesaro, *AntK* 19, 88-91.

Kunze, E. 1938, Kleinplastik und Bronzegerät, *Olympia Bericht* II, 121-123.

Marangou, E.-L. 1969, *Lakonische Elfenbein- und Beinschnitzereien*, Tübingen.

Marinatos, N. 2000, *The Goddess and the Warrior*, London.

Neugebauer, K.A. 1923-1924, Reifarchaische Bronzevasen mit Zungenmuster, *RM* 38-39, 341-440.

Neugebauer, K.A. 1925, Archaische Bronzehydrien, *AA*, 177-202.

Neugebauer, K.A. 1938, Die Bronzehydria des Telestas, *JdI* 53, 329-338.

Pelagatti, P./C.M.Stibbe, 1990, *Lakonikà, Ricerche e nuovi materiali di ceramica laconica* (*BdA*, Suppl. No.64), Roma.

Pelagatti, P./C.M. Stibbe 1999, Laconian clay and bronze oinochoae with plastic decorations, *BABesch* 74, 21-48.

Politis, L. 1936, Chalki Ydria ex Eretrias, *AE*, 147-173.

Richter, G.M.A. 1968, *Korai, Archaic Greek Maidens*, London.

Rolley, C. 1982, *Les vases de bronze de l'archaïsme récent en Grande Grèce*, Naples.

Rolley, C., e.a., 1988, *Techniques antiques du bronze*, Centre de recherches sur les techniques gréco-romaines C.N.R.S., no. 12, Université de Bourgogne.

Shefton, B.B. 1979, *Die «rhodischen» Bronzekannen*, Mainz.

Shefton, B.B. 2000, Adriatic Links between Aegean Greece and Iron Age Europe during the Archaic and Early Classical Periods, in *Anemos* 2 (Atti dell'Incontro di Studio *L'Adriatico, I Greci e l'Europa*, Venezia-Adria, 22-23 febbraio 2000), 7-32.

Stibbe, LV = C.M. Stibbe, *Lakonische Vasenmaler des sechsten Jahrhunderts v.Chr*. Amsterdam/London 1972.

Stibbe, LBP 1 = C.M. Stibbe, *Laconian Mixing Bowls. Laconian black-glazed pottery* 1, Amsterdam 1989.

Stibbe, LBP 2 = C.M. Stibbe, *Laconian Drinking Vessels and Other Open Shapes. Laconian black-glazed pottery* 2, Amsterdam 1994.

Stibbe, LBP 3 = C.M. Stibbe, *Laconian Oil Flasks and Other Closed Shapes. Laconian black-glazed pottery* 3, Amsterdam 2000.

Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos* = C.M. Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos, Aspects of the Archaic Greek Bronze Industry*, Rome 2000.

Stibbe/Vasić, *Trebenishte* = C.M. Stibbe/R. Vasić, *Trebenishte. The Fortunes of an Unusual Excavation*, Rome 2003.

Stibbe, C.M. 1992, Archaic Bronze Hydriae, *BABesch* 67, 1-62.

Stibbe, C.M. 1994a, Eine archaische Bronzekanne in Basel, *AntK* 37, 108-120.

Stibbe, C.M. 1994b, Between Babyka and Knakion, *BABesch* 69, 63-102.

Stibbe, C.M. 1995, Lakonische bronzene Hopliten *AntK* 38, 68-79.

Stibbe, C.M. 1996, Frauen und Löwen, *JbRGZM* 43, 355-381.

Stibbe, C.M. 1997a, Lakonische Keramik aus dem Heraion von Samos, *AM* 112, 25-142.

Stibbe, C.M. 1997b, Archaic Greek Bronze Palmettes, *BABesch* 72, 36-64.

Stibbe, C.M. 2000a, Lakonische Bronzegefässe aus Capua, *AntK* 43, 4-15.

Stibbe, C.M. 2000b, Gitiadas und der Krater von Vix, *BABesch* 75, 65-114.

Vafopoulou, C.E. 1991, *Ancient Greek Terracottas*, Oxford.

Vokotopoulou, I. 1995, *Chalkai korinthiourgeis Prochoi*, Athens.

Vokotopoulou, I. 1996, *Führer durch das archäologische Museum Thessaloniki*, Athens.

Vokotopoulou, I. 1997, *Ellenike Techne. Argyra kai Chalkina Erga Technes*, Athens.

Weber, Th. 1983, *Bronzekannen*, Frankfurt a. M.

TONDENSESTRAAT 3
NL-6975 AB TONDEN
cmstibbe@xs4all.nl

BABesch 79 (2004)

Pythagoras' Inheritance at Paestum in South Italy
Number is the Substance of All Things

R. de Zwarte

Abstract

The discovery of Pythagoras' shrine at Paestum in South Italy will enrich our knowledge about geometry done with numbers of various geometrical and arithmetical progressions. The accuracy of the constructions is fabulous. The diagonal of a square with side 309 was found to be rational by measuring. A golden isosceles triangle has been laid off by using the telling numbers 618 and 1000. The Archimedean value for π was already known in the 6th century BC. The Delian problem is older than the time of Plato. The Pythagoreans solved this problem as well as the quadrature of the circle.

INTRODUCTION

In a recent paper on the oldest temple of Hera (*fig. 1*) I stated firmly that the Pythagoreans hardly could have been the architects of this temple as higher mathematics is of no use for an architect in setting out the dimensions of a temple.[1] However, it is now clear that I was wrong as the position of at least three columns - Cn2, Cn6 and Cn7 - in the naos (*fig. 2*) turns out to be chosen primarily for the sake of fixation of (secret?) mathematical wisdom, not on aesthetic or on structural grounds. Therefore we must accept the Pythagorean community as the creator of the temple. I cannot explain what the aim of the fixation was, but it is certain that the results could not be checked afterwards, when the antae and the wall between pronaos and naos had been erected.[2]

The mathematical knowledge embedded in the 'Basilica' at Paestum is astonishing. This temple is generally dated to about 530 BC. Certainly, this is something of a problem as Paestum is not mentioned in the myths and legends dealing with the period 531-500, i.e., the maximum lifetime of Pythagoras in south Italy. To sum up the events: in 531, Pythagoras emigrated from Samos to Kroton, perhaps to escape the tyranny of Polycrates. At Kroton he is said to have founded a philosophic school under the protection of Milo. He married Milo's daughter Theano, an outstanding mathematician, who was much younger than himself. He died at Kroton in 510 or at Metapontion in about 500. We have all heard of his doctrine, that 'Number rules the universe'. Unfortunately, we have no documents of his time setting forth his views explicitly. The list of Pythagorean mathematicians is almost empty for the period 500-450.[3] We have only the name of Hippasos of Metapontion, who allegedly was put to death by drowning because of having divulged secret knowledge on the dodecahedron, a body whose pentagonal surfaces are intimately linked with the golden section.[4] Paestum lies, as the birds fly, about 160 km from Metapontion and about 250 km from Kroton. Clearly, there is something wrong with the tradition or with the date of the 'Basilica'. At this point, it may be useful to remark that what I have said above on Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans rests on myths and legends and on vague sayings by mathematicians or philosophers[5] who lived at least half a century after the time of Pythagoras as well as on explanations and assumptions upon it by a commentator of the 4th century AD and by modern scholarship. However, hypercritical scholars even denied the very existence of Pythagoras.

An interesting question is whether Pythagoras was a deceiver or an honest man. Let me explain this. If the side of a square is 1, then its diagonal is $\sqrt{2}$. In other words, the ratio of the diagonal of a square to its side is irrational as the ratio cannot be expressed as a numerical fraction. However, if one sets out a square with a side of 408 centimetres by using accurate steel measuring-tapes, the diagonal is found to be exactly 577 cm and the ratio 577/408 is rational, which is in contradiction with the theory set out here. But the algebraic calculation results in 576.9991.. cm, a difference of about 1/100th of a millimetre. This difference cannot be detected with geometrical means what makes the geometrical method liable to fraud. Thus, by geometry it is possible to hold a theory - the diagonal of a square is rational - which is incorrect. There exist more pairs of numbers of

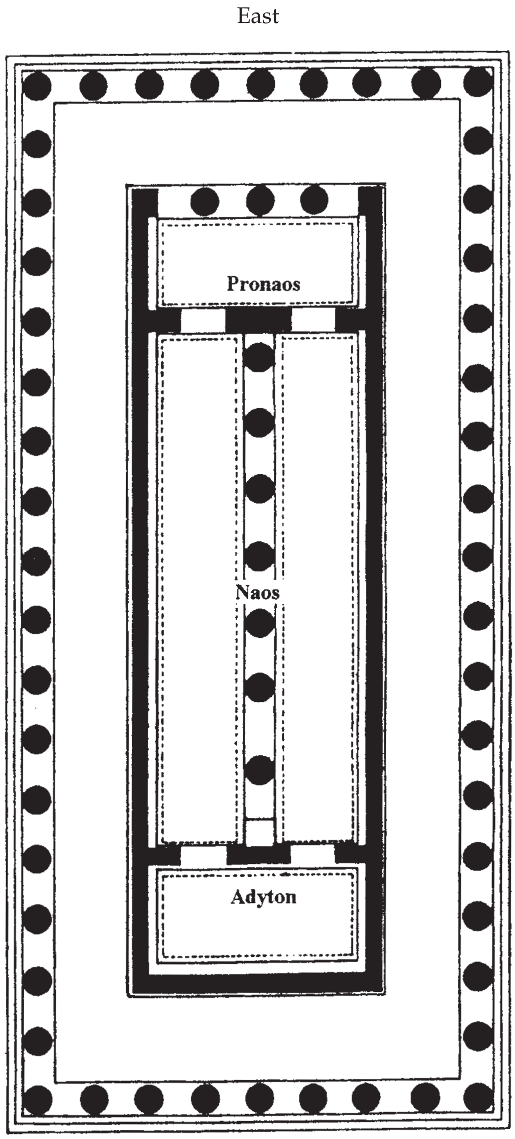


Fig. 1. Hera temple I ('Basilica') at Paestum (after Mertens 1993, fig. 61c).

this kind, which give a rational expression for $\sqrt{2}$.[6] Well then, Pythagoras was a deceiver if, first, he had heard of such pairs during his years of study in Egypt or Babylonia and, second, if he himself could find the length of the diagonal algebraically but ordered his students to find the length by geometry. Here it may be recalled that the Pythagoreans were divided into two groups, the (presumably) older group, the 'akusmatikoi', who flatly accepted what the Master said and a younger group, the 'mathematikoi'. According to Van der Waerden[7] Hippasos was (about 500?) the first mathematician, but Pythagoras' wife Theano does not fit in the story, if we accept this. However,

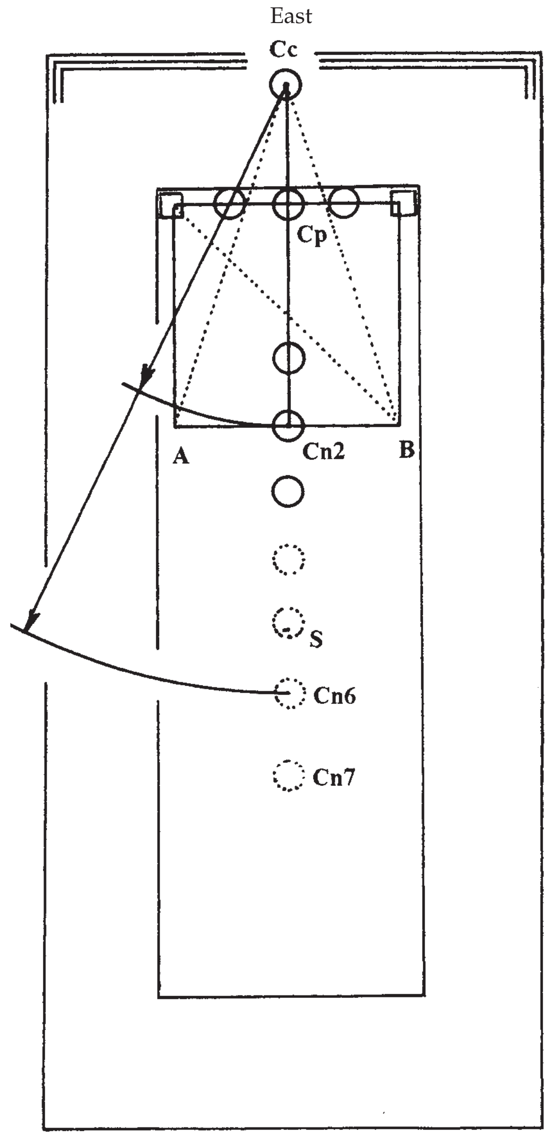


Fig. 2. Hera temple I at Paestum. Cc is the central column of the east colonnade, Cp the central column of the pronaos, Cn columns in the naos and S is a scratch. Columns Cn4-7 have been removed in the Middle Ages, but the centre points of Cn5-7 are known.

Pythagoras' famous theorem on the right-angled triangle (half the square is a special case of this theorem) might have been regarded originally only as a numerical proposition, which is the opinion of Seidenberg.[8] This assumption holds good for right-angled triangles with unequal sides, e.g., the exact triples 3/4/5, 5/12/13, 7/24/25, 8/15/17, 12/35/37 and many others, but never exactly for a/a/b, a right-angled triangle with two equal sides, a fact, says Seidenberg, 'supposedly realized by Pythagoras'. If so, Pythagoras was an honest man who became disappointed when he himself or another member of the community made progress into the study of *algebra*, the computational branch of mathematics, not of geometry, the constructive one. But here I touch a delicate question among historians of mathematics.[9] I leave it to the reader to judge which view of Pythagoras' character might be correct. As we shall see below, Pythagoras used the special number 309 (in double dactyls of his foot standard) as the side of his square. Indeed, geometrically, number rules the rational diagonal of the square.

RECAPITULATION

In my paper on the 'Basilica' of 2002 I have dealt with the progression of Pythagoras. In 1877, this progression was rediscovered by Édouard Lucas. It is a series of integral numbers, each of which is the sum of its two predecessors and any two of which will produce an approximation for the golden section. The same description holds for the well-known progression of Fibonacci. These series run as follows: Pythagoras 1, 3, 4, 7, 11, ..., 521, 843, 1364, etc. and Fibonacci 1, 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, ..., 377, 610, 987, etc.

The ratio of the real golden section[10] is $1/2\sqrt{5} - \frac{1}{2} = 0.61803..$ In practice, successive high numbers of both series can be used for a very accurate construction of the golden section, called the section of mean and extreme ratio by Euclid (c. 300 BC) and the construction of the mean proportional - that is the major part of a line that consists of minor + major - by modern mathematicians. At the 'Basilica', in the middle step of the colonnade, on north side as well as on south side, the Pythagoreans have given a material character to the numbers 521 (minor), 843 (major) and 1364 (minor + major). Minor : major = major : (minor + major) or 0.6180.. : 1 = 1 : 1.6180.. Most handbooks give this information accurate to three decimals, thus 0.618, 1, 1.618. Is it not marvellous that Pythagoras (below) did the same by using the numbers 618 and 1000?

PYTHAGORAS' FOOT STANDARD

The present paper is, in part, an attempt to carry my point of view that the introduction of a new fixed standard is useful if its introduction solves a problem that could not be solved before, but whatever inquiries based on assumed variations of known standards must be abandoned. I do not deny the existence of local foot standards or regional standards, e.g., the Attic foot of 32.66 cm,[11] but I hold that ancient Greek society had a common foot standard, in roughly the same way as we today have a metric system, the Ionic foot of 29.86 cm. At the 'Basilica', this standard is easy to find from the dimensions of the altar: length minus width = 50 feet, or (2100 - 607) divided by 50 = 29.86 cm.[12] Greek foot standards had a *fixed* length. Thus, previous to the full account on Pythagorean mathematics, let me first ride my hobby on fixed standards,[13] as fresh evidence can be presented. As we have seen, there is an abundance of pairs of numbers that represent the ratio of the golden section and the line as the sum of these numbers. Naturally, these numbers are also suitable for the construction of golden triangles, rectangles, etc. Of special interest is the golden isosceles triangle because of its aesthetical appearance and from the mathematical point of view, of its vertical angle of 36° as this angle encloses 1/10th part of all circles having the vertex of the triangle as centre. However, occasionally the numbers of the series of Pythagoras or Fibonacci do not fulfil all our requirements. I may point to the education of the youth in our times and the fixation of knowledge in antiquity. Then the architect or mathematician must resort to telling numbers. Thus, e.g., the modern day architect of a new science museum, working in metres or fractions thereof (*fig. 3a, b*) will inform the visitors by tables of the telling numbers which give the ratio of a full-sized golden isosceles triangle, hoping that they shall never forget its form and its ratio presented in such an imposing way. Pythagoras' reason to do the same (*fig. 3c*) cannot be guessed with certainty, but, in my opinion, the fixation of knowledge is more likely than an enduring lesson in aesthetics. Of course, the metrologist goes into ecstasies because of the combination of modern

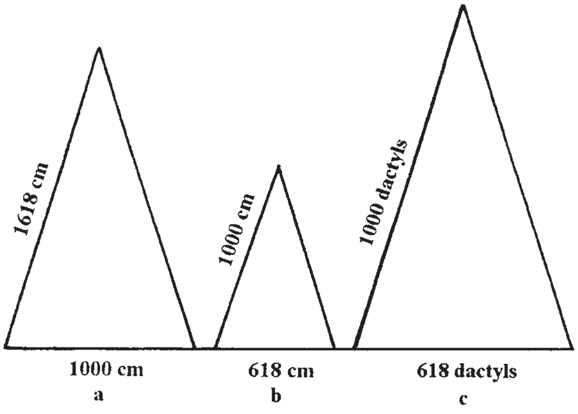


Fig. 3. Telling numbers of golden isosceles triangles: a and b modern (design) and c about 530 BC (executed).

measurement and archaic number that irrefutably guides him to Pythagoras' foot standard that was divided into 16 dactyls.[14] The base of the triangle, which is also one side of the square, measures 1153.5 cm (below) and 1153.3 cm equals 618 dactyls of foot size 29.86 cm. Fortunately, all dimensions, which are relevant to the discussion of Pythagoras' mathematical knowledge, are accurate. With this information in mind, the reader has been prepared to see what Pythagoras already knew a few centuries before Euclid (c. 300 BC) and Archimedes (c. 250 BC) wrote their books.

THE RATIONAL DIAGONAL OF THE SQUARE

The square (*fig. 4*) and the isosceles triangle are situated in a horizontal plane, about two metres above floor level. It is something of a miracle that the information on side AB is still available as this is the inner width of the cella. In the Middle Ages, the walls have been demolished completely to its very foundations and not a single stone block is still *in situ*, but the antae are still there and the imprints of the former stone blocks are well visible. Mertens measured 1149.0 cm between the orthostates - that is the bottom course of the walls - and 1153.5 cm between the upper courses, the wall proper.[15] It is the latter width that is of importance as the other side of the square, represented here by the distance between the columns Cp and Cn2, measures 1153.6 cm between the centres.[16] In Ionic feet, 38 5/8' = 1153.3 cm, in number (double dactyls) 309. The diagonal $\sqrt{309^2+309^2}$ = 436.991... (= 1631.07.. cm) and number 437 is 1631.10.. cm, a difference of about 3/10th of a millimetre. As Pythagoras constructed the square, the diagonal was found to be rational by measuring of the distance between two opposite points. I conclude that Seidenberg[17] indeed was right in saying that Pythagoras held a numerical proposition on the square: the diagonal of a square with side 309 is 437. As the difference from reality is very slight, the approximation to $\sqrt{2}$ (1.414213..) is good, 437/309 = 1.414239... There are better approximations (side of the square number 408 and the ratio 577/408 = 1.414215..) but the side AB of the square is also the base of the isosceles triangle and number 309 can also be combined with a proposition on the rectangle, which we find later in Euclid. The leading thread running through it, is the golden section.

THE PROBLEM OF SQUARING THE RECTANGLE AND A NEW PROGRESSION

In Euclid, Book II of *The Elements*, Proposition 14 is on the conversion of a rectangle into a square, or what is equivalent, as Smeur[18] says, the construction of the mean proportional between two given line segments. As the mean proportional is involved, I gave it a trial looking forward to more precise information on what the mathematician must know if he wishes to turn a rectangle into a square by using this method. The result was: the long side of the rectangle can be chosen at will, then this side must be divided into minor and major (the mean proportional) and only minor can be taken as the short side of the rectangle. Or, the other way around, minor - the short side - can be chosen freely, major has to be calculated (minor x 1.618) and minor + major becomes the long side of the rectangle. Fig. 5 gives the rectangle and its conversion into Pythagoras' floating square. Talking about minor and major, I introduced

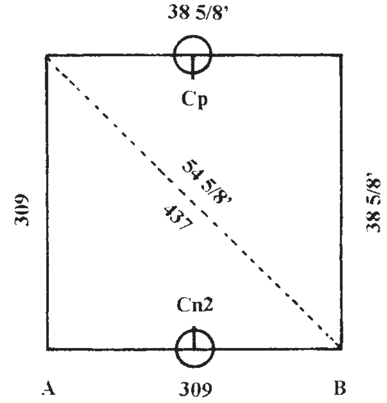


Fig. 4. Hera temple I at Paestum: a square selected by the Pythagoreans on account of its (practically) rational diagonal.

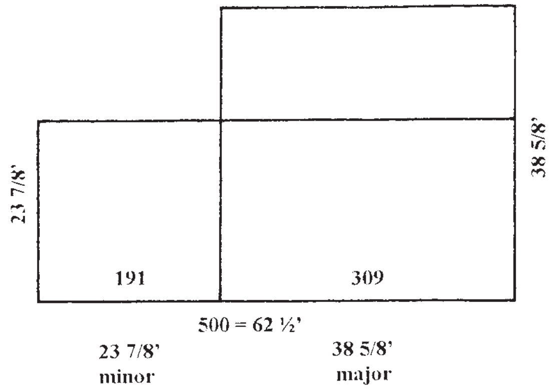


Fig. 5. The problem of squaring the rectangle (Euclid, Elements, *II, Proposition 14).*

again the golden section, but the numbers 191, 309 and 500 are not among the numbers of the series of Pythagoras or Fibonacci. Thus, we have found another progression of integral numbers, which runs as follows: 1, 5, 6, 11, 17, 28, 45, 73, 118, 191, 309, 500, 809, etc. We shall meet number 809 again, which almost certainly means that Pythagoras was familiar with this progression. This assumption is corroborated by the fact that Pythagoras uses some doubles, 618 and 1000 (below).

At this place an aside to modern architecture recommends itself. Since 1950, the famous architect Le Corbusier[19] has designed buildings on basis of the golden section by using his own progression 5, 11, 16, 27, 43, 70, 113, 183, ... as, at the time, the height of an average European man was 183 cm. I have no exact figures to hand, but take it for certain that the average height of European mankind has gone up sharply in the second half of the past century, so the new progression, which includes the number 191, is a worthy successor of the obsolete series of Le Corbusier. If the trend carries on, the first series of Pythagoras can be considered for its number 199.

THE GOLDEN ISOSCELES TRIANGLE

If the base is 618 (*fig. 6*), the leg of a golden triangle has to be 1000. There is little further I can say about the triangle, but it may be useful to emphasize the degree of accuracy we find in the execution. We already know the base AB (measured 1153.5 cm), so half the base is 576.75 cm; if perfect 576.65 cm = 19 5/16 Ionic feet = number 309 (dactyls). The leg is unknown, but the height of the golden triangle is represented by the distance between the centres of the colonnade column Cc and the naos column Cn2:[20] 1774.9 cm; if perfect 1774.8 cm = 59 7/16 feet = number 951 (dactyls). The leg = $\sqrt{309^2+951^2}$ = 999.94.. (= 1866.13 cm); number 1000 = 1866.25 cm, a difference of 1.2 mm. By coincidence the slightly longer factual dimensions of half the base and the height just compensate for the difference: $\sqrt{576.75^2+1774.9^2}$ = 1866.25.. cm. By using modern equipment, Mertens has measured what Pythagoras has laid out with astonishing accuracy. Obviously, there was also no shortage of accurate measuring instruments in the archaic period. Unfortunately, nothing is known in detail about the measuring instruments used by the Greeks, for none have survived. In centimetres, the ratio of base to side is 1153.5/1866.25 = 0.6180... Clearly, we even do not need to know what foot was used to prove that mathematicians have worked in the 'Basilica'. For inquiries into fixed mathematical ratios or constants, e.g. π, supposed to have been known in archaic and classical south Italy, the cradle of the Pythagorean community, only two conditions have to be fulfilled. One is that a requisite length has been set out accurately by the ancient mathematicians, the other that the length has been measured accurately by the investigator in our times. In fact, an inquiry into mathematical knowledge is easier than an inquiry into the design of a temple, which certainly cannot be illuminated if we do not know what foot we are dealing with.

THE GREAT PYRAMID AT GIZEH AND THE GOLDEN RIGHT-ANGLED TRIANGLE

It becomes expedient to make an excursion to Egypt with Gizeh as the destination. By tradition, the Greeks believed that they had acquired their interest in geometry from the Egyptians. As Pythagoras should have studied mathematics in Egypt for more than twenty years, it may be useful to see what he could have learned there. Indeed, there are indications that the Egyptians attached importance to the ratio of the golden section. According to Wells[21] a 'holy ratio' is mentioned in the Rhind mathematical papyrus (c. 1800 BC). Wells also says that the ratio at the Great Pyramid of Cheops at Gizeh, between the

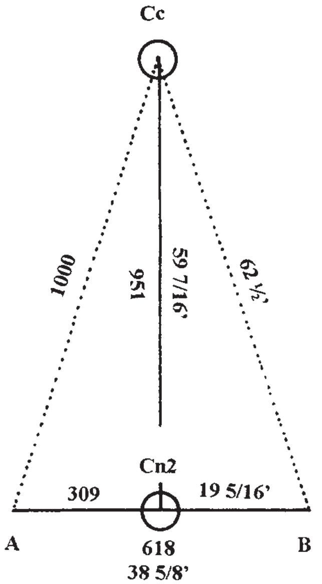


Fig. 6. Hera temple I at Paestum: the golden isosceles triangle constructed by the Pythagoreans using telling numbers for the sides.

height of a lateral face and half the base side, is almost exactly 1.618. Unfortunately, he gives no references. Berriman[22] gives useful information as to the base side of the pyramid: the measurement by Petrie in 1882 gave a length of 9068.8 English inches (= 23034.8 cm = 440.82 royal Egyptian cubits)[23] and the measurement by Cole in 1925 resulted in 9069.4 English inches (= 23036.3 cm = 440.84 cubits). Concerning the height no information is given. All the pyramids have been despoiled of their casing stones that gave them smooth exteriors. Berriman[24] tells us that Vyse, when excavating at the base of the pyramid in 1837, uncovered some casing stones, but he gives no dimensions of these stones. I must resort to a plausible approach as the evidence is incomplete and make an allowance for the missing casing stones. Surprisingly, a reasonable proposal can be made (*fig. 7*) as 360 divided by 222½ gives 1.61797.. or almost exactly 1.618. Of course, this is not a final proof, but the height of 360 cubits is interesting as in a problem in the Rhind mathematical papyrus the given base side of a pyramid is 360 cubits.[25]

Let us return to Paestum to check upon the possibility that the Pythagoreans could construct a golden right-angled triangle by using numbers already known to us in a different position. In the present case this is easily done: the height of the Pythagorean golden isosceles triangle (*fig. 6*) becomes the hypotenuse of the golden right-angled triangle and half the leg of that triangle the short side (*fig. 8*). Using the theorem of Pythagoras we find the long side as 808.950.. or we can calculate the long side starting from the figures of the pyramid, thus 1000/445 x 360 = 808.988.. ≈ 809. As wanted, the ratio 809/500 = 1.618. For practical purposes the Egyptians used the cubit and Pythagoras the foot, but number is the basis both in Egypt and south Italy.

THE PYTHAGOREAN VALUE OF π

The area of a circle is πR^2. Consequently, the areas of two circles are to each other as the squares on their radii: $(R_2/R_1)^2$. It follows that the ratio can be adjusted for a special case, that is the fixation of knowledge on the value of π: $\frac{\text{area}_2}{\text{area}_1} = (\frac{R_2}{R_1})^2 = (\sqrt{\pi})^2$. The circumference of a circle can be expressed as $2\pi R$. So the circumferences of two circles are in the ratio R_2/R_1. If the area increases π times, the circumference increases $\sqrt{\pi}$ times, a fact that might throw some light on modern misinterpretations of the value of π in interpreting ancient problems.[26]

Now let us see how Pythagoras has fixed the value of π. R_1 is the distance Cc-Cn2, i.e., the height of the golden isosceles triangle, already discussed above: number 951 (measured 1774.9 cm). R_2 (*fig. 9*) is the distance between the centres of the colonnade column Cc and the naos column Cn6:[27] 3147.5 cm; if perfect 3146.5 cm = 105 3/8 Ionic feet, in number 1686 (dactyls). So $\pi = (\frac{R_2}{R_1})^2 = (\frac{1686}{951})^2 = 3.143070.. = 22.001../7 \approx 22/7$. Calculating with the dimensions as measured, we find 22.01../7, that is close enough to the mark to accept the result even without the support of the calculation in numbers. It is clear that Pythagoras already knew the upper limit of the Archimedean value for π. Archimedes (c. 250 BC) proved in his book *Measurement of a circle* that π is greater than 3 10/71 and less than 3 1/7.[28] In practice, the value 22/7 was used by Archimedes himself and by later ancient and medieval mathematicians.[29]

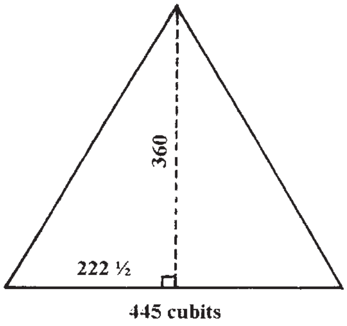


Fig. 7. The Great Pyramid at Gizeh: lateral face.

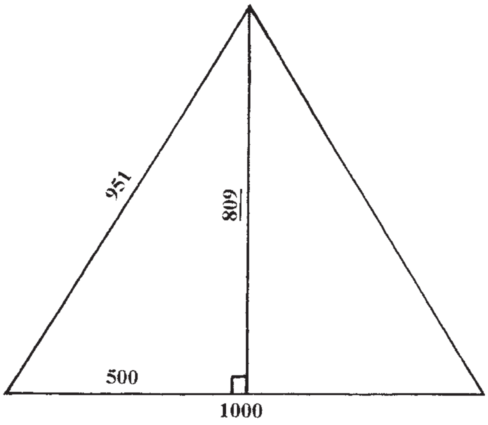


Fig. 8. The golden right-angled triangle constructed by using numbers already known in a different position.

Number 951 is related to the telling numbers 618 and 1000 of the golden isosceles triangle (*fig. 6*). As we have seen, these telling numbers are doubles of a progression that starts 1, 5, 6, etc. but 1686, or rather its half 843, is a number of the first progression of Pythagoras starting 1, 3, 4, etc. Pythagoras, who had clearly expert knowledge of the properties of progressions, certainly knew that such numbers were connected with the problem of squaring the circle. In the present case the area of the circle with radius 951 (*fig. 9*) is (almost) equal to a square with side 1686 as 1686^2 divided by $22/7 \times 951^2 = 1.00006...$

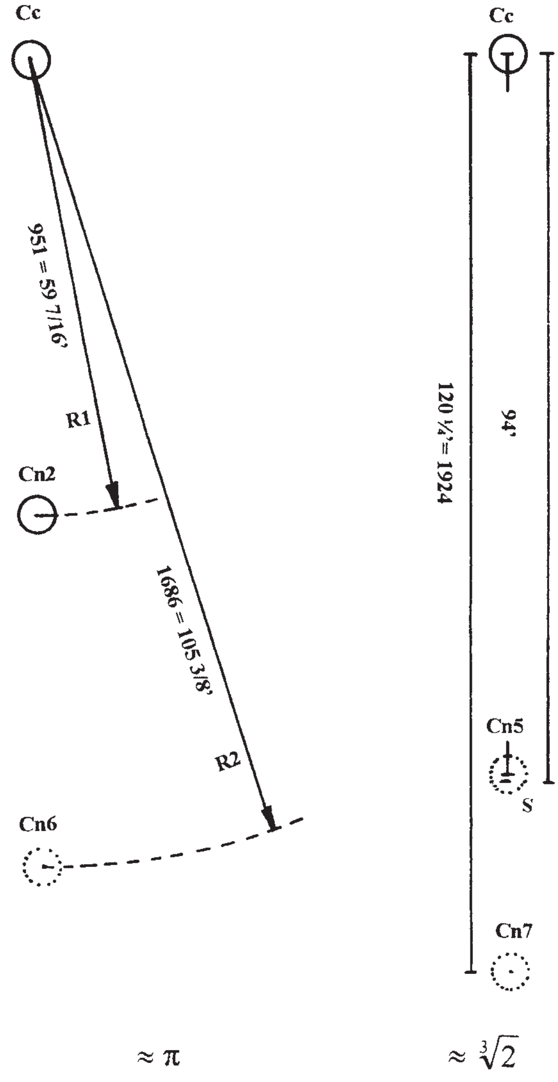


Fig. 9. Hera temple I at Paestum: fixation of knowledge concerning π and $\sqrt[3]{2}$.

DOUBLING THE CUBE

One of the famous construction problems of antiquity is the duplication of the cube, the Delian problem, so called because the oracle at Delos is said to have given the doubling of Apollo's cubical altar as a means of ending a plague. In the legend, the temple architects are confronted with a geometrical problem. Here they needed a rational expression for $\sqrt[3]{2}$.It is further reported that the Delians sent emissaries to the geometers of Plato's academy to ask them for a solution. But the problem seems to be older than the time of Plato (c. 380 BC). If the edge of Apollo's cubical altar was a, the edge of the new altar had to be a $\sqrt[3]{2}$. The value $\sqrt[3]{2}$ is represented in the 'Basilica' by the ratio of the distances (*fig. 9*) Cc-Cn7 and Cc-s, a scratch under column Cn5, now missing. Cc-Cn7 = 3591.5 cm; if perfect 3590.7 cm = 120 ¼ Ionic feet, in number 1924 (dactyls) and Cc-s = 2851.4 cm; if perfect 2849.8 cm = 95 7/16 Ionic feet, in number 1527 (dactyls).[30] $\sqrt[3]{2} = \frac{1924}{1527} = 1.25998..$ and my calculator informs me that the real value of $\sqrt[3]{2} = 1.25992...$ In my opinion, Pythagoras was not a man to take things easy. So I wondered what happened with the man who put the scratch to demonstrate a better approximation to $\sqrt[3]{2}$ than Pythagoras' own elegant solution which can be found in fig. 6, that is $\frac{951+309}{1000} = \frac{1260}{1000} = 1.26$ exactly. However, having discovered this, I realized that an alternative explanation suggests itself about the first evaluation. That evaluation does not necessarily need to mean an improvement of Pythagoras' one but simply a confirmation of it by a pupil by using another pair of whole numbers. If so, 1924 was given and the place of the scratch calculated, $1924 \times 1000/1260 = 1526.98.. \approx 1527$ and next set out from the same point as number 1924, the centre of the eastern colonnade column Cc.

PYTHAGORAS' METHOD OF FINDING THE SQUARE ROOT OF 2 AS A RATIONAL EXPRESSION

At first sight, Pythagoras' procedure of finding $\sqrt[3]{2}$ (*fig. 6*) seems odd. However, in fact the method is in line with a similar procedure for finding an approximation to $\sqrt{2}$ in whole numbers. This will be immediately clear when I present the hypotenuse of half the golden isosceles triangle as the diameter of a circle (*fig. 10*). The side of the added isosceles right-angled triangle is the square root of $1000^2/2 = 707.10.. \approx 707$, which makes Pythagoras' value of $\sqrt{2}$ equal to $\frac{707+707}{1000} = \frac{1414}{1000} = 1.414$. This method, which seems to be obsolete nowadays, is in no way inferior to the approximative method current among modern number specialists (1000/707 = 1.4144..). The arithmetic mean of these two is 1.41421357.., which is correct to seven places. Try it for yourself using the figures of Pythagoras' floating square (above). Fig. 10 gives a clear picture of geometry done with numbers, together with the associated algebra.[31] Thus, returning to the Delian problem: the cubic root of 1000^3 x 2 = 1259.92.. ≈ 1260 = 951 + 309. Perhaps, Pythagoras has made progress in this field of mathematics during a stay - of course, it is a myth - with Thales of Milete (c. 624-543). The theorem of Thales says that an angle inscribed in a semi-circle is right.

Up till about 1930 the generally held view on the origin of mathematics was that it all started in Greece with Thales at about 600 BC. The theorem of Pythagoras was considered to be 'of Pythagoras'. However, the deciphering of cuneiform texts from 1928 onwards showed that the Old-Babylonians of 1800-1600 BC knew the theorem of Pythagoras. The view that it was the Old-Babylonian mathematics that stood at the beginning became dominant. But Seidenberg[32] pointed to a difficulty: 'the only trouble with it is that many of the common elements of Greek and Indian mathematics and especially the geometrical constructions at issue, are not found in Old-Babylonia'.

THE CONFIGURATION OF THE COLONNADE: NUMBER MYSTICISM OR PYTHAGORAS' THEOREM?

Any student of Greek architecture would say that the oldest temple of Hera at Paestum is a building of 9 x 18 columns, which means that the colonnade has 9 columns on the fronts and 18 columns on the flanks, the corner columns *double counted*. Let me toy with these numbers:

$$\begin{array}{rcll} 9^3 + 18^3 & = & 81^2 & \\ 9^3 & = & 729; & 7+2+9 = 18 \\ 18^3 & = & 5832; & 5+8+3+2 = 18 \\ 81^2 & = & 6561; & 6+5+6+1 = 18 \end{array}$$

According to Wells[33] this property of number 81 is unique. Modern specialists in numbers do it, but the problem is that I cannot prove that Pythagoras did it and, of course, if he did it, what did it mean to him?

An alternative explanation came to my mind as we don't know at all whether double counting of corner columns was also the Greek way of looking at a temple. Perhaps, Pythagoras planned two times 5^2 columns, that is, on the fronts 3^2 columns (corner columns included) and on the flanks 4^2 columns (corner columns *excluded*). In this way he visualized his theorem on the right-angled triangle covertly, certainly clear to the members of his brotherhood, but inconspicuous to outsiders. The 'Basilica' at Paestum seems to be unique. I know no other building of 50 columns in this configuration.

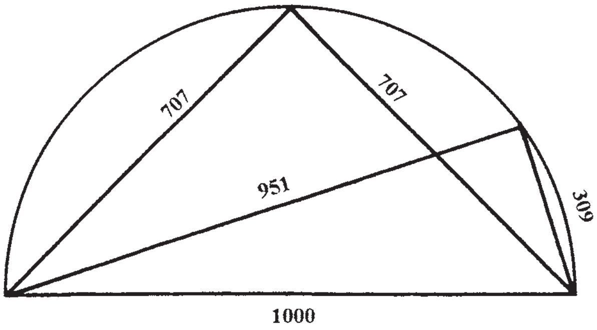


Fig. 10. An obsolete method of finding a rational expression for √2.

CONCLUSION

The history of mathematics has to be rewritten. According to Freudenthal[34] fractions were taboo in highbrow mathematics, because philosophy forbade the division of the unit. However, the work of Pythagoras does not seem to be based on just integers, but mainly on numbers of progressions. Pythagoras used at least three geometrical progressions, in which the terms increase or decrease by equal ratios, namely 1, 3, 4, .., *521*, *843*, *1364*, etc. and 1, 5, 6, .., *191*, *309*, *500*, *809*, etc. (both already discussed above), but the quadrature of the circle also requires such a progression, which must be used together with the double of the first progression to match (between brackets): 15, 36, 51, .., 588 (2x 521), *951* (2x *843*), 1539 (2x 1364), etc. The (almost) rational diagonal of the square rests on arithmetical progressions, in which the terms increase or decrease by equal difference. For the side 12, 111, 210, *309*, 408, etc. (difference 99) and for the diagonal 17, 157, 297, *437*, 577, etc. (difference 140).

Almost certainly more mathematical wisdom is contained in the dimensions of the 'Basilica'. Furthermore, some observations lack a satisfying explanation, but cannot be explained away as mere coincidence. Let me give one example to illustrate this. The axial distance on the flanks of the colonnade, 17 x 10 3/8' = 176 3/8 feet, seems quite normal. However, suspicion arises after the fixation in number, 1411 double dactyls, as 1411 can be explained in many ways in terms of the progression 1, 3, 4, ., e.g., 47+1364 or 521+123+ 123+123+521, but Pythagoras was concerned to show that ...? I shall end with the conclusion that the Pythagorean community was so anxious for secrecy of their knowledge that even the myths never hint at the place of their shrine, the oldest temple of Hera at Paestum.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In memory of the late (1988) Abraham Seidenberg (formerly Department of Mathematics, University of California) who made the history of mathematics comprehensible and fascinating for the outsider.

NOTES

[1] De Zwarte 2002.

[2] Antae: the almost square corner posts in line with the columns Cp of the pronaos. In the Middle Ages, about 90% of the building within the colonnade, including the wall between pronaos and naos, was demolished to its very foundations. Fortunately, the careful measurement of small traces by Mertens (1993) saved Pythagoras' inheritance.

[3] Van der Waerden 1978, 355.

[4] Van der Schoot 1999, 406 (after Iamblichos of Chalkis - a philosopher who struck noisily against Christianity by using Pythagorean notions as arguments - flourishing about 330 AD).

[5] To find a philosopher or even a poet (Aristophanes, *The Birds*) dealing with mathematics is not unusual.

[6] Wells 1986, s.n. 1,414.

[7] Van der Waerden 1978, 355.

[8] Seidenberg 1962, 499.

[9] Freudenthal 1977.

[10] Naredi-Rainer 1982, 185.

[11] The Attic foot is 1 ½ *Ionic* dactyls longer than the Ionic foot, what almost certainly means that the Attic foot is a derivative of the Ionic foot and, consequently, of later date. The Attic foot already existed at the time of Solon (De Zwarte 1998-1999, 25-27). See De Zwarte 1996 on the Hephaisteion for the Attic foot as building measure.

[12] Mertens 1993, 3, fig. 2; de Zwarte 2002, 16 for the origins of this standard; in my paper of 1994, 115, I explain why this standard foot has not been discovered by earlier metrologists.

[13] Every bit of evidence is of importance as the majority of investigators of Greek temples still maintain that there were two basic standards in architectural use - long 29.4 and 32.7 cm - with a maximum variation of 1 mm. In my opinion, Greek foot units had a fixed length. The Ionic foot of 29.86 cm and the Attic foot of 32.66 cm were certainly used. The origin of the Roman foot of 29.393 cm is still unknown. Most probably, this foot was derived of the Ionic foot, i.e., the Roman foot is the Ionic foot reduced by a quarter of a *Ionic* dactyl, thus 63/64 of the Ionic foot. It is striking that Wesenberg (1983, 158-164) makes Vitruvian temple design comprehensible by introducing a module of 63/64 foot.

[14] De Zwarte 2002, note 7.

[15] Mertens 1993, 87 and annex-drawing 8d.

[16] Mertens 1993, annex-drawing 2 (ground-plan): Distance Cp-Cn1 812.5 cm and Cn1-Cn2 341.1 cm, in total 1153.6 cm.

[17] Seidenberg 1962, 499.

[18] Smeur 1970, 257. I disagree as it is just an elegant method for special rectangles, not for all rectangles. General procedure (Seidenberg 1975, 292): let a and b be the sides of a rectangle, then $\sqrt{ab}$ is the side of the square of equal area. General rule for the conversion of special rectangles into squares by using integral numbers: let a, b and a + b be successive high numbers of a geometrical progression, then a and a + b are the sides of the rectangle and b the side of the square of (practically) equal area, e.g., 89, 144 and 233 in the Fibonacci series.

[19] Naredi-Rainer 1982, 103 (note 122), 187.

[20] Mertens 1993, annex-drawing 2, from east: 621.3 + 812.5 + 341.1 = 1774.9 cm.

[21] Wells 1986, s.n. 1,618.

[22] Berriman 1953, 72.

[23] De Zwarte 2002, 16: the royal Egyptian cubit = 28/16 Ionic foot = 52.255 cm.

[24] Berriman 1953, 77.

[25] Berriman 1953, 81. As an aside it seems useful to enter more extensively into the geometry of the Great Pyramid as I venture to differ from previous investigators. Let us connect the midpoint of the base side to the centre of the *square* base and drop a perpendicular from the top of the pyramid. In this right-angled triangle the vertical height of the pyramid is $\sqrt{360^2 - 222.5^2} = 283.008.. \approx$ 283 cubits. The angle of slope is cosine 222.5/360 = 0.6180.. (the golden ratio), that is, omitting seconds, an angle of 51° 50′. Vyse gave 51° 51′ and Petrie 51° 52′ (Berriman 1953, 77). Curiously, nobody observed that the golden ratio was involved. Instead of this, Berriman (following Taylor 1859 and Petrie 1883) thought that π underlay the design of the pyramid. According to these investigators π was equal to four times cotangent angle of slope, that is 4 x 222.5/283 = 3.1448.., but the Rhind mathematical papyrus informs us that the Egyptian value of π is $(16/9)^2$ = 3.160... But it is noteworthy that cotangent and sine of 51° 50′ are almost equal. It follows that 222.5 x 360 (conceived as the area of a rectangle) ≈ 283^2 (area of a square), but I do not recognize any significance for this fact in the design of the pyramid.

[26] Smeur 1970, 252 (considering Cantor 1875).

[27] Mertens 1993, annex-drawing 2. Cc-Cn6 from east: 621.3 + 812.5 + 341.1 + 345.9 + 687.7 + 339 = 3147.5 cm.

[28] Smeur 1970, 253-254; Seidenberg 1988, 115-116.

[29] Smeur 1970, 254, note 18: Archimedes' proposition 2 'the area of a circle is to the square on its diameter as 11 to 14', is exact for the value 3 1/7.

[30] Mertens 1993, annex-drawing 2. Distance Cc-Cn7 = Cc-Cn6 (see note 27) + Cn6-Cn7 = 3147.5 + 444.0 = 3591.5 cm. Distance Cc-scratch s = Cc-Cn6 - Cn6-Cn5 + Cn5-s = 3147.5 - 339 + 42.9 = 2851.4 cm. The distance Cn5-s has been calculated by myself from a drawing 1:50 (Mertens 1993, 73, fig. 58).

[31] Seidenberg 1962, 500.

[32] Seidenberg 1988, 102.

[33] Wells 1986, s.n. 81.

[34] Freudenthal 1977, 191.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Berriman, A.E. 1953, *Historical Metrology*, London/New York.

Freudenthal, H. 1977, What is Algebra and What has it been in History?, *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* 16, 189-200.

Gruben, G. 1976, *Die Tempel der Griechen*, München.

Mertens, D. 1993, *Der alte Heratempel in Paestum und die archaische Baukunst in Unteritalien*, Mainz.

Naredi-Rainer, P. von 1982, *Architektur und Harmonie*, Köln.

Schoot, A. van der 1999, *De ontstelling van Pythagoras* (with English summary), Baarn.

Seidenberg, A. 1962, The Ritual Origin of Geometry, *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* 1, 488-527.

Seidenberg, A. 1975, Did Euclid's Elements, Book I, Develop Geometry Axiomatically?, *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* 14, 263-295.

Seidenberg, A.1988, On the Volume of a Sphere, *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* 39, 97-119.

Smeur, A.J.E.M. 1970, On the Value Equivalent to π in Ancient Mathematical Texts. A New Interpretation, *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* 6, 249-270.

Waerden, B.L van der 1978, Die Postulate und Konstruktionen in der frühgriechischen Geometrie, *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* 18, 343-357.

Wells, D. 1986, *The Penguin dictionary of curious and interesting numbers*, Harmondsworth.

Wesenberg, B. 1983, *Beiträge zur Rekonstruktion griechischer Architektur nach literarischen Quellen* (AM 9th suppl.), Berlin.

Zwarte, R. de 1994, Der ionische Fuss und das Verhältnis der römischen, ionischen und attischen Fussmasse zueinander, *BABesch* 69, 115-143.

Zwarte, R. de 1996, Der ursprüngliche Entwurf für das Hephaisteion in Athen - Eine modulare architektonische Komposition des 5. Jhs. v. Chr., *BABesch* 71, 95-102.

Zwarte, R. de 1998-99, Mass Metrological Arguments for Differential Weighing in the Eastern Mediterranean Bronze Age: Akrotiri on Thera, Ugarit, Tarsos, Katsambas on Crete and Athens - with a digression on Aristotle's Ath. Pol. 10, *Talanta* 30-31, 7-29.

Zwarte, R. de 2002, Evidence of the so-called Golden Section in Archaic South Italy: the Hera Temple I ('Basilica') at Paestum. With an addendum on the Parthenon at Athens, *BABesch* 77, 9-18.

BULKSTRAAT 8
NL-4196 AW TRICHT

BABesch 79 (2004)

Etruscan origins
Language and archaeology

L.B. van der Meer

Abstract

The recently regenerated, vexed question of Etruscan origins should be related to the fact that the Etruscan, Raetic and Lemnian languages have strong resemblances. According to M. Pallottino the languages originally belonged to a Mediterranean, non-Indo-European language dating back to the time of the Eneolithic Rinaldone-culture, which is partially of East-European origin. 'Orientalists' suppose that Tyrsenians (Etruscans) emigrated from (North) Western Asia Minor, or the North Aegean area, to Italy around the turn of the 12th century BC. C. de Simone (1996) reasons that Etruscans from southern Etruria settled on Lemnos before or around 700 BC. However, the differences between Etruscan, Raetic and Lemnian show that these languages evolved during some time on their own spot. The question is: did they have a common ancestor, and if so, where and when? What are the implications for the question of the origins? Can archaeologists solve the problem? Which sources are most reliable: linguistic, archaeological or philological-historical evidence? The linguistic evidence is strongly in favour of the orientalist theory.

The question of Etruscan origins is extremely difficult because there is no linguistic evidence earlier than from around 700 BC. Etruscan inscriptions in Etruria date after 700 BC, in the Raetic area around 500 BC (written in the oldest Venetic alphabet), and on Lemnos to the second half of the 6th century BC. The question of Etruscan origins originated already in antiquity. Herodotus (1.94) tells that Tyrsenians came from Lydia to the country of the Umbrians (after the Fall of Troy, c. 1200 BC). In the same book (1.57) he situates Tyrsenians in northern Greece to the south of the Pelasgans of the Hellespont area. In a long discourse Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.26.29-30) refutes the old opinions that the Etruscans were Tyrsenians or Pelasgans or Lydians. His conclusion can be summarised in that the Etruscans were autochthonous. However, literary sources are not completely reliable because they are not contemporaneous and they may be biased.[1] We know for example that the origin of the Romans from Troy as described in literary sources from the 5th century BC onwards, is a myth.

Let us first cast an eye on the question of the relationship between Etruscan and Raetic.

ETUSCAN AND RAETIC

It is now generally accepted that the Villanovans were proto-Etruscans and spoke Etruscan, for an Etruscan inscription with local names occurs on a Villanova amphoriskos at Bologna dating from around 600 BC.[2] As a result the Etruscan language may, in principle, have been spoken in Etruria and the Po valley at least from the beginning of the Villanova-period (Iron Age) from around 900 BC onward. Since there is no cultural break between Protovillanova culture (PVN = Final Bronze Age, c. 1100-900 BC),[3] and the Villanova culture, the language may have been spoken already from 1100 BC onward.

As there was only a tiny Protovillanovan presence near Frattesina but a large Villanova culture in the Po-area near Bologna, it can be assumed that the Raetic language has developed from Etruscan between c. 900 and c. 600 BC or maybe even earlier. Livy writes that the Raeti were of Etruscan origin, that they had preserved the *sonum linguae, nec eum incorruptum* ('the sound of the language but not incorrupted').[4] The Raeti were isolated from the Etruscan area since around 600 BC, probably by the invading Celts. Later on, around 500 BC, they used the old-fashioned Venetic alphabet.[5] Since there already is a difference between active past tense ending on -ce/-ke and a passive on -χe in 7th century BC Etruscan inscriptions and not in Raetic where both forms are active, the splitting of the languages must be dated before 700 BC. The same holds true for male Raetic gentilicia ending on -nu, and female ones ending on -na, while in Etruria the male endings are on -na(s), and the female on -nai. Consequently, somewhere between 900 and 700 BC Etruscan and Raetic must have split, maintaining however many structural resemblances. Most probably Raetic has to be considered as having originated and split from Etruscan in northern Italy in the prehistoric phase. I do not agree with H. Rix and M. Pallottino that Etruscan, Raetic and Lemnian all belong to a Proto-Tyrsenian, pre-non-Indoeuropean language.

Next the relationship between Etruscan and Lemnian should be considered.

THE WEST-EAST MIGRATION (DE SIMONE'S THEORY)

Since 1996 De Simone has repeatedly put forward the theory that Etruscans from Southern Etruria (Caere region) have occupied Lemnos from around 700 BC or maybe even earlier. The Lemnian language is evident by inscriptions on the famous Stele of Kaminia and some graffiti from Hephaistia and Chloe, all dating from the second half of the 6th century BC, before Athens conquered the island around 500 BC. De Simone's arguments are based upon the structural resemblances between both languages. The onomastic formula *Aker Tavarsio Vanalasial* (name, patronymicum [gentilicium?] and matronymicum) and the formula indicating the period of a magistrate in the pertinentive case, as visible in the words *Holaiesi Φokiasiale seronaiθ* ('during the time that Holaie the Phokaian was magistrate' or 'during the magistrature of Holaie the Phokaian'), would only be explainable from the Etruscan-Italic perspective.[6] Both formulas could not have been used on Lemnos without influence of the onomastic system and the pertinentive formula in Etruscan.

However, both suppositions are wrong.

a) In the Etruscan of the 7th and 6th centuries BC the ending -iu of a patronymicum (comparable with Lemnian Tavars-io) does not occur, whereas it occurs only much later. In archaic Etruscan the name would have been Tavarsie-s (cf. Lemnian Holaie-s).

b) There is no proof whatsoever that serona (seronai would be a supposed locative) is a substantive and serona-i-θ a double locative. Seronai is more likely to be a verb in the past tense like sivai, arai and aomai. The comparison with the Etruscan formula zilci : vel[u]si : hulχniesi (4th century BC) is not convincing because it does not explain the the ending -θ in Lemnian serona-i-θ.

Moreover, De Simone does not pay attention to the differences between Lemnian and Etruscan, e.g., the gen. -il in morina-il.

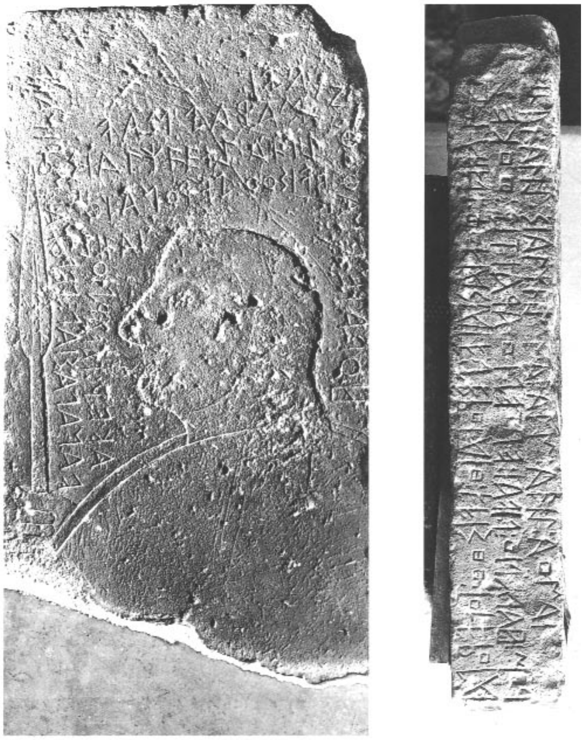
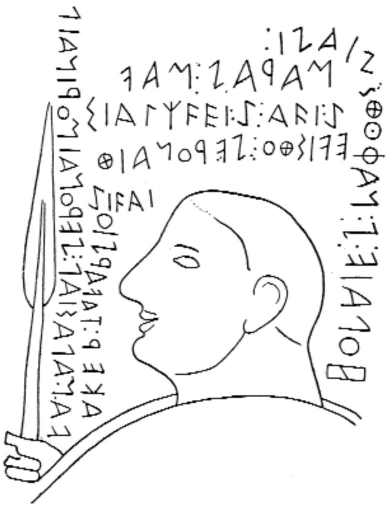


Fig. 1. Stele of Lemnos. Athens, National Museum.



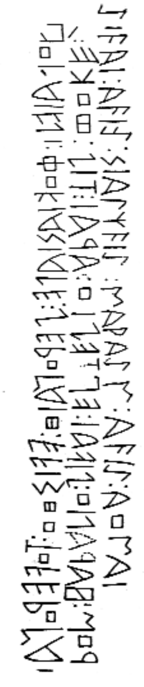


Fig. 2. Stele of Lemnos, inscription and transcription.

A

1 holaie⁝s ⁝ naφoθσ̣ siasi :
2 maras ⁝ mav
3 σialχvei:s ⁝ avi:s
4 eviσθo ⁝ seronaiθ
5 sivai
6 aker : tavarsio
7 vanalaσial ⁝ seronai ⁝ morinail

B

1 holaiesi ⁝ φokiasiale : seronaiθ : eviσθo ⁝ toverona[i?
2 ?]rom : haralio : sivai : eptesio : arai : tis : φoke :
3 sivai : avis : sialχvis : marasm : avis : aomai :

On top of that even more objections to De Simone's theory can be made. If the Etruscans would have occupied Lemnos around 700 BC, the Lemnian language would have shown the past tense endings on -ce or -ke, which is not the case: it has -ai. In 7th century BC Etruscan inscriptions the -ce/-ke ending is abundantly present; there are only two or three possible verb endings on -ai, which can be dated between c. 650 and 600 BC.[7] Moreover, Lemnian would have shown the female genitive on -as (cf. 7th century BC Etruscan Velelias, genitive of Velelia) instead of -al (Vanalasial), and the patronymicum tavarsie-s (cf. Holaie-s) instead of tavarsio (Etruscan patronymica or gentilicia on -iu are late). The encliticum -m occurs in Etruscan later than in Lemnian. It may be of Lydian origin. Moreover, the enclitica -c and -a may be of Anatolian origin too.[8] Lemnian has avi:s and avis (probably genitive: 'of the year') while Etruscan has avil (nominative) and avils (genitive). This difference can be explained when these forms originate from a common proto-language, which had the root av(i)-. In Etruscan avil probably originated like words as vacil, acil from the roots vac- and ac-. With respect to numerals on -alχv- (sialχve(i)s: of sixty (sa = six)) I agree with Rix that the difference between Lemnian sialχveis or sialχvis and Etruscan sealχls is due to a late development of double genitive (-ls) in Etruscan itself. This is obvious because in late North Etruscan occurs still the genitive cealχu-s. The Lemnian form is more old-fashioned than Etruscan and therefore more akin to the Proto-Tyrsenian language.

With respect to the origin of the Lemnian alphabet, interpunction, and boustrophedon writing, which are the arguments of De Simone for a South Etruscan origin, they have been rejected by M. Malzahn (1999). The Etruscan alphabet is derived from the Cumaean/Pithecusan alphabet which is of Euboic origin. However, the Lemnian alphabet directly derives from the Euboic one.

De Simone states that Etruscans arrived on Lemnos around 700 BC because Homer does not mention Pelasgans on the island; he never mentions Tyrsenians at all. He does mention Sinties, a barbarous people from Thrace (which are called in far later sources Pelasgans). However, this arrival of the Tyrsenians or Pelasgans may have already been in the 8th century BC, if Homer lived in the 9th century BC, as C.J. Ruijgh proposes. They would have been groups of pirates who made the Aegean sea unsafe. The earliest documents for Etruscan piracy, however, date from the second half of the 6th century BC.[9] The 8th Homeric Hymn on Dionysos, dealing with Tyrsenian pirates, unfortunately, cannot be dated. It may date from the Hellenistic period. M. Gras suggests that the presence of Villanova-material in continental Greece (e.g. helmets in Olympia) in the 8th century BC may show the presence of Etruscan pirates in the Aegean area but it is unlikely that pirates dedicated precious objects to Greek gods. Moreover, there are no traces of VN- or Etruscan artefacts on Lemnos. Italian fibulae (not VN-fibulae) of the 8th century BC on Lemnos may have arrived there by commercial traffic. The material culture of Lemnos does not show any trace of VN- or Etruscan culture. Gras states: 'aucun tesson retrouvé dans l'île n'est étrusque'; possible similarities between VN-materal and material on Lemnos are vague.[10] Nevertheless Gras does not exclude the arrival of Etruscan pirates on Lemnos: 'ces pirates dont parle Strabo 6.2.2 d'après Ephore, qui fréquentent le Détroit de Messina au milieu du VIIIe siècle et gênent l'installation des Grecs en Sicile sont, pour ainsi dire, les mêmes qui vont jusqu'à Athènes et Lemnos.'[11]

L. Beschi states that the Tyrsenian culture on Lemnos is homogeneous from around 800 BC until around 500 BC.[12] This would fit perfectly with the date of Homer's life in the 9th century BC as suggested by Ruijgh.[13] Beschi supposes that the Tyrsenians migrated from the North Aegean area or North West Anatolia (the Cyzicus area) to Lemnos, because many elements like the Thracian Bendis cult in the Tyrsenian culture point into that direction.

THE EAST-WEST MIGRATION (THE THEORY OF THE ORIENTALISTS)

If the Etruscans came from the North Aegean region, it would explain why Lemnian has the archaic past tense ending on -ai as past tense instead of -ce/ke in 7th century BC Etruscan (see above; it is absent in Raetic!). It would explain the presence of the encliticum -m which also occurs in Lydian. If mav in Lemnian is a numeral, it can be compared to Etruscan muv-alχ- (fify) and maχ (five). The root would have been mav, like in Lemnian, and therefore presenting a more archaic form than in Etruscan.[14] Further Etruscan words similar to non-Indo-European substrate words in Greek and to words in Anatolian languages[15] point to a common ancestor in the Aegean/Anatolian area, cf. huθ (Etruscan: four; Hyttenia is a placename in Attica which means in Greek Tetrapolis = Four City), kanna, purθ, turan, puia (cf. Greek opuioo, with loss of initial o-!)). According to Steinbauer words like spanti in Etruscan (comparable to Hittite ispantuzzi (in both cases a vase-name)) must have been introduced before 700 BC, because ispantuzzi lost its initial -i, like the Etruscan word puia (wife) lost the initial -o in comparison with the prehellenic verb opuioo ('I marry').[16] If the formula *maras aomai* has the same meaning as Etruscan *maru amce* (*<*amake*), it shows that the name of an Etruscan magistrate/priest occurs earlier on Lemnos than in Etruria. The Etruscan word purθ (magistrate), which looks like the prehellenic substrate root pryt-, points in the same direction.

The question when groups of persons speaking the Tyrsenian language can have arrived in Italy from the Aegean area, is one that now needs to be answered.

DEVELOPMENTS IN PREHISTORIC ITALY

The Etruscan language existed in Italy before the introduction of the alphabet around 700 BC. It is now generally accepted that the Villanovans were Etruscans, because on a VN-amphoriskos from Bologna, mentioned above, occurs an Etruscan inscription.[17] This may imply that Etruscan was spoken in Italy from around 900 BC onwards, and possibly even already from around 1100 BC.

Etruscan shows the past tense through endings on -ce/-ke, which only occurs in Etruscan and Raetic but not in Lemnian. This verb ending -ce/-ke must already have existed in the prehistoric Villanova period. It is not influenced by the Greek perfectum form -ke. The development of the Etruscan genitive sealχls (cf. Lemnian sialχveis) is late and local. The combination of Etruscan formulae *svalce avil* and *lupuce avils* show that avis (genitive) in Lemnian may have originated from av(i)-. There are no traces of Anatolian or Aegean artefacts in the PVN and VN cultures, but as said there are Anatolian words in Etruscan which must date from the prehistoric period.

The question is when Tyrsenians from the North Aegean area have migrated to Etruria. As said, Herodotus situates the migration of Lydians (Tyrsenoi) after the Fall of Troy (around 1200 BC). In the same period Mycenaean palaces and Ugarith were destroyed and the Sea Peoples, amongst which the Trsh (Tyrsenoi?), attacked the Nile delta between approximately 1230 and 1170 BC.

The next question is whether there were new developments or breaks in the material culture of Etruria around or after 1200 BC. H. Hencken (1968) has put forward the theory that the Tyrsenoi, which he identifies as the Sea People Trsh coming from the Balkan area, moved to the Aegean area, attacked Egypt and finally arrived in the country of the Umbrians. Hencken observes that the biconical urns, which are characteristic of the PVN culture, were used before approximately 1200 BC in the Banat-Oltenia area, which lies in the border area between Yugoslavia, Hungary and Romania. The Sea Peoples had boats with a bird's head at either end such as visible in the Medinet Habu reliefs. This motif occurs earlier in the Balkan area and Central Europe, and after around 1100 BC on PVN artefacts.

Hencken's theory is not completely convincing because it cannot be proven that the Trsh are identical with the Tyrsenoi. It is not known which vocals have to be inserted between the consonants.

Italian archaeologists like Pallottino stressed that the transition from the Recent Bronze Age culture to the Final Bronze Age/PVN-culture around 1100 BC was no break, since the material culture originated from the Bronze Age Apennine culture. However, there was a break.[18] There are some new phenomena, which may prove this break: a) the transition of inhumation to cremation, b) the use of biconical urns and other artefacts, which did not occur in the Recent Bronze Age Apennine culture,[19] c) on some places there was a concentration of settlements and population (a kind of synoikismos or proto-urban development).

Thanks to a recent study of G. Bartoloni (1991) most conspicuous is the proto-urban concentration in the neighbourhood of Populonia. The small coast settlements of the Recent Bronze Age period (13th and 12th century BC) were abandoned. Around 1100 BC the population concentrated in a PVN proto-urban settlement, which continued in the VN- and historical periods.

It is well known that after around 900 BC Populonia had furnaces for the melting of iron that was imported in raw form from Elba. However, Elba was already attractive around 1100 BC. It was not only a natural resource for copper but also for alanite. According to Mycenaean linear B tablets from Pylos the Mycenaeans traded in alum (Mycenaean: turupteria) which must have been expensive.[20] It is logical to suppose that groups of immigrants, probably Tyrsenians, were attracted by the mineral resources of Elba and those of the hinterland of Populonia.[21] This immigration may have led to the *synoikismos* mentioned above.

A proto-urban development can also be observed at Sorgente della Nova, to the east of Vulci in the Viterbo area.[22] This is a PVN settlement on a high, well defensible plateau of approximately 15 ha. In comparison with the other PVN settlements of approximately 5 ha it is rather large. Similar large centres came gradually into existence in Tarquinia and San Giovenale. The Allumiere region near Tarquinia, which had many minerals at surface level, cinnabar, iron sulfids, pyrite, limonite, hematite, silver containing galenite, allanite, copper holding metals, shows a dense pattern of settlements (at regular distances with sufficient room for hunting and with enough water), much denser than in the Recent Bronze Age period.[23] The villages show traces of collective activities like the defensive terrace wall in L'Elceto. In Monte Rovello in the Allumiere region a Mycenaean IIIC:2 sherd, datable between approximately 1125 and 1100 BC was found, which clearly indicates direct or indirect contacts with the Aegean area.[24] The traders were probably interested in local minerals like alum. Mycenaean (IIIB and IIIC) sherds from the same period have been found also in Luni sul Mignone and San Giovenale. They can be dated between about 1400 and 1000 BC. An interesting phenomenon is the so-called thesaurization as is atttested by the four bronze hoards in the Allumiere area. O. Toti (1987) supposes that the nucleus of newcomers were itinerant miners/workers in bronze. The presence of amber artefacts makes clear that also traders from the north were attracted by the Allumiere resources. Artefacts of glass paste, which were probably imported from Frattesina di Fratte Polesina in the Po valley, point also to trade contacts with Northern Italy. The PVN culture had a preserving and distributive character. It was also present near Frattesina in the Po valley and near Fermo in Picenum along the Adriatic coast. Hencken (1968) has already proposed that there might have been two waves of immigrants around 1100 BC; Tyrsenians arriving in Etruria and Pelasgans arriving via the Adriatic coasts as is suggested by literary sources. Whether they came directly over land from the Balkan or via Egypt cannot be established. Hencken prefers the second option, since there were also PVN cultures at Lipari, Milazzo and Tarent which might indicate that the immigrants came over sea. It would have been easy for the immigrants to enter Italy since the indigenous population was not aggressive judged from the absence of weapons in their tombs.

A second wave of immigrants may have arrived around 900 BC because at that time there was a spectacular demographic proto-urban concentration of population in Vulci, Tarquinia, Cerveteri and Veii which became real Etruscan cities in the 7th century BC. The many small PVN settlements in Southern Etruria were abandoned. Usually this movement and concentration are explained by the growing richness thanks to the exploitation of iron mines by aristocratic *gentes*. The demographic explosion may be due to individuals and groups coming from the Aegean area which had experience with the winning of iron. The exploitation of iron mines at Elba, near Vulci and in the Allumiere area was fully in existence before c. 750 BC because iron slacks from Elba has been found in an aristocratic tomb in the Greek colony Pithecusae, which was founded around 750 BC. The theory of W. Harris that the proto-urban concentrations were a collective response to the Greek colonisation in Italy around 750 BC must be rejected since the process of proto-urbanization took place much earlier, around 900 BC.[25] The theory that newcomers, influential craftsmen, came from the east around 900 BC, was already put forward by D.H. Trump.[26] This group of Tyrsenian/Pelasgic immigrants arrived approximately hundred years earlier in Etruria than another group arrived at Lemnos. The original homeland of both groups may have been North West Anatolia, because according to Herodotus Pelasgans lived at Plakiè en Skylakè near Kyzikos. If they have come from there, the presence of Anatolian words in Etruscan can be explained.

There seem to have been at least two waves of immigrants (Tyrsenians/Pelasgans) in Etruria, one around 1100 BC who probably settled first at Populonia, and one around 900 BC. However, this flow may have been continuous. The newcomers mixed peacefully with the autochthonous Subapennine, Indo-European population. The Tyrsenian language (Etruscan) replaced the Umbrian language. Herodotus states that the Umbrians lived in Etruria before the arrival of Tyrsenians. This model explains why some toponyms in Etruria have the non-Etruscan root ombr- and ambr- and why words of Italic origin (e.g. *θahvna* (cf. Latin *dap-* (cup)) are present in the earliest, 7th century BC inscriptions.

The possibility, as suggested by Hencken, that still around 700 BC new groups immigrants from Lydia entered Etruria may not be ruled out. This because of the new phenomenon of the *tumuli*, which first were built in the coast area and later in the hinterland. They have their counterparts in Lydia, although their interior graves differ completely. In the historical period all new cultural phenomena spread from the coast to the hinterland. This wave of innovations may also have occurred in the prehistoric period.

The suggestion of Pallottino and recently of Briquel that Etruscan and Lemnian belonged to a Mediterranean, non-Indo-European language spoken in a very large area before approximately

2000 BC, before the arrival of Indo-Europeans in Italy and Greece, must be rejected.[27] If both languages would have been isolated at that date, they would have had less in common in view of the time gap of approximately 1500 years and the great distance between Etruria and Lemnos. Moreover, Briquel's conclusion that the different theories on ethnic formation each contain a part of the truth is a compromise proposal, which solves nothing.[28]

Archaeologists have not been able to solve the question of Etruscan origins so far. However, the linguistic evidence is strongly in favour of the orientalist theory.[29] Therefore, Herodotus' story may have a kernel of truth.

NOTES

[1] Briquel 1984; 1991; 1993; 2000.

[2] Colonna 1981; Pallottino 1985, 57.

[3] Bartoloni 1989, 59-83. See N. Negroni Catacchio, in Harari/Pearce (eds.) 2000, 241-8.

[4] Livy 5.33.5-11.

[5] Rix 1998.

[6] De Simone 2000. I skip De Simone's misreading of the graffito *latita* on a loom weight from a sanctuary in Chloe (on Lemnos) and his wrong analysis and interpretation of Beschi's correct reading *atitas*.

[7] Rix 1991, Cr 0.4; AT 0.1.

[8] Steinbauer 1999a.

[9] Cristofani 1983.

[10] Gras 1985, 615.

[11] Gras 1985, 700.

[12] Beschi 1996; 1998.

[13] Ruijgh 1996.

[14] Steinbauer 1999a, 203.

[15] In Hittite, Lydian, and Luwian (see Beekes 1993 and 1998; Steinbauer 1999a).

[16] Steinbauer 1999a, 366-389.

[17] Pallottino 1985, 57.

[18] Cf. Briquel 2000, 46.

[19] Schumacher 1966; Hencken 1968.

[20] Toti 1987, 44; Carratelli, *PP* 82 (1962) 5-14.

[21] Cf. Bartoloni 1989, 82-83.

[22] Negroni Catacchio 1985.

[23] Toti 1987, 21.

[24] Toti 1987.

[25] Harris 1989.

[26] Trump 1966, 178.

[27] Pallottino 1989; Briquel 2000, 47.

[28] Briquel 2000, 48.

[29] The problem can be compared to the question of the Celts in Ireland. Perhaps there was a migration; however, archaeology cannot prove it (Barry Raftery, *Pagan Celtic Ireland*, London 1994, 224-228).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aigner Foresti, L. 1974, *Tesi, ipotesi e considerazioni sull'origine degli Etruschi*, Graz.

ASCIE 1989, *Atti del Secondo Congresso Internazionale Etrusco*. Firenze 1985. I-III.

Bartoloni, G. 1989, *La cultura villanoviana. All'inizio della storia etrusca*, Roma.

Bartoloni, G. 1991, Populonium Etruscorum, *AC* 43, 1-37.

Beekes, R.S.P. 1993, The Position of Etruscan, in *Indogermanica et Italica. Festschrift für H. Rix zum 65. Geburtstag*, Innsbruck, 46-60.

Beekes, R.S.P. 2001, Review of De Simone 1996, *Mnemosyne* 54, 359-364.

Beekes, R.S.P. 2002, The prehistory of the Lydians, the origin of the Etruscans, Troy and Aeneas, *Biblioteca Orientalis* 59, cc. 205-242, 441-442.

Beekes, R.S.P. 2003, *The Origins of the Etruscans* (KNAW, Mededelingen van de Afdeling Letterkunde, N.R., 66, 1), Amsterdam.

Beschi, L. 1998, I Tirreni di Lemno alla luce dei recenti dati di scavo, in *Magna Graecia, Etruschi, Fenici* (Atti del Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia. Taranto 1993), Taranto, 23-56.

Beschi, L. 1996, ATITAS, *PP* 51, 132-136.

Beschi, L. 1998, Arte e cultura di Lemno arcaica, *PP* 53, 48-76.

Beschi, L. 1992-1993, Nuove iscrizioni da Efestia, *ASAtene* 70-71, 259-274.

Biancofiore, F./O. Toti 1973, *Monte Rovello. Testimonianze dei Micenei nel Lazio*, Roma.

Bietti Sestieri, A.M. 1985, Produzione e scambio nell'Italia protostorico, in *L'Etruria mineraria*, 223-264.

Blench, R./M. Spriggs 1997, *Archaeology and Language* I. *Theoretical and methodological orientations*, London/New York.

Briquel, D. 1984, *Les Pélasges en Italie*, Rome.

Briquel, D. 1991, *L'origine lydienne des Étrusques. Histoire de la doctrine dans l'antiquité*. Rome.

Briquel, D. 1993, *Les Tyrrhènes. Peuple des tours. Denys d'Halicarnasse et l'autochtonie des Étrusques*, Rome.

Briquel, D. 2000, Le origini degli Etruschi: una questione dibattuta fin dall'antichità, in M. Torelli (ed.), *Gli Etruschi* (exp. cat. Venezia), Milano, 43-51.

Camporeale, G. (ed.) 1985, *L'Etruria mineraria*, Milano.

Colonna, G. 1981, L'anforetta con iscrizione etrusca da Bologna, *StEtr* 49, 67-93.

Cristofani, M. 1983, *Gli Etruschi del Mare*, Milano.

Della Seta, A. 1937, Arte tirrenica di Lemno, *Ephem*, 629-664.

Della Seta, A. 1937, Iscrizioni tirreniche di Lemno, in *Scritti in onore di B. Nogara*, Roma, 119-146.

De Simone, C. 1970, I morfemi etruschi -ce (-ke) e -χe, *StEtr* 38, 115-139.

De Simone, C. 1994, I Tirreni a Lemnos: l'alfabeto, *StEtr* 60, 145-162.

De Simone, C. 1996, *I Tirreni a Lemnos. Evidenza linguistica e tradizioni storiche*, Firenze.

De Simone, C. 1997, I Tirreni a Lemnos. Paralipomeni metodologici, nonché teorici, *Ostraka* 6, 35-50.

De Simone, C. 1998, Etrusco e "Tirreno" di Lemnos: "Urverwantschaft"?, *RivFil* 126, 392-411.

De Simone, C. 2000, I Tirreni di Lemnos, in M. Torelli (ed.), *Gli Etruschi* (exp. cat. Venezia), Milano, 501-505.

De Simone, C. 2001, L'iscrizione della stele del guerriero di Kaminia (Lemnos). Revisione epigrafica e tipologia dell'oggetto, *SMEA* 43, 39-65.

Di Gennaro, F. 1971-1994, Protovillanoviano, *EAA Sec. Suppl*. IV, 488-496.

Facchetti, M. 2002, *Appunti di morfologia etrusca. Con un'appendice sulla questione delle affinità genetiche dell'etrusco* (Biblioteca dell' «Archivum Romanicum». S. II, 54), Firenze.

Gras, M. 1985, *Trafics tyrrhéniens archaïques* (BEFAR 258), Roma.
Harari, M./M. Pearce (eds.) 2000, *Il Protovillanoviano al di qua e al di là dell'Appennino* (Atti della giornata di studio. Pavia, Collegio Ghislieri 17 giugno 1996; Biblioteca di Athenaeum 38), Como.
Harris, W. 1985 (1989), Invisible Cities: The Beginnings of Etruscan Urbanisation, in *ASCIE* I, 375-392.
Guidi, A. 1985 (1989), Alcune osservazioni sull'origine della città etrusche, in *ASCIE* I, 285-292.
Hencken, H. 1968, *Tarquinia and Etruscan Origins*, London.
Heurgon, J. 1985 (1989), A propos de l'inscription de Lemnos, in *ASCIE* I, 93-102.
Ientile, M.G. 1983, *La pirateria tirrenica. Momenti e fortuna*, Roma.
Incontri di studi in memoria di Massimo Pallottino, Pisa/Roma 1999.
L'Etrusco arcaico (Atti del Colloquio, Firenze 1974), Firenze 1976.
L'Etruria mineraria (Atti XII Conv. St. Etr. e It.), Firenze 1985.
Malzahn, M. 1999, Das lemnische Alphabet: eine eigenständige Entwicklung, *StEtr* 63, 259-279.
Mallory, J.P. 1989, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans. Language, Archaeology and Myth*, London.
Messineo, G. 1997, Gli scavi di Efestia a Lemno. Tradizione nella civiltà tirrenica, *StudMic* 39, 241-252.
Mustili, D. 1932-3, La necropoli tirrenica di Efestia, *ASAtene* 15-16, 1-278.
Negroni Catacchio, N. 1995, *Sorgenti della Nova. L'abitato del Bronzo Finale*, Firenze.
Negroni Catacchio, N. 1985 (1989), L'abitato del bronzo finale di Sorgenti della Nova (VT): possibilità di confronti con i modelli abitativi dei centri villanoviani, in *ASCIE* I, 271-283.
Oestenberg, C.E. 1967, *Luni sul Mignone e problemi della preistoria d'Italia*, Lund.
Pacciarelli, M. 1996, Nota sulla cronologia assoluta della prima età in Italia, *Ocnus* 4, 185-9.
Pacciarelli, M. 2000, *Dal villaggio alla città. La svolta protourbana del 1000 a.C. nell'Italia tirrenica*, Firenze.
Pallottino, M. 1985 (1989), Prospettive attuali del problema delle origini etrusche, in *ASCIE* I, 55-62.
Renfrew, C. 1987, *Archaeology and Language. The Puzzle of Indo-European Origins*, London.
Rix, H. 1985, Das Schrift und die Sprache, in M. Cristofani (ed.), *Die Etrusker*, Stuttgart/Zürich, 210-238.
Rix, H. 1991, *Etruskische texte. Editio minor*, I-II, Tübingen.
Rix, H. 1998, *Rätisch und Etruskisch*, Innsbruck.
Rix, H., Etruskisch: *Der Zugang zu einer unzugänglichen Sprache*, Sb. Heidelberg, in press.
Ruijgh, C.J. 1998, *Waar en wanneer Homerus leefde*. Amsterdam 1996 (also in *Lampas* 31 (1998) 3-21).
Schumacher, E. 1967, *Die Protovillanova-Fundgruppe. Eine Untersuchung zur frühen Eisenzeit Italiens*, Bonn.
Steinbauer, D. 1999a, *Neues Handbuch des Etruskischen*, St. Katharinen.
Steinbauer, D. 1999b, Review of De Simone 1996, *Kratylos* 44, 201-203.
Toti, O. et alii 1987, *La "Civiltà Protovillanoviana" dei Monti della Tolfa. Società ed economia tra XI e IX secolo a. C.*, Roma.
Troja. Traum und Wirklichkeit (Ausstellungskatalog), Stuttgart 2001.
Trump, D.H. 1966, *Central and Southern Italy*, London.
Van der Meer, L.B. 1992, The Stele of Lemnos and Etruscan Origins, *OudhMeded* 72, 61-71 (with a bibliography on the Lemnos Stele).

FACULTY OF ARCHAEOLOGY
LEIDEN UNIVERSITY
POSTBUS 9515
NL 2300 RA LEIDEN
l.b.van.der.meer@arch.leidenuniv.nl

BABesch 79 (2004)

The development of 'vernice nera'-pottery in the Marches

A preliminary analysis of the finds from the Potenza Valley Survey

Julie Van Kerckhove

Abstract

This article attempts to illustrate the chronological development of 'vernice nera'-pottery in the Marches (East-Central-Italy), based on published contexts and the material of the Potenza Valley Survey. The 'vernice nera'-pottery sheds light on the Romanization of the area as it documents the first Roman occupation of the territory and the subsequent phases of influence. All components that contributed to the pottery-facies of the Romanized* ager Gallicus et Picenus *will be treated. Particular aspects of the 'vernice nera'-pottery will be emphasized, such as the evolution of local productions and imports. The phenomenon of regional resemblances, which hinders an understanding of origin, chronology and distribution, will be stressed. In addressing these issues, the article constructs a preliminary framework for the commercial relationship between the Marches and its neighbouring regions.*

TERMINOLOGY

The term 'vernice nera'-pottery (indicating productions with a black gloss from the 4th until the 1st century BC) is preferable to the formerly used term 'Campanian Ware', which referred to *Campania*, the location that N. Lamboglia - one of the first researchers - believed was the area of production. However, later research pointed out that although this ware had been mainly produced in *Latium*, *Etruria* and *Campania*, it was also produced elsewhere in Italy and even beyond its borders.[1] In his 'Classificazione preliminare', Lamboglia was the first to classify these ceramics.[2] In his work he distinguishes three classes of 'vernice nera'-pottery: Campana A (with a gloss of a very high quality and a red clay), Campana B (with a dull gloss and a pale clay) and Campana C (with a black-olive gloss and a grey clay).[3]

Further research of these ceramics however, demonstrated the existence of many more classes of 'vernice nera'-pottery. Many local and regional classes have been recognized since, as this article intends to set out for the Marches.[4]

J.-P. Morel retains Lamboglia's classes Campana A, B and C in his new, open typology.[5] He considers the classes A (produced in *Neapolis*/Naples-*Pithecusae*/Ischia), B (very likely Etruscan production) and C (produced in the regions of *Syracusae*/Syracuse) to be the only ones with a 'universal' distribution.[6] Morel's open typology uses the shape of a vessel as the starting point to determine - when possible - production centres, date and distribution area.[7] Each shape is given a number preceded by the letter F. The typology of Morel will be used in this article.

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE INVESTIGATION[8]

The rather late start of the investigation of 'vernice nera'-pottery in general was strikingly emphasized in 1980 by Morel: 'malgré l'ampleur de cette production, ou à cause d'elle, la campanienne n'est étudiée véritablement que depuis quelques années: un quart de siècle au maximum. Sa connaissance ne dépasse donc guère le stade où était parvenue celle des vases grecs quand on les appelait "vases étrusques" et qu'on les considérait comme tels.'[9] Interest in these ceramics began late especially in the Marches.

Here, L. Mercando was one of the first researchers to examine 'vernice nera'-pottery. In 1974, she published on 'vernice nera'-pottery - among other materials - from the necropolis of *Potentia*, a *colonia* founded in 184 BC on the mouth of the river Potenza.[10] As a result of recent excavations in the ancient city of *Potentia*, a new publication on the *colonia* appeared. Contributing to the publication, N. Frapiccini integrated the 'vernice nera'-pottery from the necropolis and a bowl and *pyxis* from the temple-complex in the catalogue.[11] The pottery from the city is now being studied for a forthcoming publication.

Very recent publications, by Frapiccini, take into account the 'vernice nera'-pottery from respectively Pievebovigliana-San Savino (in the upper-valley of the river Chienti) and Cingoli-Pian della Pieve (in the mid-valley between the rivers Potenza and Musone).[12] A precise chronology is absent in both cases as the pottery was found on the surface of the fields.

The publication of the workshop of Jesi (*Aesis*) is a significant breakthrough in the research on 'vernice nera'-pottery.[13] Containing over 3000 pieces - found in stratificated or closed contexts - this extraordinary context can be considered the most important publication with respect to the Marches. Relatively extensive and reliable contributions on 'vernice nera'-pottery can be found in the excavation-publications of *Ancona* and *Suasa*.[14]

Other publications are pending. As a follow-up to her thesis on the 'vernice nera'-pottery of the temple-complex and *cryptoporticus* of Urbisaglia (*Urbs Salvia*), Carla Di Cintio is now preparing the publication of her work. She will also deal with these ceramics in a forthcoming study on the excavation of the harbour near the 'Lungomare Vanvitelli' in *Ancona*.[15]

While the Museum of Camerino offers a catalogue addressing 'vernice nera'-pottery,[16] the University of Camerino is presently working on an improved catalogue.

Stricto sensu, the *colonia Ariminum* (Rimini) (founded in 268 BC) doesn't belong to the territory of the Marches: it is situated just north of it. In Roman times, however, this centre was part of the above mentioned *ager Gallicus* and cannot be excluded from the study of the 'vernice nera'-pottery of the Marches. Both the local ceramics of the workshop and the imported wares have often been the subject of investigation.[17]

As the research of 'vernice nera'-pottery in the Marches is still in its initial stage, one has to keep in mind that the given overview is limited to available information.

THE POTENZA VALLEY SURVEY

In 2000 the University of Ghent started the project *'The Potenza Valley Survey. From Acculturation to Social Complexity in Antiquity: A Regional Geo-Archaeological and Historical Approach'*. This project concentrates on three micro-regions or sample zones. The first zone (Castelraimondo-Camerino-Pioraco) is situated in the upper valley of the river Potenza; the second zone (Treia-Pollenza) in the mid valley; the third zone (*Potentia*) in the lower valley of the river Potenza (*fig. 2*).

As a contribution to this survey, a study of the 'vernice nera'-pottery from the two first sample zones has been completed in the form of a thesis (Van Kerckhove, 2002). Field walking and investigation of the material from the third sample zone will be completed in September 2003.

This article will focus on applying several significant aspects of 'vernice nera'-pottery from the Potenza Valley Survey to the overview of the development of 'vernice nera'-pottery in the Marches. The publication of the complete catalogue will be postponed until the analysis of the third sample zone. The purpose of a detailed report of the 'vernice nera'-pottery from the Potenza Valley Survey is twofold. A comparison will be possible between the three sample zones; and the findings and conclusions for the Potenza Valley Survey will be comparable with other contexts and regions of the Marches.

CONTACT WITH BLACK-GLAZED WARE AND 'VERNICE NERA'-POTTERY IN PRE-ROMAN TIMES

The Greeks and the Etruscans facilitated the North- and Central-Adriatic area's first contact with black gloss pottery. The Attic black-glazed ware arrived

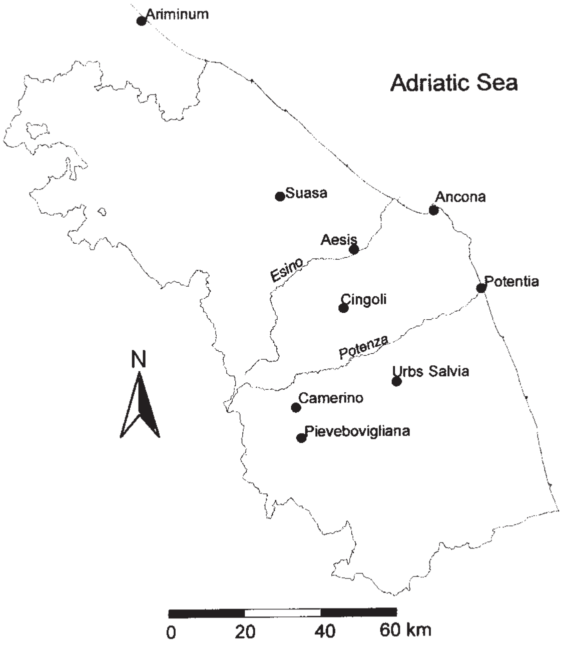


Fig. 1. Relevant sites concerning the 'vernice nera'-pottery in the Marches.

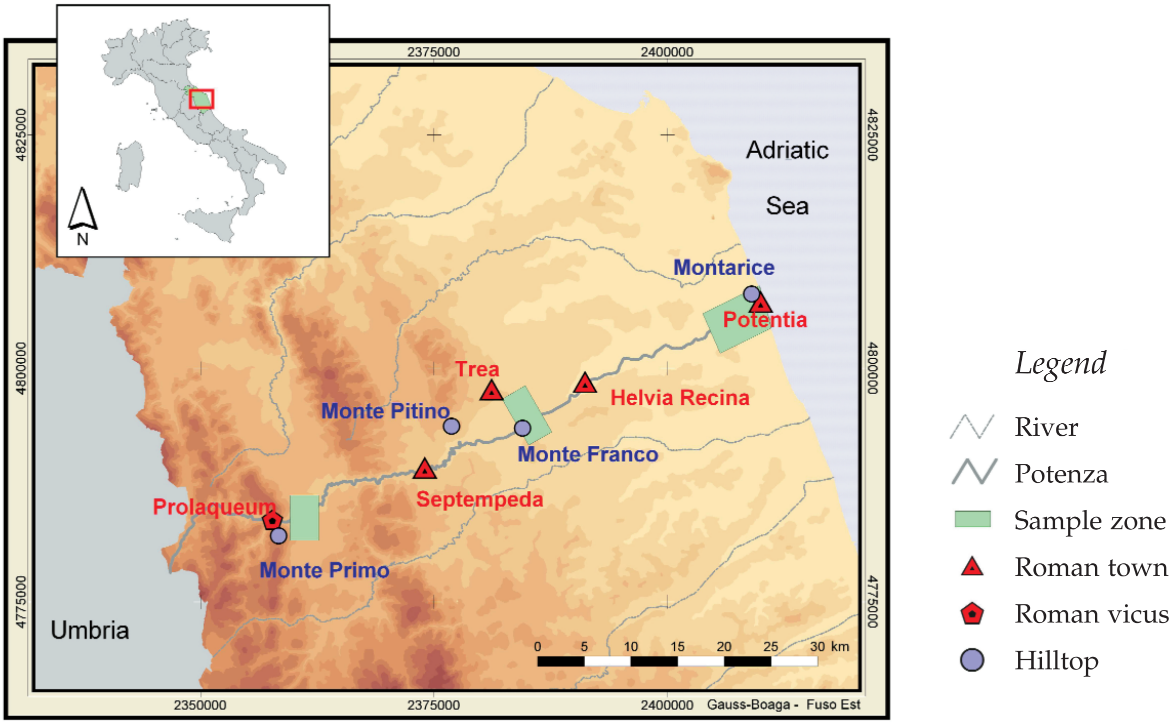

2375000
2400000
4825000
4800000
4775000
Adriatic
Sea
N
Montarice
Potentia
Trea
Helvia Recina
Monte Pitino
Monte Franco
Septempeda
Prolaqueum
Monte Primo
Umbria
0
5
10
15
20
25
30 km
2350000
2375000
2400000
Gauss-Boaga - Fuso Est
Legend
River
Potenza
Sample zone
Roman town
Roman vicus
Hilltop

Fig. 2. The three sample zones of the Potenza Valley Survey (map by Geert Verhoeven).

between the 6th and the 4th century BC, while the first 'vernice nera'-production from *Etruria* started in the second half of the 4th century BC and very soon found its way to the Adriatic. Both D.G. Lollini and M. Landolfi emphasized that the whole Adriatic was characterized by a cultural *koinè*, composed of Celtic, Greek, Etruscan and other Italic elements of which the 'vernice nera'-pottery was an important component.[18]

For this period there are no attestations of 'vernice nera'-productions in the Marches.

Local 'vernice nera'-production in Adria and Spina[19]

Influence of Attic black-glazed ware

The two *emporia Adria* and *Spina* undoubtedly played a key role for Athenian trade in the North-Adriatic.[20]

In *Spina*, a local production of 'vernice nera'-pottery, imitating Greek shapes, joined the (ultimate) Attic and the North-Etruscan imports from the second half of the 4th century BC onwards. The burial gifts from Tomb 1210 and 1189 from Valle Trebba exemplify these productions.[21] L. Brecciaroli Taborelli mentions the following shapes: F 5647 a, F 5616, F 4442, F 4711 a, F 1122.[22] Very soon, however, the Etruscan influence on the production became predominating.

Influence of Etruscan 'vernice nera'-pottery

Important Etruscan production centres of 'vernice nera'-pottery are: *Volaterrae* (Volterra) (with the group of Malacena),[23] *Arretium* (Arezzo),[24] Cosa,[25] 'atelier des anses en oreilles'.[26]

In this early stage, the Etruscans were very important 'distributors of culture'. Under the influence of the Etruscan expansion, the population of northern Italy became involved in the production of 'vernice nera'-pottery.[27] Morel emphasizes the role of the Etruscans, introducing the term 'l'aire étrusquisante'. In this sense, he alludes to the 'zone where "vernice nera"-pottery underwent an important influence from productions of the Etruscan type', more specificallly *Etruria*, North-Italy, *Umbria*, *Sabina*, the Faliscan area, *Latium*, the Marches and northern *Samnium*.[28]

Brecciaroli Taborelli speaks of the Po-plain as 'la realtà padana a matrice etrusca, piú precisamente settentrionale',[29] where *Adria* and *Spina* remained important.

As previously mentioned, the local production of 'vernice nera'-pottery in the *emporion Spina* started in the second half of the 4th century BC, using Attic vessels as a model. The grave gifts of Tomb 1210 of Valle Trebba show that potters began to imitate North-Etruscan models of *Volaterrae* from the 4th century BC onwards. These models remained the main source of inspiration.[30]

In *Adria*, the first production phase - from the end of the 4th until the 3rd century BC - is largely based on the Etruscan models of *Volaterrae* (F 5721, F 5726, F 4321, F 4115). Here, innovative elements from local craftsmen with Venetan, Gallic and Etruscan roots are omnipresent (F 4412 a1, F 7151 a1, F 7431 a1, F 4511).[31]

The first 'vernice nera'-pottery in the Marches

In the 6th century BC the Marches already had direct contacts with the Greeks (through the *emporia Numana* and *Ancona*) and the Etruscans (through the Apennines).[32] During the 'Piceno V'-phase (470-385 BC), a very wealthy trade class at *Numana* acted as an agent for the flourishing trade between the Athenians and the cities of *Etruria*.[33] This contact between the harbours on the Adriatic coast and the Tyrrhenian centres by way of the Apennine passes persisted during the period between the end of the 4th century BC and the first half of the 3rd century BC.

The *kylix* F 4115 (*fig. 3*) is an example of the contact the Marches had with the Tyrrhenian centres and the North- and Central Adriatic coast. This shape is present in *Spina*,[34] but is also found in large numbers in Pievebovigliana-San Savino.[35]

Frapiccini writes that the origin of the *kylix* F 4115 remains uncertain. The shape is possibly produced in several centres of *Etruria*: *Volaterrae*, *Tarquinii* and *Arretium* and, in the North- and Central-Adriatic it is surely produced in *Ariminum* (Rimini)[37] and *Adria*. The shape is also present in *Spina* and *Ancona*. The coastal centres of *Numana*-Sirolo and Camerano yielded several *kylikes* F 4115, which are attributed to the Volterran production.[38]

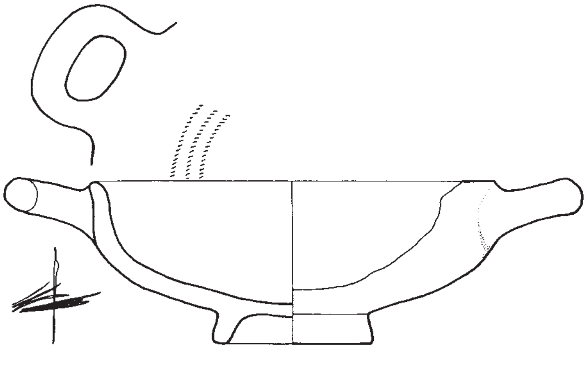


Fig. 3. Kylix *F 4115 from Pievebovigliana*[36] *(Frapiccini 2002, 100, fig. 68, n. 106).*

For Pievebovigliana, the presence of the *kylix* could mean two things. On one hand it can prove the commercial opening of this inner-area towards the Adriatic coast; on the other hand it confirms the traditional trade with (southern) *Etruria* and *Latium*.[39] This trade was already documented in the last quarter of the 4th century BC by the import of 'vernice nera'-pottery (the forms F 1111, F 2734, F 2783) from this area to the hinterland of the Marches.[40]

'VERNICE NERA'-POTTERY IN ROMAN TIMES

The Romanization[41]

From the 3rd century BC onwards, the Marches became Romanized. This process was accelerated by the foundation of colonies. The pottery from the production centres in these Roman colonies reflected a strong connection with the homeland of the colonists: *Latium* and *Etruria*. Thus settlers and know-how accompanied Romanization.

Problems with origin and chronology

Because of the imitation of shapes in various regions throughout time, determining origin and chronology of 'vernice nera'-pottery is problematic.

The bulk of the 'vernice nera'-shapes discussed here has its roots in *Etruria* or *Latium* but is also found (and sometimes produced) in *Samnium*, *Umbria*, the Marches (*Aesis*, *Potentia*, Cingoli, *Suasa*, Pergola), *Ariminum*, *Adria*/*Spina*. Moreover, the synchronous production of particular shapes was widespread. This was the case for many bowls and plates that were produced in the 2nd and 1st century BC in North- and Central-Italy. This standardization of shapes started in the 2nd century BC, following the example of mass-productions, such as Campana B. Unfortunately, chronological references for 'vernice nera'-pottery provided by excavations with stratifications are very rare. Several methods can be used to reveal the origin and the chronology of pottery, such as technical characteristics (fabric and gloss), decoration,[42] shape and epigraphy.[43] Petrographical and chemical analysis can provide further clues.

The contexts

Ariminum-*Rimini*

Phases of the local production

The local production of *Ariminum* (at the northern border of the *ager Gallicus*) started with the foundation of the *colonia Latina* in 268 BC. The technical characteristics, shapes and decoration of the locally produced 'vernice nera'-pottery reveal the origin of the colonists: *Latium*.[44] The similarity to the 'vernice nera'-pottery of *Roma* is indeed very striking. The local potters chose a clay-type very similar to the one used in *Roma*, the shapes of the *pocula deorum* are reminiscent of the Roman repertoire and there is an imprint of a Roman *uncia* on a vessel. All this points to a strong connection with the Roman homeland.[45] It seems reasonable that Roman craftsmen, transferred at the time of the foundation of the *colonia*, erected local workshops. For the 3rd and 2nd century BC in general, the most common shapes are: F 1124, F 1315, F 1323, F 1552 c, F 1640, F 2212/1532, F 2233, F 2527, F 2538, F 2563, F 2614, F 2783/2784, F 2730, F 2820/2830, F 4360, F 5220, F 5410, F 5420, F 7222/7223.[46] The early shapes are bowls, *skyphoi*, bottles and fish-plates. The first half of the 2nd century BC can be considered as a transition phase. In this period, pouring vessels in 'vernice nera' were replaced by silver ones for the rich and by thin-walled pottery for the less fortunate.[47] After 150 BC a standardization of shapes can be observed. Both the quality and the variety of shapes diminished.[48]

Import

There are imports from northern *Etruria* and *Latium*/southern *Etruria*. The decoration with rosettes is typical of *Latium* and southern *Etruria* (for example: 'atelier des petites estampilles'[49]), but is absent in North-Etruscan productions. The lotus flower shows the link with the North-Etruscan productions.[50]

After 150 BC there were particular contacts with *Arretium* (and the rest of *Etruria*) and with the production centres of Campana B.[51]

Export

For *Ariminum*, the existence of an elaborate trade system with the Po-delta is assumed. In *Spina*, a plate (by its decoration) and a little plate (by its shape) can be assigned to the production of *Ariminum*. The presence of a stamp 'GALICOS/COLONOS' on the handle of an *askos* could be an indication of the active presence of Latin colonists (from *Ariminum*) in *Spina*.[52]

Aesis-*Jesi*

Phases of the local production[53]

Aesis was founded in 247 BC on the left bank of the river Esino, 15 kilometres from the Adriatic shore, North of *Ancona* - in the *ager Gallicus*.[54] The local production of *Aesis* is demonstrated from the second half of the 3rd century BC until the first decennia of the 1st century AD. Thanks to the stratigraphy and some closed contexts, Brecciaroli Taborelli distinguishes four chronological phases, matching the evolution of the vessel shapes.

The first phase (250/240-180/170) was characterized by large morphologic variety and a strong connection with the productions of *Etruria* and *Latium*.[55] These production areas can be considered as the homeland from where craftsmen, techniques and models spread along with colonization and Romanization.[56] For example, the rosette on the bottom of a plate F 1315, found in the layer 250/240-150/140,[57] is very similar to productions from *Latium*, especially the 'atelier des petites estampilles' (*fig. 4*).[58]

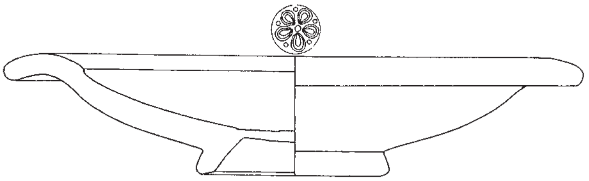


Fig. 4. Plate F1315 from Aesis *(Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 111, fig. 57, n. 26).*

Within one vessel shape an exceptional variety of typological details can be noticed. The same can be said of local productions from the rest of Central-Italy in this period.[59]

The second phase (180/170-150 BC) brought along a partial renewal of the shapes. Several new shapes that were popular in the whole 'aire étrusquisante' were introduced.[60] The presence of West-Slope Ware decoration is remarkable. This kind of decoration had disappeared elsewhere in Italy. Brecciaroli Taborelli ascribes this phenomenon to the probable immigration of Greek artisans to *Aesis* during the crucial decennia of the Roman conquest of Greece.[61]

In the third phase (180-40/30 BC) the repertoire of the shapes was almost entirely transformed. The decline in the quality of the pottery and the quantity of the shapes is significant. The same shapes - with some minor typological variations - that were produced at that time, were also common in the rest of Central-and North-Italy. The closed forms disappeared finally.[62]

In the last phase (the Augustan period) the number of shapes continued to diminish, as it did in the rest of northern Italy. The quantity of 'vernice nera'-pottery and *prae-sigillata* (the first *sigillata* experiments) in the layers of 10-20 AD prove the late production of these ceramics in *Aesis*.[63]

The imports

The imports represent somewhat more than 100 examples of all 'vernice nera'-pottery which totals over 3000 pieces.[64] In the early layers, 'vernice nera'-pottery from southern *Etruria* and *Roma/Latium* was found. This imported 'vernice nera'-pottery can be dated at the first half of the 3rd century BC and somewhat later.[65]

Among the North-Etruscan imports (which were generally exported to Central- and North-Italy between the 4th and the 1st century BC), productions from *Volaterrae* arrived in *Aesis* in the period 250/240-180/170;[66] products from *Arretium* arrived at the end of the 2nd century BC and the 1st century BC, with a limited number of shapes and spreading throughout Central- and North-Italy.[67]

Campana C-fragments can be dated between the second half of the 2nd century BC and the 1st century BC. These are the only fragments found in the Marches that can unquestionably be attributed to the production of *Syracusae*. These fragments very likely reached *Aesis* through the harbour of *Ancona*, which was at the time a Syracusan *emporion*.[68]

Suasa

Excavations in- and outside the *domus dei Coiedii* in *Suasa* - situated in the *ager Gallicus* - yielded a considerable quantity of 'vernice nera'-pottery, exposing the phases before the erection of the *domus*.[69] The 'vernice nera'-pottery started in the 3rd century BC, which indicates an early Romanization of the area.[70] As in *Ariminum*, the pottery shapes of *Suasa* resemble the repertoire of *Roma/Latium*. These contacts are due either to an immediate arrival of craftsmen with the colonists or to a transfer of techniques and technologies.[71]

Local/regional productions

The bulk of the material of *Suasa* can be attributed to rather late local and regional productions. These centres have not been specified yet; it is possible the fragments belong to the workshop of *Aesis*.[72]

Several fragments of *Suasa* show a strong relationship with the 'vernice nera'-pottery of *Ariminum*. We can mention F 1550 (especially F 1552 c), which is often decorated with rosette stamps with 7 or 8 petals.[73]

Because of the similarity of the shapes and decorations of the 'vernice nera'-pottery from *Aesis*, *Suasa* and *Ariminum*, laboratory analyses have been carried out. These analyses showed the presence of two production groups, that of *Ariminum* and that of *Suasa-Aesis*. The presence of pottery similar to that of *Ariminum* is due to the import from *Ariminum* to *Suasa* (and the Marches in general).[74]

Imports

A commercial exchange with Central-Italy (especially southern *Etruria* and northern *Latium*) most likely found its way through the Apennine valley, the network of roads leading to the coast and a river network in the hinterland (the rivers Tiber and Nera), and so brought the region into contact with *Roma*.[75]

The layers of the 2nd and 1st century BC contain 'vernice nera'-pottery that can be attributed to North-Etruscan production centres. Products from *Volaterrae* reached *Suasa* and the Marches particularly in the 2nd century BC.[76] Some pieces might be Campana B or Arretine 'vernice nera'-pottery.[77]

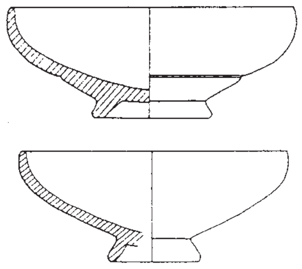


Fig. 5 and 6. F 2784 from Suasa *(3rd century BC) (Mazzeo Saracino 1994-1995, 183, fig. 42-6-7).*

F 2784[78] (*figs. 5-6*) is a shape that is mainly found in *Latium* where it is also produced by the 'atelier des petites estampilles'.[79]

Potentia-*Porto Recanati*

The *colonia ex nihilo Potentia* was founded in 184 BC by the *triumviri* Quintus Fabius Labeo, Marcus Fulvius Flaccus and Quintus Fulvius Nobilior in the *ager Picenus*.[80] The necropolis - north of the city *Potentia* - contains burial gifts, among which 'vernice nera'-pottery has been found.[81]

Local/regional productions

Mercando suggested dating the 'vernice nera'-pottery from the necropolis between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD.[82] Evidence for this late date came in the form of two plates: one plate F 2821 was found in association with a Claudian coin in tomb 174[83] and another plate F 2821[84] contained a stamp *in planta pedis*.[85]

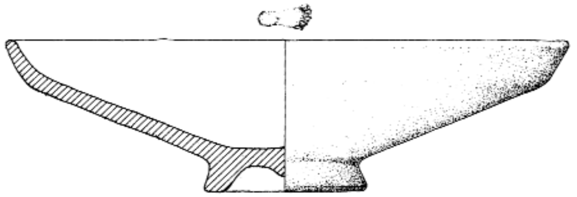


Fig. 7. Plate F 2821 with stamp in planta pedis *(Mercando 1974 a, 279, fig. 179, 112-a; Frapiccini 2001, 151, fig. 69, 4).*

Because of this extremely late date and the technical analysis of fabric and gloss, Mercando believed the existence of a local workshop to be in the vicinity of *Potentia*, where production should begin a few decennia after the foundation of the *colonia*, and end in the Claudian period. Morel inserted several fragments from *Potentia* in his typology and attributed them to local or regional production, thereby confirming the conclusion drawn by Mercando.[86]

According to Frapiccini, 22 of the 28 specimens are of local origin.[87] There are a lot of morphological resemblances to fragments from Pergola[88] and the production centres of *Aesis*[89] and Cingoli.[90] The appearance of these popular shapes suggests contact with Campana B-forms, *Etruria*, *Latium*, *Samnium*, the Po-valley and the Mid-Adriatic region.[91]

The bowl F 1266[92] (*fig. 8*) was found in the Jupiter-sanctuary in the city of *Potentia*.[93] This shape was produced in *Volaterrae*, but also in *Aesis*. Because of the technical characteristics, Frapiccini chooses to attribute the piece to regional production. The inscription reveals that the bowl is dedicated to the divinity by a certain Sosias.[94] It can be dated at the first half of the 2nd century BC.[95]

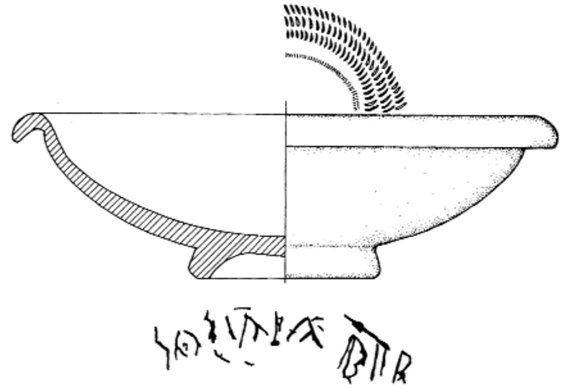


Fig. 8. Bowl F 1266 (Frapiccini 2001, 146, fig. 63, 2).

Imports

The few imports seem to come from *Etruria* or 'l'aire étrusquisante'. The *pyxis* F 7512[96] can be given as an example (*fig. 9*).[97]

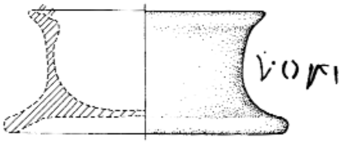


Fig. 9. Pyxis *F 7512 (Frapiccini 2001, 152, fig. 70, 6).*

The *pyxis* is a typical Campana B-form that was also produced in the 'aire étrusquisante'. Based on the inscription, it can be dated within the 2nd-1st century BC. The *pyxis* was found in the temple of Jupiter, where Lucius Oppius offered it to the god. Lucius Oppius was a member of a rich family of bankers and *negotiatores* in the Republican era.[98] A plate F 1315 can tentatively be attributed to Campana A.[99]

Potenza Valley

The river Potenza (the ancient river *Flosis*) - in the *ager Picenus* - links the Apennine hills to the Adriatic coastline.

Survey material is very problematic for the identification of pottery. This is also the case for the 'vernice nera'-pottery from the Potenza Valley Survey. As the material is not found in dated contexts or layers, its origin and chronology remains regularly unclear. An interpretation of some identified forms will be outlined now.

The plate F 1646 (*fig. 12. 1*) was found in the third sample zone.[100] It was probably a regional or local production from the 3rd-1st century BC.

According to Morel, the series F 1640 was mainly produced in *Etruria* between 250 and 150 BC.[101] It was also produced from 250 until 200 BC in *Ariminum*.[102] The plate F 1646 was mainly produced in South-*Etruria* and *Umbria*, where it was present in *Tuder* (Todi), *Rusellae* (Roselle), *Cosa* or *Suana* (Sovana) from the middle of the 3rd century BC until the 2nd century BC.[103] Mercando dated the plate F 1646 e 1 in *Potentia* at the first decennia of the 1st century BC, according to the late date of its assumed local production.[104] The shape is also present in Cingoli, where it was dated between the middle of the 3rd century BC and the beginning of the 1st century AD.[105] In Pievebovigliana, the same shape was dated between the second half of the 3rd and the first half of the 2nd century BC.[106] The local workshop of *Aesis* produced plates from the series F 1641, F 1642, F 1644 and F 1645. They are all evidenced in layers from the 2nd century BC.[107]

A little plate with a flat bottom F 2140 (*fig. 12. 2*) was found in the third sample zone.[108] The technical characteristics suggest local or regional production between the 3rd century BC and the 1st century AD.

The shape F 2140 is evidenced in *Latium* (*Roma*, *Signia*, *Tusculum*, *Gabii*, *Lavinium*), South-*Etruria* (*Falerii Veteres*) and *Samnium* (*Alba Fucens*) where it can be dated at the beginning of the 3rd century BC. The workshop was probably situated in the vicinity of *Roma* and was active in the beginning of the 3rd century BC.[109] In *Potentia* a small dish F 2140 - probably from local or regional production - was dated at the middle of the 1st century AD based on a 'vernice nera'-plate in the same tomb with a shape possibly evolving from 'vernice nera'-pottery to *terra sigillata*.[110] In *Aesis*, one locally produced dish F 2140 was found in a layer that is dated between 250/240 and 180/170 BC.[111]

The plate F 2233 (*fig. 12. 3*) was recovered in the third sample zone.[112] It very likely belongs to a regional or local production of the 3rd-2nd century BC.

According to Morel, this plate is particularly present in productions from Central- and northern Italy ('aire étrusquisante' and North-*Campania*).[113] These productions can mainly be dated at the 3rd century BC. In the 2nd century BC, the plate was produced in Campana A.[114] The shape F 2233 is a typical product from the production centre of *Ariminum*,[115] where it was mainly produced from 270 to 250 BC.[116] In *Suasa* three similar plates have been found.[117] At the production centre of *Aesis* the form was produced in large quantities from 250/240 until 150/140 BC.[118]

The first sample zone yielded a plate F 2286 (*figs. 10 and 12. 4*).[119] Here, the technical characteristics could point to local (or regional) production. The plate can be dated at the 2nd or 1st century BC.

The shape F 2286 is typical of North-Etruscan productions - like Campana B and Arretine 'vernice nera'-pottery - between the 2nd and the 1st century BC. It was also documented in *Roma*.[120] In *Suasa*, this form was identified as an import from North-*Etruria*.[121] This is confirmed by chemical and petrographical analyses of a fragment from *Aesis*. Here, the North-Etruscan shape is dated at the 2nd or 1st century BC.[122] This shape was also produced at *Aesis*. The production of this plate can be dated between the middle of the 2nd century BC and the middle of the 1st century BC.[123]

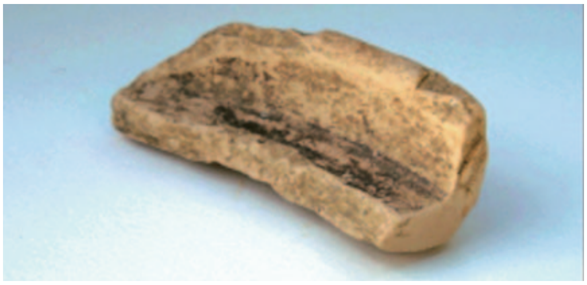


Fig. 10. Plate (F 2286) from the first survey area.

Both plates F 2286 from Gravellona and Potenza Picena could point to local production.[124]

The second sample zone yielded a bowl F 2538 (*fig. 12. 5*).[125] It could be attributed to local or regional production from the 3rd or 2nd century BC.

The appearance of this bowl is widespread in northern Italy, *Latium* and *Picenum*.[126] It was already produced in the 'atelier des petites estampilles' and was very common in *Roma* during the 3rd century BC. This shape dates from the end of the 4th century BC, and was also locally produced in *Adria* and *Spina*. The bowl was attested twice in *Adria*.[127] Morel attributes both fragments to a local or regional production and dates them approximately at the third quarter of the 3rd century BC.[128] In the Marches, the fragment has typological equivalents in Pergola, *Suasa*, *Aesis* and Pievebovigliana. Mercando considers the bowl F 2538 from a tomb in Pergola as a local or regional product between the end of the 1st century BC and the beginning of the 1st century AD.[129] Nevertheless, this is most likely a later variety of the shape.[130] Brecciaroli Taborelli considers the late date of Pergola as an exception.[131] In *Suasa*, two fragments are evidenced.[132] The shape is also produced in the local workshop of *Ariminum*.[133] The bowl F 2538 was produced locally at *Aesis* in large quantities, with a remarkable variety of typological details, especially on the lip.[134] The bowl is present in *Aesis* in the production phase of 250-150 BC.[135]

In the Potenza Valley the *pyxis* F 7544 was attested in the first (*figs. 11 and 12.6*) and the third zone (*fig. 12.7*).[136] Because of the very high quality of the fragments, it is likely that they were produced in *Etruria*/*Latium*. They can be dated at the 2nd or 1st century BC.

This shape is derived from the Attic black-glazed pottery that is also identifiable in the 'vernice nera'-pottery of *Etruria* and *Latium*, especially in Campana B.[137] M. Montagna Pasquinucci has already made this observation, stating that this shape was an imitation of the Attic ware in *Volaterrae* in 'tipo locale D'. Other examples of *pyxides* of the 'tipo locale D' are present in *Fiesole*, *Luni* and *Adria*.[138] The *pyxis* was widely spread in the rest of (the Etruscan influenced) Italy during the 2nd and 1st century BC.[139] A *pyxis* F 7544 in *Ariminum* was attributed to a production of *Volaterrae* or South-*Etruria*.[140] G. Fiorentini documents a similar *pyxis* in Campana B in Bergamo.[141] Morel, however, attributes it to a regional or local production.[142] Concerning the Marches, this *pyxis* can be confronted with those from *Aesis*, *Potentia*, Cingoli and Castelfidardo.[143] The two locally produced *pyxides* from *Aesis* can be dated between the second half of the 2nd century BC and 40/30 BC.[144] The *pyxis* of *Potentia* was attributed by Frapiccini to F 7512, but the similarity of the shape is nevertheless very striking. Based on the inscription, the *pyxis* from *Potentia* is dated at the first half of the 2nd century BC.[145] In Cingoli several *pyxides* were found and were dated at the 2nd and 1st century BC.[146]

Pievebovigliana

At San Savino (in Pievebovigliana), a large number of 'vernice nera'-pottery is found on the surface of the fields. The material can be dated between the middle of the 4th century BC and the middle of the 2nd century BC.[147]

Generally, it concerns pottery that was produced in southern *Etruria* and *Latium*. This pottery, however, was often imitated in *Ariminum* and *Aesis*. Therefore, Frapiccini takes the high quality of fabric and gloss into consideration to attribute the bulk of the material to imports from the Tyrrhenian area. This contact already began in the last quarter of the 4th century BC (F 4115, F 1111, F 2734, F 2783 and a bottom of a bowl that can probably attributed to the 'atelier des petites estampilles') and persisted until the first half of the 2nd century BC (F 2745, F 1646, F 1647, F 2526, F 2736, F 2737, F 1124). San Savino therefore appears more associated with the Tyrrhenian area than with the Adriatic area.[148]

Cingoli

The site Pian della Pieve (in Cingoli) is situated on a plateau located along the rivers Potenza and Musone. The pottery - found on the surface of the fields - can be dated from the 4th century BC onwards, but shows that the centre was particularly flourishing during the 3rd and 2nd century BC. A large quantity of 'vernice nera'-pottery was found, obviously influenced by the pottery of the nearby workshop *Aesis*. The fact that one site yielded so much 'vernice nera'-pottery and the presence of typical kiln devices, such as stackers, suggested the existence of a local production centre.[149] A catalogue of the 'vernice nera'-pottery from this site has not yet been published.

PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

The Marches came into contact with black gloss pottery through the Greeks and the Etruscans. The take-off of local production centres in the area was due to the progressing Romanization that the region experienced from the 3rd century BC onwards. Based on the contexts discussed above, several tendencies of 'vernice nera'-pottery in Roman times can be outlined.

- Imported 'vernice nera'-pottery
'Vernice nera'-pottery from southern *Etruria* and *Roma*/*Latium* was probably introduced along with the personal belongings of the first colonists. This is visible in the early layers from excavations in the production centres of the *ager Gallicus* like *Ariminum* and *Aesis*. The intense contact between centres in the hinterland of the *ager Picenus* - such as Pievebovigliana - with southern *Etruria* and *Latium* encouraged the import of 'vernice nera'-pottery.

North-Etruscan imports - mainly from *Volaterrae* and *Arretium* - reached the Marches from the 3rd until the 1st century BC. The study of the 'vernice nera'-pottery of *Aesis* has shown that *Volaterrae* provided the imports from 250/240 until 180/170 BC. *Arretium* became the main 'supplier' from the end of the 2nd century BC onwards until the 1st century BC.

There is very little information regarding imports through the Adriatic Sea. In *Aesis*, the presence of West-Slope decoration points rather to the immigration of Greek craftsmen than to an import from Greece. Campana C from *Syracusae* very probably arrived through the Syracusan colony *Ancona* at *Aesis*. The situation of *Ancona* itself

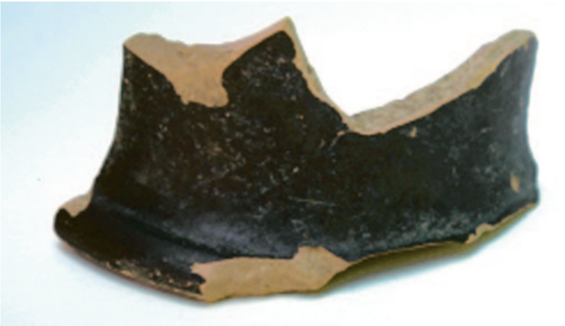


Fig. 11. Pyxis *(F 7544) from the first survey area.*

requires further investigation as the origin of the evidenced 'vernice nera'-pottery has not yet been revealed.[150]

- Local and regional productions
A lot of fragments were attributed to 'a local or regional production'. Up to now, a very restricted number of workshops has been located. The only workshops for which we have incontestable evidence are the production centres of *Ariminum* and *Aesis*, both in the *ager Gallicus*. We can tentatively propose that several local productions occurred in the *ager Picenus.* This hypothesis is supported by the existence of a large amount of 'vernice nera'-pottery and the presence of stackers at Cingoli.[151] Pievebovigliana yielded a large number of *kylikes* F 4115. This could be interpreted as a local imitation of the shape.[152] According to Mercando, technical analysis (of fabric and gloss) and the late date of the 'vernice nera'-pottery in *Potentia* indicate the occurrence of a local production.[153]

All of these local/regional productions are characterized by regional resemblances. In the first phase after the erection of a workshop - as shown for *Ariminum* and *Aesis* - the connection to the Roman homeland is very strong. Both closed and open shapes with variable typological details were produced. After 150 BC, a standardization took place in Central and North-Italy, including the Marches. This suggests diminishing quantity and quality of forms. The closed forms disappeared definitively.

Mercando has already mentioned that 'vernice nera'-production in the Marches persisted until the middle of the 1st century AD. Indeed, the workshop of *Aesis* maintained the production of 'vernice nera'-pottery for a long period of time. At about 20 AD, the production of 'vernice nera'-pottery came to an end to be replaced finally by *terra sigillata*.

- Export and distribution
The extent of export from the production centres of the *ager Gallicus et Picenus* to other areas or even within the area is very difficult to determine. As outlined above, a lot of 'vernice nera'-pottery is attributed to 'local or regional productions'. Of course, these productions had regional or local distribution. The limited number of located workshops hinders our understanding of the way in which the region was provided with 'vernice nera'-pottery. For *Ariminum*, a commercial system towards the Po-delta is supposed.

- Occupation of the territory in the Republican period
The 'vernice nera'-pottery helps to provide a more clearer view of the occupation of the Marches during the Republican period. Thus, the 'vernice nera'-pottery demonstrates early Romanization for *Suasa*, *Ariminum* and *Aesis*. The 'vernice nera'-pottery of *Potentia,* on the other hand, documents a later phase of the Roman occupation.

CATALOGUE OF THE 'VERNICE NERA'-POTTERY

1. *KYLIX* (F 4115 B): FIGURE 3[154]
Pievebovigliana. San Savino
Height: 49 mm, diameter of the rim: 118 mm, diameter of the foot: 46 mm
Fabric: 10 YR 7/3 (very pale brown)
Gloss: shiny and thin, 2.5 YR 2/0 (black)

Class: probably Volterran production
Date: end of the 4th century BC or 3rd century BC

2. PLATE (F 1315): FIGURE 4[155]
Aesis
Height: 37/41 mm, diameter of the rim: 194 mm, diameter of the foot: 64 mm
Fabric: beige with small particles[156]
Gloss: not really black, rather with brown traces

Class: local production of *Aesis* ('classe locale I')
Date: 250/240-150/140 BC

3. BOWL (F 2784): FIGURE 5 AND 6[157]
Domus *of* Suasa, *inv. 93/1608*
Height: 51 mm, diameter of the foot: 45 mm, diameter of the rim: 120 mm
Fabric: 10 YR 7/4 (very pale brown)
Gloss: 10 YR 3/2 (very dark grayish brown)

Domus *of* Suasa, *inv. 93/3519*
Height: 45 mm, diameter of the rim: 105 mm, diameter of the foot: 45 mm
Fabric: 5 YR 7/4 (pink)
Gloss: 5 YR 2.5/1 (black) at the outside; 2.5 YR 4/8 (red) at the inside

Class: probably production of *Latium*
Date: 3rd century BC

4. PLATE (F 2821 A 2): FIGURE 7[158]
Necropolis of Potentia*, tomb 112, inv. 26683*
Height: 54 mm, diameter: 194 mm, foot: 56 mm[159]
Fabric: 10 YR 7/4 (very pale brown), soft, compact
Gloss: almost entirely peeled off
Stamp *in planta pedis*

Class: local or regional production
Date: 1st century AD

5. BOWL (F 1266): FIGURE 8[160]
Sanctuary of Jupiter, city of Potentia*, inv. 65780*
Height: 62 mm, diameter of the rim: 165 mm, diameter of the foot: 60 mm
Fabric: 10 YR 6/8 (brownish yellow), hard and compact
Gloss: 7.5 YR 4/0-3/0 (dark-very dark gray): thin, red traces caused by a fault in the baking process

Class: Probably a regional production
Date: First quarter of the 2nd century BC

6. *PYXIS* (F 7512): FIGURE 9[161]
Sanctuary of Jupiter, city of Potentia, *inv. 65783*
Height: 44 mm, diameter of the rim: 82 mm, diameter of the foot: 98 mm
Fabric: 10 YR 7/4 (very pale brown), hard and compact
Gloss: 5 Y 2.5/1-2.5 YR 4/8, a little shiny, thin

Class: probably Campana B
Date: first half or middle of the 2nd century BC

7. PLATE (F 1646): FIGURE 12. 1
Potenza Valley Survey, third sample zone, inv. 02-WF 72-12
Length: 38 mm, width: 22 33, thickness: 6 mm
Fabric: compact, hard and fine. Color: 10 YR 8/3 (very pale brown)
Gloss: the gloss is present on both sides of the fragment. It is rather dull and firm. Color: 7.5 YR 2/0 (black)

Class: probably regional or local
Date: 3rd century BC until 1st century AD

8. LITTLE PLATE (F 2140): FIGURE 12. 2
Potenza Valley Survey, third sample zone, inv. 02-K53-5
Length: 56 mm, height: 15 mm, width: 34 mm
Fabric: hard and fine. Color: 7.5 YR 7/4 (pink)
Gloss: the dull but firm gloss is present on both sides of the wall. Color: 7.5 YR 3/0 (very dark gray)

Class: probably regional or local
Date: between the 3rd century BC and the 1st century AD

9. PLATE (F 2233): FIGURE 12. 3
Potenza Valley Survey, third sample zone, inv. 02-K41-5
Length: 27 mm, height: 7 mm, width: 23 mm
Fabric: hard, fine and compact. Color: 7.5 YR 7/4 (pink)
Gloss: the dull but rather firm gloss is present on both sides of the fragment. Color: 7.5 YR 2/0 (black)

Class: probably local or regional
Date: 3rd-2nd century BC

10. PLATE (F 2286): FIGURE 10 AND 12. 4
Potenza Valley Survey, first sample zone, inv. 00-K22-13
Height: 24 mm, length: 56 mm, thickness: 7 mm
Fabric: hard, compact and fine. Color: 10 YR 7/4 (very pale brown)
Gloss: there are traces of glaze that easily peel off on both sides of the wall. Color: 10 YR 3/1 (very dark gray)

Class: probably local or regional
Date: 2nd or 1st century BC

11. BOWL (F 2538): FIGURE 12. 5
Potenza Valley Survey, second sample zone, inv. 01-WK60-32
Height: 22mm, length: 24 mm, thickness of the wall: 6 mm
Fabric: very fine, hard and compact. Color: 7.5 YR 7/4 (pink)
Gloss: the firm gloss is very shiny and is fairly well preserved on both sides of the fragment. There are brown marks caused by a fault in the baking process. Color: 7.5 YR 2/0 (black)

Class: probably regional or local
Date: 3rd-2nd century BC

12. *PYXIS* (F 7544): FIGURE 11 AND 12. 6
Potenza Valley Survey, first sample zone, inv. 00-WF29-1
Height: 39 mm, length: 74 mm, diameter: 100 mm
The clay is very fine, compact and very hard.
Color: 7.5 YR 7/4 (pink)
The firm gloss is very well preserved on both sides of the fragment.

Class: probably import
Date: 2nd-1st century BC

13. *PYXIS* (F 7544): FIGURE 12. 7
Potenza Valley Survey, third sample zone, inv. 02-K186-2
Height: 37 mm, length: 58 mm, diameter: 80 mm
The clay is very hard, compact and is very fine. Color: 7.5 YR 8/4 (pink)
The firm gloss is preserved on both sides of the fragment.

Class: probably import from *Etruria/Latium*
Date: 2nd or 1st century BC

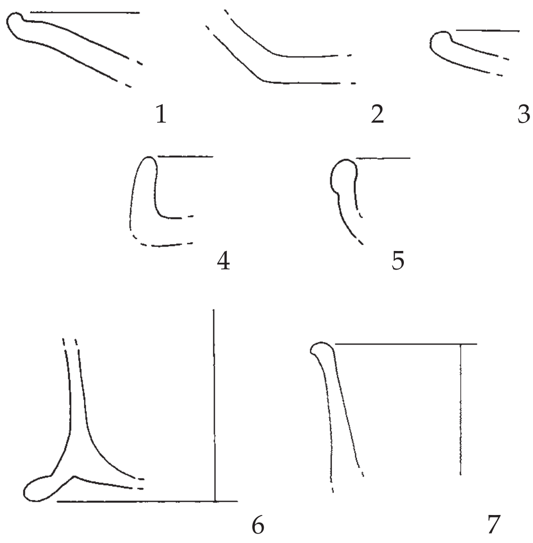


Fig. 12. Plates, bowl and pyxides *from the Potenza Valley Survey (scale 1:4).*

NOTES

[*] This article is an abstract of a thesis which deals extensively with the 'vernice nera'-pottery of the Marches in general and the Potenza Valley Survey in specific: Van Kerckhove 2002.

[1] Zampieri 1996, 308.

[2] Lamboglia 1952.

[3] Lamboglia 1952, 140.

[4] In pre-Roman times 'Piceni', 'Senoni' and 'Praetuttii' inhabited this region. Based on written sources after the Roman conquest, we use the conventional term '*Picenum*' for the period from the 9th till the 3rd century BC (Serenelli 1997, 13). In Roman times the region was divided in the *ager Gallicus* (north of the river Esino) and the *ager Picenus* (south of the river Esino) (Delplace 1993, 1-4; Mercando/Brecciaroli Taborelli/Paci 1981, 312). After

the division by Augustus of the Peninsula in XI regions, the modern Marches contained a part of region VI (*Umbria*), north of the river Esino, and a part of region V (*Picenum*), south of the river Esino (Gaggiotti *et al*. 1980, 191).

[5] Morel 1981.
For the discussion on the typology of J.-P. Morel, see: Brecciaroli Taborelli 1983.

[6] Morel 1981, 47.

[7] Morel 1981, 24 and 72.

[8] Before initiating this exposition, I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Frank Vermeulen for making this research possible and Dr. Patrick Monsieur for his support, Geert Verhoeven and Lieven Verdonck for their help with the maps, Prof. Dr. D.G. Yntema for giving his opinion, the Soprintentente Dott. Giuliano de Marinis and Dott.ssa Edvige Percossi Serenelli from the Soprintendenza delle Marche for their support and the accessibility of archives and library. I am also very grateful to Prof.ssa Giovanna Fabrini from the University of Macerata and Dott.ssa Carla Di Cintio for going through the 'vernice nera'-pottery of *Urbs Salvia* together, exchanging knowledge in this way. I would also like to express my heartfelt thanks to Dott.ssa Nicoletta Frapiccini for several conversations concerning 'vernice nera'-pottery and for showing me the ceramics from *Potentia*.

[9] Morel 1980, 85.

[10] Mercando 1974a-b.

[11] Frapiccini 2001; Percossi Serenelli 2001.

[12] For Pievebovigliana: Frapiccini 2002. For Cingoli there is general information provided on the 'vernice nera'-pottery, but a catalogue is not included: Frapiccini 1998.

[13] Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997. The *colonia Aesis* was most likely founded in 247 BC (Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 7).

[14] For *Ancona* (the area between the West-side of the Roman amphitheatre of *Ancona* and the Via Po II): Pignocchi/Virzì Hägglund 1998. For *Suasa* (in a *domus* from the Roman city): Mazzeo Saracino 1988 and Mazzeo Saracino 1994-1995.

[15] In the excavation report the first findings on 'vernice nera'-pottery are communicated: Salvini 2001, 17.

[16] Fabrini/Sebastiani 1982.

[17] Giovagnetti 1991a and b; Giovagnetti 1993a and b; Giovagnetti 1995; Riccioni 1972.

[18] Percossi Serenelli 2002, 47. Other characteristic elements for this *koiné* are the presence of 'grey pottery', Gnathia-ware, upper-Adriatic ceramic, Attic (black-glazed or red-figured) pottery and red-figured pottery from *Latium*, the Faliscan and Tyrrhenian area (Percossi Serenelli 2002, 47). See also: Landolfi 1999, 176-178.

[19] As there are no indications for local production of 'vernice nera'-pottery in the Marches, the ones of *Adria* and *Spina* - Po-plain, north of the Marches - will be outlined, followed by the first attestations of imported 'vernice nera'-pottery in the Marches.

[20] According to L. Braccesi, the presence of grain is the main motive for Attic import (Braccesi 1977, 55-62). The North- and Central-Adriatic is a secondary market compared to the Tyrrhenian area. The Greeks lost the Tyrrhenian area because of the Ship battle of *Alalia* (Aleria) in Corsica in 540 BC and of *Cuma* in *Campania* in 474 BC. From that moment on, Athens provided itself with Etruscan metal through the harbours of the North- and Central-Adriatic (Landolfi 1997, 121).

[21] Brecciaroli Taborelli 2000, 12; Berti 1987; Berti 1997.

[22] Brecciaroli Taborelli 2000, 12.

[23] Montagna Pasquinucci 1972.

[24] Morel 1963.

[25] Taylor 1957.

[26] Balland 1969.

[27] Morel 1987, 113.

[28] Morel 1981, 72.

[29] Brecciaroli Taborelli 2000, 12.

[30] Brecciaroli Taborelli 2000, 13-14.

[31] Brecciaroli Taborelli 2000, 14.

[32] Lollini/Baldelli 1997a, 14.

[33] Lollini/Baldelli 1997b, 29.

[34] The *kylix* F 4115 becomes - together with the cups F 2563 - the fixed component of the *symposium*-pottery of the Gallic 'Boi' and 'Senoni' between the second half of the 4th century BC and the first half of the 3rd century BC (Brecciaroli Taborelli 2000, 14).

[35] Frapiccini 2002, 98-99, inv. 63261 (fig. 66; 68), inv. 63260 (fig. 68), inv. 63250 (fig. 68).

[36] Catalogue n.1.

[37] Maioli 1987, 388. A pre-Roman settlement is attested during excavations in the former convent of San Francesco. 'Vernice nera'-pottery of the Malacena-group and other productions of Central-Italy and *Latium* from the 4th century BC onwards came to light: Maioli 1987. There was a strong contact with Central- and South-*Etruria*, especially with *Volaterrae* (Maioli 1987, 390).

[38] Frapiccini 2002, 110.

[39] Percossi Serenelli 2002, 35.

[40] Frapiccini 2002, 109; N. Frapiccini does not exclude a local imitation of these shapes.

[41] After the battle of *Sentinum* in 295 BC the area north of the river Esino became *ager publicus* (the *ager Gallicus*). The 'Piceni' were finally submitted in 268 BC by the Romans and so the area south of the river Esino became the *ager Picenus* (Delplace 1993, 4; Mercando/Brecciaroli Taborelli/Paci 1981, 312). The foundation of the *colonia Firmum Picenum* which guaranteed *Roma* control over land and sea, was of major importance. The importance of the *Lex Flaminia de Agro Gallico et Piceno viritum dividundo* (232 BC) and the laying out of the *Via Flaminia* (220 BC) must be stressed here. The foundation of *coloniae* continued in the 2nd century BC: *Potentia* (Porto Recanati) and *Pisaurum* in 184 BC, *Auximum* (Osimo) in 157 BC and *Urbs Salvia* (Urbisaglia) at the end of the 2nd century BC (Paci 2001a, 20-21).

[42] Brecciaroli Taborelli successfully concentrated her study on the decoration of the 'vernice nera'-pottery of *Aesis*, *Suasa* and *Ariminum*. Very significant are the rosettes that give a lot of information. For the decoration of *Aesis*, see: Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 80-87. For the comparison between the three sites, see: Brecciaroli Taborelli 2000, 17-18.

[43] Inscriptions and stamps have been studied thoroughly. For *Ariminum*, see: Brecciaroli Taborelli 2000, 16, 22; Morel 1987, 117; Giovagnetti 1993b. For *Potentia*, see: Percossi Serenelli 2001, 36. For *Aesis*, see: Paci 1996-1997, 251-2.

[44] Brecciaroli Taborelli 2000, 15.

[45] Morel 1998, 17.

[46] Brecciaroli Taborelli 2000, 16.

[47] Giovagnetti 1993 a, 120.

[48] Giovagnetti 1995, 468.

[49] For the 'atelier des petites estampilles', see: Morel 1969.

[50] Brecciaroli Taborelli 2000, 16.

[51] Giovagnetti 1995, 468.

[52] Brecciaroli Taborelli 2000, 21-22.

[53] Based on the technical characteristics, L. Brecciaroli Taborelli (1996-1997, 76-77) distinguishes three local classes.

[54] Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 6.

[55] Brecciaroli Taborelli 1998, 154.

[56] Brecciaroli Taborelli 1998, 158.

[57] Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 114.

[58] Catalogue nr. 2.

[59] Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 241.

[60] Brecciaroli Taborelli 1998, 155.

[61] Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 87. For the 'atelier des petites estampilles', see: Morel 1969.

[62] Brecciaroli Taborelli 1998, 155.

[63] Brecciaroli Taborelli 1998, 156.

[64] Brecciaroli Taborelli 1998, 154.

[65] Brecciaroli Taborelli 1998, 153.

[66] Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 98.

[67] Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 102.

[68] Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 106.

[69] Mazzeo Saracino 1988, 1994-1995. This rich Late-Republican/Imperial house from the 'Coiedii'-family was decorated with mosaic floors and wall paintings (Mazzeo Saracino/Morandi/Nannetti 2000, 136).

[70] Little is known about the history of *Suasa*. This centre, near *Ancona* at the right riverbank of the Cesano-river was in any case a *municipium* at the time of Augustus. Most likely, *Suasa* was founded as a *praefectura* as a consequence of the *Lex Flaminia et agro Gallico et Piceno viritim dividundo* of 232 BC (Dall'Aglio/De Maria 1988, 75-76).

[71] Mazzeo Saracino/Morandi/Nannetti 2000, 135.

[72] Mazzeo Saracino 1991, 54.

[73] Mazzeo Saracino 1994-1995, 184, Inv. 93/460, fig. 43-1.

[74] Mazzeo Saracino/Morandi/Nannetti 2000, 142.

[75] Mazzeo Saracino 1991, 55.

[76] Mazzeo Saracino 1994-1995, 193.

[77] Mazzeo Saracino 1988, 150.

[78] Catalogue nr. 3.

[79] Mazzeo Saracino 1994-1995, 186.

[80] Percossi Serenelli 2001, 26.

[81] Mercando 1974a, Frapiccini 2001.

[82] Mercando 1974a, 413.

[83] Mercando 1974a, 323, Inv. 26513; Frapiccini 2001, 150.

[84] Catalogue nr. 4.

[85] Frapiccini 2001, 151, fig. 69, 4, Inv. 26683, tombe 112; see also: Mercando 1974b, 279. Stamps *in planta pedis* are attested in *Cisalpina* until the Tiberian period: in Russi, *Bononia*, in *Augusta Bagiennorum*, in the Po-plain. Morel already mentioned that these stamps on the Arretine *sigillata* appear from 15 AD. Because of this, it is supposed that the stamps on 'vernice nera'-pottery could also be dated from that period. Still one cannot exclude an earlier date, whereby the 'vernice nera'-pottery would have used the *in planta pedis* stamp first (Frapiccini 2001, 157). See also: Riccioni 1972.

[86] Frapiccini 2001, 144.

[87] Frapiccini 2001, 155.

[88] Mercando 1974b.

[89] Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997.

[90] Frapiccini 1998.

[91] Frapiccini 2001, 156.

[92] Catalogue nr. 5.

[93] Frapiccini 2001, 145; Fig. 10; 63; n.2, inv. 65780.

[94] Sosias can be a Greek of servile condition as well as the wife of Faberius (Paci 2001b, 101-102).

[95] Percossi Serenelli 2001, 34.

[96] Catalogue nr. 6.

[97] Frapiccini 2001, 154-155, inv. 65783.

[98] Percossi Serenelli 2001, 36.

[99] Frapiccini 2001, 146, fig. 63, n. 3, inv. 27861.

[100] Inv. 02-WF72-12, catalogue nr. 7 (fig. 12. 1).

[101] Morel 1981, 128.

[102] Brecciaroli Taborelli 2000, 16; Giovagnetti 1995, 467.

[103] Frapiccini 2001, 147; Frapiccini 2002, 90.

[104] Frapiccini 2001, 147-148, fig. 65, n. 2, inv. 26962; Morel 1981, 130, tav. 27; Mercando 1974a, 282, fig. 186, tomb 116.

[105] Frapiccini 1998, 55-56. The same shape is documented in the unpublished study of Frapiccini on the 'vernice nera'-pottery of Cingoli, which is kept in the Archive of Ancona. At Cingoli, the existence of a local production centre of 'vernice nera'-pottery is put forward (see *infra*).

[106] Frapiccini 2002, 93, n. 87, fig. 59-60; inv. 63276.

[107] Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 123-124.

[108] Inv. 02-K53-5, catalogue nr. 8, fig. 12. 2.

[109] Bernardini 1986, 111.

[110] Frapiccini 2001, 148, fig. 65, n. 3, inv. 23256; Mercando 1974a, 156, n. 15, fig. 9k; 158.

[111] Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 125.

[112] Inv. 02-K41-5, catalogue nr. 9, fig. 12. 3.

[113] Morel 1981, 150.

[114] Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 133-134.

[115] Brecciaroli Taborelli 2000, 16.

[116] Giovagnetti 1995, 467.

[117] Mazzeo Saracino 1994-1995, 183, fig. 42, n. 10-11, inv. 93/462; inv. 93/3514; inv. 92/8323 and inv. 92/8325.

[118] Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 134.

[119] Inv. 00-K22-13: catalogue nr. 10, fig. 12. 4.

[120] Bernardini 1986, 187.

[121] Mazzeo Saracino 1988, 149.

[122] Brecciaroli Taborelli 1998, 157 and 166, tav. 7, fig. 94.

[123] Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 138.

[124] For Gravellona: Fiorentini 1963, 39, fig. 20, 6. For Potenza Picena: Mercando 1979, 287, fig. 202-d.

[125] Inv. 01-WK 60-32, catalogue nr. 11, fig. 12. 5.

[126] Morel 1981, 181.

[127] Fiorentini 1963, 23, fig. 7, 5 and 24, fig. 8, 6.

[128] Morel 1981, 181.

[129] Mercando 1979, 95.

[130] Mazzeo Saracino 1994-1995, 186.

[131] Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 145.

[132] Mazzeo Saracino 1994-1995, 185-186, fig. 42, n. 3-4-5

[133] Brecciaroli Taborelli 2000, 16; Giovagnetti 1993a, 120.

[134] Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 143.

[135] Brecciaroli Taborelli 1998, 155, 156, tav. 3, fig. 29.

[136] Inv. 00-WF29-1 and 02-K186-2, see catalogue nr. 12 (fig. 12. 6) and n. 13 (fig. 12. 7).

[137] Bernardini 1986, 186. Campana B corresponds largely with type II of Cosa (Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 96). For type II of Cosa: Taylor 1957, 71.

[138] Bianchini 1996, 187.

[139] Montagna Pasquinucci 1972, 306.

[140] Maioli 1987, 391.

[141] Fiorentini 1963, 35, fig. 19, 4.

[142] Morel 1981, 414.

[143] Mercando 1979, 140.

[144] Brecciaroli Taborelli 1998, tav. 6, figg. 80-81; Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 179.

[145] Frapiccini 2001, 145.

[146] *Pyxides* are documented in the unpublished study of Frapiccini on the 'vernice nera'-pottery of Cingoli, which is kept in the Archive of Ancona.

[147] Frapiccini 2002, 88.

[148] Frapiccini 2002, 109.

[149] Frapiccini 1998, 55-56.

[150] The 'vernice nera'-pottery of *Ancona* is mentioned in several texts: Mercando 1976; Morel 1987, 118-119. A publication on the material is still lacking.

[151] Frapiccini 2002, 55-56. There are many typological resemblances with the near workshop of *Aesis*. This again proves the regional resemblances.

[152] Frapiccini 2002, 110.

[153] Frapiccini 2001, 144.

[154] Frapiccini 2002, 98-99.

[155] Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 114, n. 26.

[156] For an extensive description of the technical characteristics from the 'classe locale I', see: Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 76.

[157] Mazzeo Saracino 1994-1995, 183 and 186.

[158] Frapiccini 2001, 150.

[159] Mercando 1974a, 278.

[160] Frapiccini 2001, 145 and Percossi Serenelli 2001, 42.

[161] Percossi Serenelli 2001, 45 and Frapiccini 2001, 153-4.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Balland, A. 1969, *Fouilles de l'Ecole Française de Rome à Bolsena (Poggio Moscini)*, II, 1. *Céramique étrusco-campanienne à vernis noir*, Paris.

Bernardini, P. 1986, *Museo Nazionale Romano. Le ceramiche*, V/1. *La ceramica a vernice nera dal Tevere*, Roma.

Berti, F. 1987, Spina, in G. Bermond Montanari, (ed.) *La formazione della città in Emilia Romagna*, II. *Catalogo della mostra, Bologna, 26 settembre 1987-24 gennaio 1988*, Bologna, 354-374.

Berti, F. 1997, Spina, tomba 1189, in F. Berti/S. Bonomi/M. Landolfi (eds.), *Classico e Anticlassico. Vasi alto-adriatici tra Piceno, Spina e Adria, Catalogo della mostra,* Bologna, 122-123.

Bianchini, D. 1996, La ceramica a vernice nera di Lucca, *RStLiguri* 42, 169-210.

Braccesi, L. 1977, *Grecità adriatica*, Bologna.

Brecciaroli Taborelli 1983, Saggio di applicazione della tipologia di Morel: l'officina di Aesis, *Opus*, 2, 1, 291-294.

Brecciaroli Taborelli, L. 1996-1997, Jesi (Ancona). L'officina ceramica di *Aesis* (III sec. a.C.- 1 sec. d.C.), *NSc*, 5-252.

Brecciaroli Taborelli, L. 1998, La ceramica a vernice nera di *Aesis*, in P. Frontini/M.T. Grassi, (eds.), 1998, 153-169.

Brecciaroli Taborelli, L. 2000, La ceramica a vernice nera padana (IV-I secolo a.C.): aggiornamenti, osservazioni, spunti, in G.P. Brogliolo/G. Olcese, (eds.), *Produzione ceramica in area padana tra il II secolo a.C. e il VII secolo d.C.: nuovi dati e prospettive di ricerca. Convegno internazionale di Desenzano del Garda, 8-10 aprile 1999,* Mantova, 11-30.

Brogliolo, G.P./G. Olcese, (eds.) 2000, *Produzione ceramica in area padana tra il II secolo a.C. e il VII secolo d.C.: nuovi dati e prospettive di ricerca. Convegno internazionale di Desenzano del Garda, 8-10 aprile 1999*, Mantova.

Dall'Aglio, P.L./S. De Maria, 1988, Nuovi scavi e ricerche nella città romana di *Suasa* (AN), Relazione preliminare, *Picus* 8, 73-157.

Dall'Aglio, P.L./S. De Maria, 1994-1995, Scavi della città romana di *Suasa*. Seconda relazione preliminare (1990-1995), *Picus* 14-15, 75-233.

Delplace, C. 1993, *La romanisation du Picenum: L'exemple d'Urbs Salvia*, Rome.

Fabrini, G./S. Sebastiani, 1982, *Museo di Camerino*, 2. *Reperti greci e preromani*, Roma.

Fiorentini, G. 1963, Prime osservazione sulla ceramica campana nella valle del Po, *RStLiguri* 24, 7-52.

Frapiccini, N. 1998, Pian della Pieve, in E. Percossi Serenelli 55-56.

Frapiccini, N. 2001, Nuove osservazioni sulla ceramica a vernice nera da *Potentia*, in E. Percossi Serenelli, (ed.), *Potentia. Quando poi scese il silenzio...Rito e società in una colonia romana del Piceno fra Repubblica e tardo Impero,* Milano, 144-157.

Frapiccini, N. 2002, La ceramica a vernice nera, in E. Percossi Serenelli, (ed.), *Pievebovigliana fra preistoria e medioevo*, Pievebovigliana.

Frontini, P./M.T. Grassi, (eds.) 1998, *Indagini archeometriche relative alla ceramica a vernice nera: nuovi dati sulla provenienza e la diffusione, Atti del Seminario internazionale di Studio, Milano, 22-23 novembre 1996*, Como.

Gaggiotti, M./D. Manconi/L. Mercando/M. Verzar, 1980, *Guide archeologiche Laterza*, 4. *Umbria-Marche*, Bari.

Giovagnetti, C. 1991a, Rimini. Area dell'ex Palazzo Buonodrata. Ceramiche d'importazione a vernice nera lisce e decorate, *StEtr* 57, 81-103.

Giovagnetti, C. 1991b, Nuovi dati sulla colonizzazione romana del territorio ariminense. Materiali del Museo di Riccione, *Studi Romagnoli* 42, 125-140.

Giovagnetti, C. 1993a, La ceramica fine da mensa a vernice nera, in M.L. Stoppioni, (ed.), *Con la terra e con il fuoco, Fornaci romane del Riminese*, Rimini, 115-124.

Giovagnetti, C. 1993b, Il problema dei marchi di fabbrica: un esempio riminese, in M.L. Stoppioni, (ed.), *Con la terra e con il fuoco, Fornaci romane del Riminese*, Rimini, 171-175.

Giovagnetti, C. 1995. La ceramica di Rimini repubblicana. La vernice di produzione locale, *Pro Popolo Ariminense*, Faenza, 437-468.

Lamboglia, N. 1952, Per una classificazione preliminare della Ceramica Campana, *Atti del I Congresso Internazionale di Studi Liguri, Monaco-Bordighera-Gênes, 10-17 aprile 1950*, Bordighera, 139-206.

Landolfi, M. 1987, Presenze galliche nel Piceno a Sud del fiume Esino, in D. Vitali, (ed.), *Celti ed Etruschi nell' Italia centro-settentrionale dal V sec. A.C. alla romanizzazione, Atti del Colloquio internazionale, Bologna 12-14 aprile 1985*, Bologna, 443-468.

Landolfi, M. 1997, Il Piceno e il commercio Greco, in E. Serenelli, (ed.), *Museo archeologico nazionale delle Marche. Sezione protostorica. I Piceni*, Ancona, 120-123.

Landolfi, M. 1999, Kontinuität und Wandel der Picenischen Kultur im 4. Jh.v.Chr. Die ober-adriatische Keramik, in *Die Picener. Ein Volk Europas*, Roma-Frankfurt, 178-180.

Lollini, D./G. Baldelli, 1997a, La civiltà Picena, in E. Serenelli (ed.), *Museo archeologico delle Marche. Sezione protostorica. I Piceni*, Ancona, 13-14.

Lollini, D./G. Baldelli, 1997b, Piceno V (470-385 BC), in E. Serenelli (ed.), *Museo archeologico delle Marche. Sezione protostorica. I Piceni*, Ancona, 29-30.

Maioli, M.G. 1987, Resti di un insediamento preromano a Rimini: lo scavo all'ex Convento di S. Francesco. Relazione preliminare, in D. Vitali (ed.), *Celti ed Etruschi nell' Italia centro-settentrionale dal V sec. A.C. alla romanizzazione, Atti del Colloquio internazionale, Bologna 12-14 aprile 1985*, Imola, 381-392.

Mazzeo Saracino, L. 1988, I materiali ceramici, in P.L. Dall'Aglio/S. De Maria, Nuovi scavi e ricerche nella città romana di Suasa (AN). Relazione preliminare, *Picus* 8, 144-154.

Mazzeo Saracino, L. 1991, Aspetti della produzione e della commercializzazione dell'*instrumentum domesticum* di età romana nelle Marche alla luce dei rinvenimenti di

Suasa, in *Le Marche. Archeologia, Storia, Territorio 1991*, Sassoferrato, 53-94.

Mazzeo Saracino, L. 1994-1995, Le ceramiche di età repubblicana, in P. L. Dall'Aglio/S. De Maria, Scavi nella città romana di *Suasa*. Seconda relazione preliminare (1990-1995), *Picus* 14-15, 178-194.

Mazzeo Saracino, L/N. Morandi/M.C. Nannetti, 2000, Ceramica a vernice nera di *Ariminum*: produzione locale, rapporti produttivi e commerciali in base allo studio morfologico e archeometrico, in Brogliolo, G.P./G. Olcese (eds.), *Produzione ceramica in area padana tra il II secolo A.C. e il VII secolo D.C.: nuovi dati e prospettive di ricerca, Convegno internazionale di Desenzano del Garda, 8-10 aprile 1999*, Mantova, 135-142.

Mercando, L. 1974a, Portorecanati (Macerata). La necropoli romana di Portorecanati, *NSc*, 142-430.

Mercando, L. 1974b, Marche-Rinvenimenti di tomb di età romana, *NSc* 28, 88-141.

Mercando, L. 1976, L'ellenismo nel Piceno, in P. Zanker, (ed.), *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien* II, Göttingen, 160-218.

Mercando, L. 1979, Marche- Rinvenimenti di insediamenti rurali, *NSc* 23, 89-296.

Mercando, L/L. Brecciaroli Taborelli/G. Paci, 1981, Forme d'insediamento nel territorio marchigiano in età romana: ricerca preliminare, in G. Giardina/A. Schiavone, (eds.), *Società romana e produzione schiavistica* I, Bari, 311-347.

Montagna Pasquinucci, M. 1972, La ceramica a vernice nera del Museo Guarnacci di Volterra, *MEFRA* 84, 269-498.

Morel, J.-P. 1963, Notes sur la céramique étrusco-campanienne: Vases à vernis noir de Sardaigne et d'Arezzo, *MEFRA* 75, 1, Paris.

Morel, J.-P. 1969, Etudes de céramique campanienne, I, l'atelier des petites estampilles, *MEFRA* 81, 1, 59-117.

Morel, J.-P. 1981, *Céramique Campanienne: les formes*, Bibliothèques des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, Rome.

Morel, J.-P. 1987, La céramique à vernis noir en Italie septentrionale, in D. Vitali (ed.), *Celti ed Etruschi nell' Italia centro-settentrionale dal V sec. a.C. alla romanizzazione, Atti del Colloquio internazionale, Bologna, 12-14 aprile 1985*, Imola, 11-134.

Morel, J.-P. 1998, L'étude des céramiques à vernis noir, entre archéologie et archéométrie, in P. Frontini/M.T. Grassi (eds.), *Indagini archeometriche relative alla ceramica a vernice nera: nuovi dati sulla provenienza e la diffusione, Atti del Seminario internazionale di Studio, Milano, 22-23 novembre 1996*, Como, 9-22.

Paci, G. 1996-1997, Appendice I, coppetta a vernice nera con iscrizione graffita, in L. Brecciaroli Taborelli, Jesi (Ancona). L'officina ceramica di *Aesis* (III sec. a.C.- 1 sec. d.C.), *NSc*, 7-8, 5-252.

Paci, G. 2001a, Il Piceno tra III e II sec. a.C., in E. Percossi Serenelli (ed.), *Potentia. Quando poi scese il silenzio... Rito e società in una colonia romana del Piceno fra Repubblica e tardo Impero*, Milano, 20-23.

Paci, G. 2001b, Iscrizioni romane di Potentia, in E. Percossi Serenelli (ed.), *Potentia. Quando poi scese il silenzio... Rito e società in una colonia romana del Piceno fra Repubblica e tardo Impero*, Milano, 88-105.

Percossi Serenelli, E. (ed.) 1998, *Il Museo Archeologico Statale di Cingoli*, Recanati.

Percossi Serenelli, E. (ed.) 2001, *Potentia. Quando poi scese il silenzio... Rito e società in una colonia romana del Piceno fra Repubblica e tardo Impero*, Milano.

Percossi Serenelli, E. (ed.) 2002, *Pievebovigliana fra preistoria e medioevo*, Pievebovigliana.

Pignocchi, G./R. Virzì Hägglund, 1998, Materiali dell'abitato preromano e romano nell'area dell'anfiteatro di Ancona, *Picus* 18, 119-159.

Riccioni, G. 1972, Classificazione preliminare di un gruppo di ceramiche a vernice nera di Ariminum, in *I problemi della ceramica romana di Ravenna, della valle padana e dell'Alto Adriatico, Atti del Convegno, Ravenna, 10-12 maggio 1969*, Bologna, 229-239.

Salvini, M. (ed.) 2001, *Lo Scavo del Lungomare Vanvitelli, il porto romano di Ancona*, Ancona.

Serenelli, E. (ed.) 1997, *Museo archeologico nazionale delle Marche. Sezione protostorica. I Piceni*, Ancona.

Stoppioni, M.L. (ed.) 1993, *Con la terra e con il fuoco. Fornaci romane del Riminese*, Rimini.

Taylor, D.M. 1957, Cosa: Black-glazed Pottery, *MemAmAc* 25, 65-193.

Van Kerckhove, J. (unpublished MA Thesis Gent) 2002, Zwartgeverniste ceramiek in Italië. Een *status quaestionis* in confrontatie met de vondsten van 'le Marche' en de Potenza Valley Survey.

Vitali, D. (ed.) 1987, *Celti ed Etruschi nell'Italia centro-settentrionale dal V sec. a.C. alla romanizzazione, Atti del Colloquio internazionale, Bologna, 12-14 aprile 1985*, Imola.

Zampieri, G. 1996, *Museo archeologico di Padova, La collezione Casuccio*, Padova.

SCHELDESTRAAT 146
B-9040 SINT-AMANDSBERG
juvkerck@yahoo.com

BABesch 79 (2004)

Städtebauliche Veränderungen im Bereich des Pomeriums und der Porta Vesuvio unter dem Einfluss des Baues der Fernwasserversorgung in Pompeji*

Christoph Ohlig

Zusammenfassung

Im Rahmen einer Neustrukturierung seiner Kriegsflotte ließ Augustus in Misenum an der Spitze des Golfs von Neapel einen Hafen anlegen, der durch eine ebenfalls neu gebaute Wasserleitung versorgt wurde. Sie erschloss das mehr als 90 km von Misenum entfernte Quellgebiet von Serino im Apennin, und weil man die Wasserleitung nach Pompeji als Ableitung aus dieser Serinoleitung verstand, wurde ihr Bau ebenfalls augusteisch datiert.

Tatsächlich aber wurde das Wasserversorgungssystem Pompejis schon in sullanischer Zeit gebaut, und darüber hinaus ist das volle Ausmaß der damit in Zusammenhang stehenden Baumaßnahmen bislang im Dunkeln geblieben: Neben den eigentlichen Versorgungseinrichtungen wurden nämlich große Geländeauffüllungen im Bereich des äußeren Pomeriums vorgenommen, die Porta Vesuvio wurde stark verändert und die innere Pomerialstraße nach Westen wurde als Fahrstraße aufgegeben, umgebaut und überbaut.

Im folgenden Beitrag werden diese drei Baumaßnahmen sowohl im Einzelnen als auch in ihrem inneren Zusammenhang mit dem Bau des Wasserversorgungssystems vorgestellt und die Belege für die Datierung in sullanische Zeit diskutiert.

1. VORBEMERKUNG ZUR THEMENSTELLUNG

Die Stadt Pompeji deckte ihren Trinkwasserbedarf Jahrhunderte lang aus Regenwasserzisternen und Tiefbrunnen. Als dann eine Fernwasserleitung gebaut wurde, löste dieses Projekt in der Stadt umfangreiche Bauarbeiten aus: Verteilertürme[1] und Straßenbrunnen[2] wurden errichtet und zahllose Gräben mussten ausgehoben werden, um Bleirohre unterschiedlicher Größe zu den öffentlichen und privaten Verbrauchern zu verlegen.[3] Tiefbrunnen wurden stillgelegt,[4] Thermen,[5] öffentliche Gebäude und Privathäuser[6] mussten zum Anschluss an das Leitungsnetz baulich verändert werden usw. Um alle diese Arbeiten geht es in diesem Beitrag jedoch nicht.

Es soll hier vielmehr analysiert werden, welche tiefgreifenden städtebaulichen Veränderungen aus dem Bau der Fernleitung und der Wahl des Standortes der Wasserverteilungsanlage an der Spitze der Regio VI 16 für die bauliche Gestaltung und die Funktion des äußeren Pomeriums, der Porta Vesuvio und der inneren Pomerialstraße resultierten.

2. GRUNDLEGENDES ZUR WASSERVERSORGUNG POMPEJIS

2.1. Die bisherige Theorie

Mehrere Tage, bevor R. Paribeni, der Ausgräber des *Castellum Aquae*, im März 1902 die bis dahin meterhoch mit Verfüllungsmaterial bedeckten Verteilungseinrichtungen im Becken auch nur sehen konnte, erklärte er schon, die Wasserverteilung in dieser Anlage habe so funktioniert, wie es Vitruv in *De architectura* VIII. 6. 1+2 beschrieben habe.[7]

Im Jahre 1958 ergänzte der deutsche Ingenieur F. Kretzschmer diese Interpretation mit einer technischen Funktionsbeschreibung (drei unterschiedlich hohe Wehrplatten vor den Ausläufen, die bei Wasserknappheit nacheinander trocken fielen[8]), die zwar ebenso wenig mit dem tatsächlichen archäologischen Befund der Anlage in Pompeji zu tun hatte wie mit den Ausführungen Vitruvs. Sie war aber in sich technisch so plausibel und so faszinierend einfach, dass sie in kürzester Zeit die Lehrbücher eroberte und bis heute ein scheinbar unausrottbares Eigenleben entwickelte.[9]

Schließlich führte der vermutete Zusammenhang der Wasserversorgung Pompejis mit der in

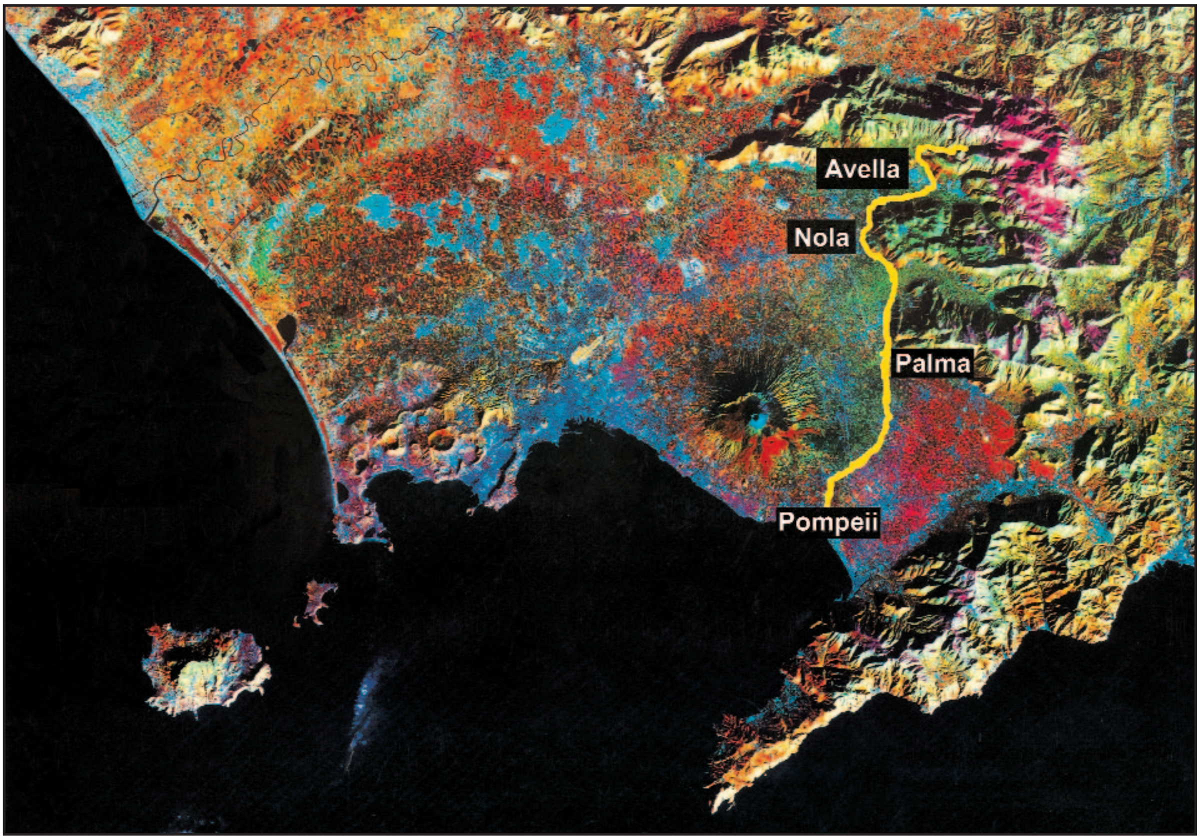


Abb. 1. Verlauf der Avellaleitung aus dem Quellgebiet nordöstlich von Avella, vorbei an Nola, Wechsel vom Apennin- zum Vesuvhang bei Palma (Campania) und Weiterführung nach Pompeji.

augusteische Zeit datierten Fernwasserleitung von Serino nach Misenum[10] dazu, dass der Bau der Fernwasserversorgung Pompejis insgesamt in augusteische Zeit datiert wurde und wird.

2.2. Neue Ergebnisse

Die Ergebnisse der neuen Untersuchungen der Wasserversorgungs- und Wasserverteilungsanlage Pompejis[11] können hier nur stichwortartig zusammengefasst werden:

1. Die bisherige Vitruvinterpretation ist (ganz unabhängig von der Frage nach der Konstruktion der Anlage in Pompeji) zu revidieren. Vitruv entwickelt sein Verteilungsmodell nicht mit der Intention, einem Wassermangel im Zulauf zu begegnen, sondern er möchte eine Verteilung sicherstellen, die zunächst allen Verbrauchergruppen den ihnen zustehenden Anteil gewährt, und die gegen missbräuchliche Entnahme durch je eigene Rohrnetze gesichert ist. Dann aber will Vitruv das von den Thermen oder den Privaten nicht abgenommene Wasser zusätzlich der Allgemeinheit zukommen lassen.
2. Der Vitruvtext kann nicht zur Funktionserklärung der Anlage in Pompeji herangezogen werden, Vitruv und Pompeji haben nichts miteinander zu tun.[12]
3. Eindeutige Belege für grundlegende Umbauten im Beckenbereich und in der Verteilungstechnik, phänomenologisch wie auch mineralogisch deutlich voneinander zu unterscheidende Kalksinterablagerungen im Zuleitungskanal und Hinweise auf Veränderung am äußeren Baukörper weisen zusammen unabweisbar auf zwei Bauphasen in der Wasserverteilungsanlage Pompejis hin, die folgendermaßen zu bestimmen sind:

- In der 1. Phase bekam die Stadt Wasser aus einer eigenen Leitung aus den Bergen nordöstlich von Avella. Diese Leitung lief mit natürlichem Gefälle an den Hängen des Apennin entlang, wechselte auf einer Höhe von ca. 51 m über NN in der Nähe der Stadt Palma Campania auf den Hang des Vesuvs und folgte diesem von Nordosten herkommend bis nach Pompeji (*Abb. 1*). Das

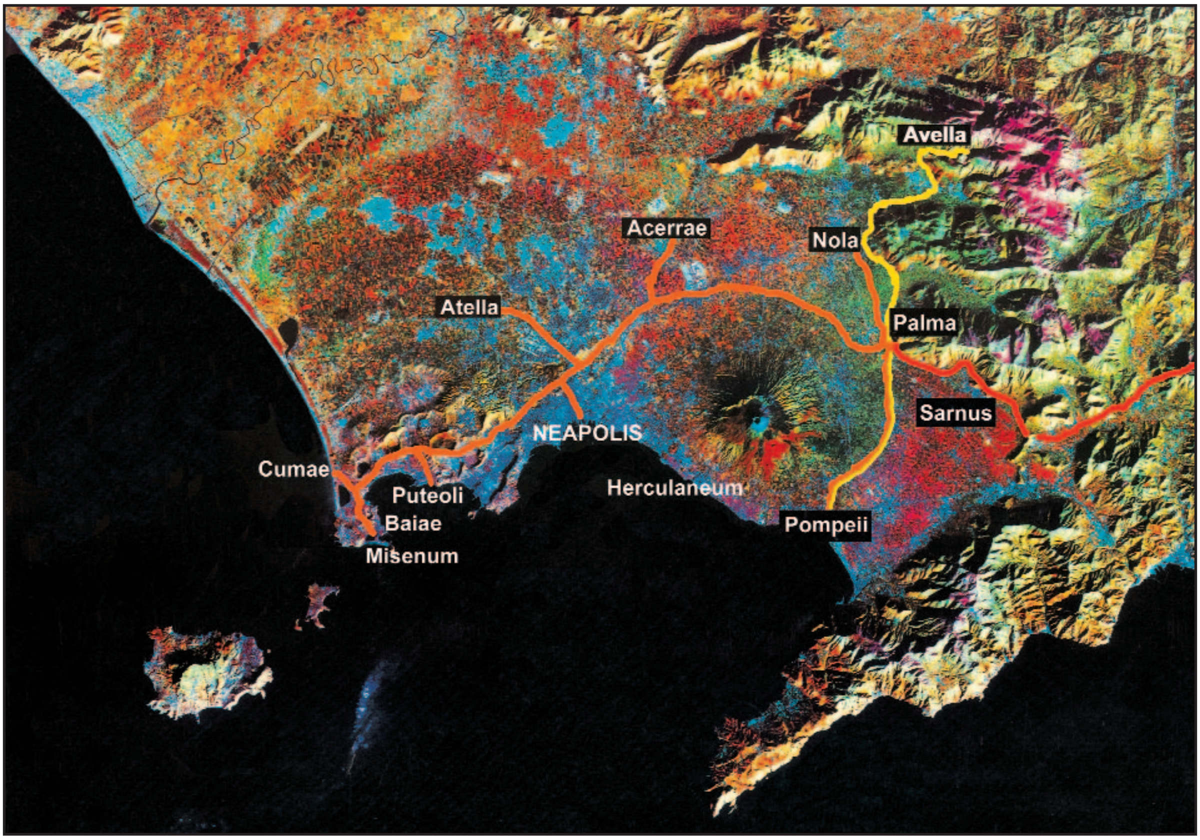


Abb. 2. Das System der Avella-/Serinoleitung zur Versorgung der gesamten Campania und des kaiserlichen Flottenstützpunktes Misenum an der Spitze des Golfs von Neapel. Das Quellgebiet von Serino liegt außerhalb des Kartenausschnitts in nordöstlicher Richtung im Apennin. Die Serinoleitung hat eine Länge von ca. 90 km.

an sich sehr reichliche Wasserdargebot der Avellaquellen war, abhängig von den Jahreszeiten, sehr schwankend, was zu Wasserknappheit im Sommer führte. Die Leitung ergoss das Wasser in ein offenes Becken, aus dem es ungeregelt über drei Bleirohre in das innerstädtische Verteilungsnetz weitergeleitet wurde.

- Die 2. Phase wird bestimmt durch den Bau der augusteisch datierten Serinoleitung. Diese musste aus topographischen Gründen auf ihrem Weg von Serino nach Misenum die Avellaleitung kreuzen. Die beiden Leitungen wurden zusammengeführt, und Pompeji bekam von diesem Zeitpunkt an, ebenso wie viele andere campanische Städte und vor allem der Hafen von Misenum, ein Mischwasser aus den Quellgebieten von Serino und Avella (*Abb. 2*). Der bisherige Abschnitt der Avellaleitung zwischen dem Kreuzungspunkt und Pompeji wurde dabei als Zuleitungskanal weiterbenutzt, und deshalb finden sich hier die Kalksinterablagerungen beider Versorgungsphasen wieder.

Der große Vorteil der neuen Versorgungssituation bestand für Pompeji darin, dass es jetzt stetig, auch im Sommer, mit Wasser versorgt wurde. Der scheinbare Nachteil, dass das Frischwasser jetzt nur noch in geringerer Menge zur Verfügung stand (geringer jedenfalls als die Spitzenmenge der Avellaleitung), wurde dadurch kompensiert, dass man die zur Verfügung stehende Wassermenge bewirtschaftete, d. h. genauer und dem jeweiligen Bedarf angepasst auf die drei Druckrohrstränge verteilte. Dazu hatte man das Becken umgebaut und technische Einrichtungen geschaffen, die einfach und flexibel zu bedienen waren.[13] Um diese Regeleinrichtungen gegen Missbrauch zu schützen, wurde das Castellum als Schutzraum über die bisher offene Beckenanlage gebaut.

4. Bislang unbekannte Seitenkanäle vor der Stadt versorgten weitere Verbraucher, wie wahrscheinlich den *Pagus Augustus Felix Suburbanus* im Nordosten Pompejis.
5. Die Trassenführung und Höhenlage des Zuleitungskanals erlaubte wahrscheinlich auch die

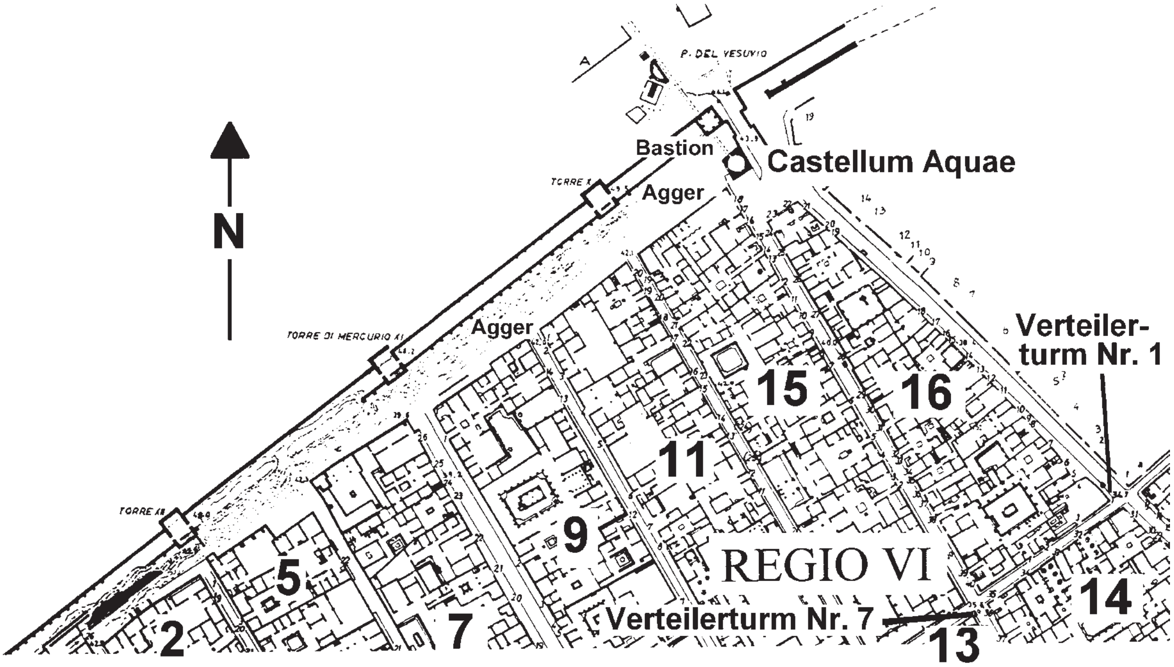


Abb. 3. Lageplan der Nordregion Pompejis: Das Castellum Aquae im Agger vor der Bastion im Eckbereich von Stadtmauer und Porta Vesuvio; Verlauf des Zuleitungskanals von Norden, vorbei an Grabmälern vor der Stadt.

Wasserversorgung eines vorstädtischen 'Industriekomplexes'.

Der Verlauf der Untersuchungen und die notwendige Ausdehnung des Untersuchungsbereiches auf den Zuleitungskanal und die Quellgebiete brachten es mit sich, dass neben der zentralen Frage nach Herkunft, Zuleitung und Verteilung des Wassers auch andere Bereiche in den Blick genommen werden mussten. Dazu gehören die städtebaulichen Veränderungen, die im Zusammenhang mit der Wasserversorgungsanlage vorgenommen wurden und die im Folgenden ausführlich dargestellt werden sollen:

- Das *äußere Pomerium*, ursprünglich eine Senke innerhalb des vom Vesuv herabführenden Lavasporns, auf dem Pompeji gegründet wurde, erfuhr im Zusammenhang mit dem Bau des Zuleitungskanals eine erhebliche Niveauerhöhung. Auch die Niveauerhöhung des nördlichen Abschnitts der Via del Vesuvio und des Platzes zwischen dem Castellum und der Regio VI 16 lassen sich zwingend auf den Bau der Wasserleitung und einen - bislang unbekannten - Seitenkanal zurückführen, der zuerst die Via del Vesuvio, dann die östliche äußere Pomerialstraße kreuzt und wahrscheinlich den im Nordnordosten Pompejis gelegenen *Pagus Augustus Felix Suburbanus* (oder zumindest einen Teil dieser Vorstadt) mit Trinkwasser versorgte.

- Die Wahl des Standortes der Verteileranlage direkt neben der *Porta Vesuvio* führte zu einem erheblichen Rückbau der Porta Vesuvio selbst. Dieses Tor verlor damit nicht nur seine fortifikatorische Bedeutung, sondern der Westflügel musste gegenüber dem Verteilerbecken der neuen Fernwasserleitung buchstäblich zurücktreten.

- Der Standort der Wasserverteilungsanlage wirkte sich ebenfalls massiv auf die *innere Pomerialstraße* aus, weil das Verteilerbecken deren bisherige Zufahrt an der Porta Vesuvio fast vollständig blockierte. Die in ihrer vorletzten Phase noch aus Fahrbahn und Gehweg bestehende Straße wurde in ihrer letzten Phase so umgebaut, dass sie nur noch aus einem Gehweg und einer breiten Ableitungsrinne für das Niederschlagswasser des Aggers bestand. Vergleichbar der Funktionsänderung der Porta Vesuvio büßte also auch die innere Pomerialstraße spätestens durch den Bau der Wasserverteileranlage ihre Bedeutung und Funktion endgültig ein.

3. DIE VERÄNDERUNGEN IM ÄUßEREN POMERIUM

3.1. Der Zuleitungskanal im äußeren Pomerium - allgemeine Orientierung

Im Eckbereich zwischen der Stadtmauer und der Porta Vesuvio ist eine erdgefüllte Bastion angelegt, die in NW-SO-Richtung ca. 6,50 m misst. Der Raum

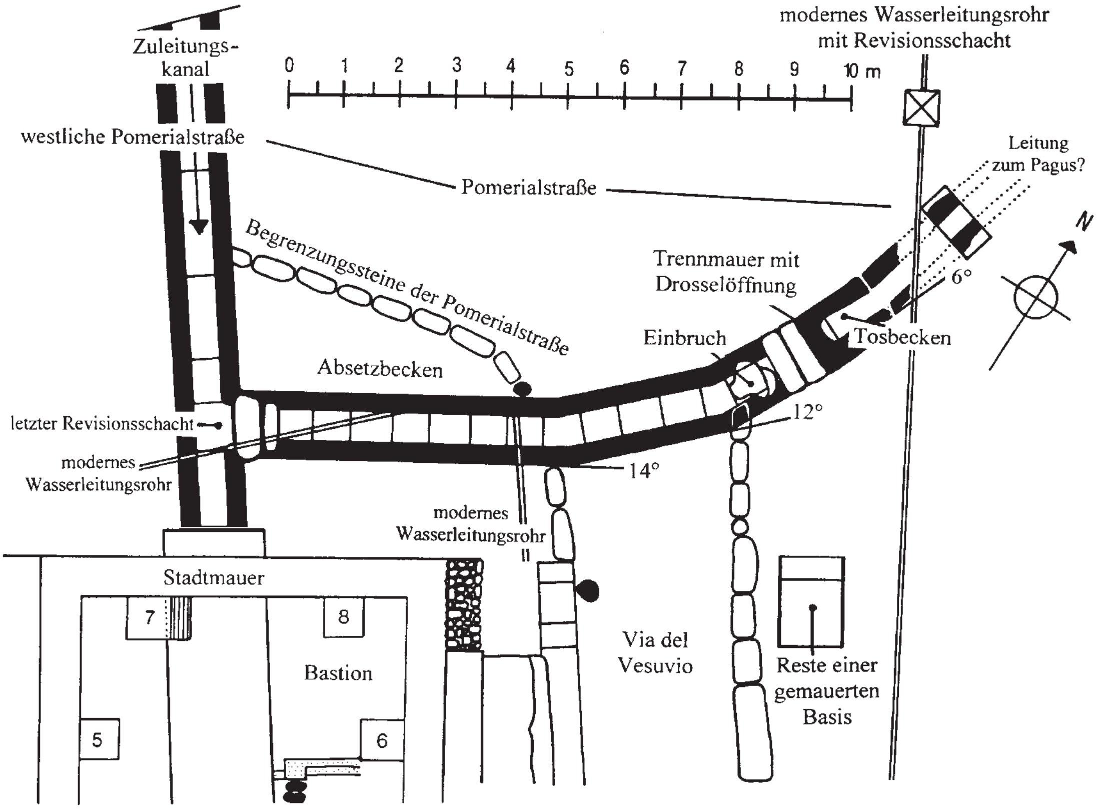

Zuleitungs-kanal
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 m
modernes Wasserleitungsrohr mit Revisionsschacht
westliche Pomerialstraße
Pomerialstraße
Leitung zum Pagus?
Begrenzungssteine der Pomerialstraße
N
Trennmauer mit Drosselöffnung
6°
Einbruch
Tosbecken
Absetzbecken
12°
letzter Revisionsschacht
modernes Wasserleitungsrohr
14°
modernes Wasserleitungsrohr
Stadtmauer
7
8
Bastion
Via del Vesuvio
Reste einer gemauerten Basis
5
6

Abb. 4. Lage und Verlauf des Zuleitungskanals und des Seitenkanals nach Nordosten, wahrscheinlich zur Versorgung des Pagus Augustus Felix Suburbanus.

zwischen dieser Bastion und dem Castellum, dessen Nordwand rund 15 m von der Stadtmauer entfernt ist, wird vom Agger eingenommen, einem von der Porta Vesuvio nach Südwesten verlaufenden Erdwall (*Abb. 3*).

Kurz vor der Stadtmauer ist im Bereich eines Revisionsschachtes ein Seitenkanal an den Zuleitungskanal angeschlossen (*Abb. 4*). Er leitete ursprünglich Wasser nach Nordnordosten ab, wurde aber schon in der Antike im Abzweig verschlossen.[14] Der erste Abschnitt dieses Seitenkanals ist als ungewöhnliche Reinigungseinrichtung ausgebaut, deren Funktion hier nicht weiter erläutert werden kann.[15]

In Verlängerung nach Nordwesten läuft der Zuleitungskanal östlich von einigen Grabmälern und knickt, ungefähr 35 m vor der Stadtmauer, um 12 Grad weiter nach Norden versetzt ab (*Abb. 5*). In einer Entfernung von ca. 105 m bis 125 m von der Stadtmauer passiert der Kanal die sog. Villa des T. Siminius Stephanus, einen Gebäudekomplex, der schon früher als Metallwerkstatt und kürzlich von G. Stefani als eine Kombination von Metall- und Marmorwerkstatt vorgestellt wurde.[16] Zwischen dem Kanal und diesem ‘Industriekomplex’ wurde vom Verfasser in einer Suchgrabung ein Straßenbelag aus einer gestampften Schicht festgestellt,[17] deren Aussehen und Zusammensetzung der der später gefundenen inneren Pomerialstraße gleicht (s. u.).

3.2. Bisherige Annahmen zur topographischen Situation vor der Stadt

Im Gelände unmittelbar vor der Porta Vesuvio hat es bislang keine systematische Erforschung des Untergrundes gegeben. Während man in der Literatur[18] darüber einig ist, dass die Stadt auf einem prähistorischen Lavasporn des Vesuvs gegründet sei, ist dessen konkrete Form unklar: Die einen glauben, das Gelände falle vom Vesuv her mehr oder weniger linear bis zur Absturzkante südlich des Foro Triangolare ab, die anderen vermuten, dass sich unmittelbar vor der Stadt zuerst eine Senke befand, hinter der sich der Hügel dann vorübergehend erneut aufwölbte, um schließlich im Stadtgebiet einigermaßen gleichmäßig abzufallen.

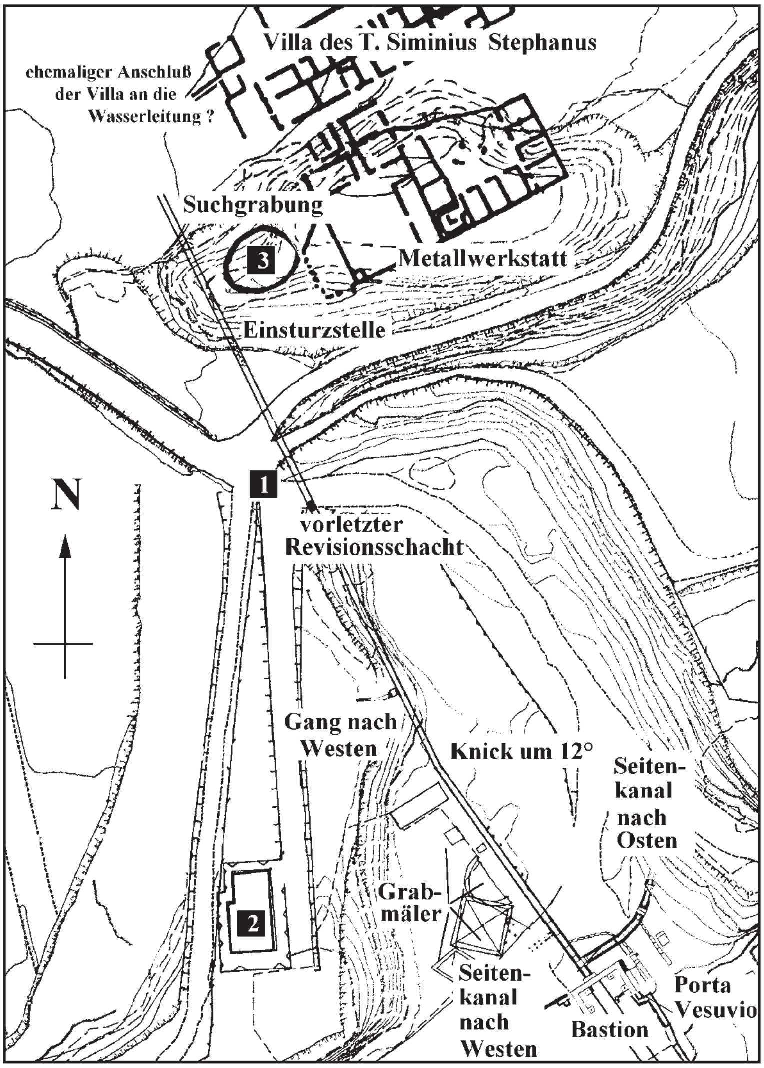

Villa des T. Siminius Stephanus
ehemaliger Anschluß der Villa an die Wasserleitung ?
Suchgrabung
3
Metallwerkstatt
Einsturzstelle
N
1
vorletzter Revisionsschacht
Gang nach Westen
Knick um 12°
Seitenkanal nach Osten
Grabmäler
2
Seitenkanal nach Westen
Bastion
Porta Vesuvio

Abb. 5. Verlauf des Zuleitungskanals im nördlichen Vorgelände der Stadt. Kartenausschnitt nach NEAPOLIS 3, Tav. 3, Porta Vesuvio (F10B1C). Hinzugefügt wurden alle wichtigen Bauteile und Nebenanlagen, die bei dieser Untersuchung festgestellt wurden, zusätzlich die Grundrisse der Villa des T. Siminius Stephanus sowie der Metallwerkstatt (in der Rekonstruktion von G. Stefani), deren Lage aber nur geschätzt, nicht eingemessen wurde. Ziffer 1: Moderne Toranlage mit Schranke am Eingang ins Grabungsgelände; Ziffer 2: Kustodenhaus; Ziffer 3: Fundstelle eines bei einer Suchgrabung nach dem Zuleitungskanal gefundenen gestampften Straßenbelages.

3.3. Neue Einsichten in die Geländestruktur aus den Untersuchungen des Zuleitungskanals

3.3.1. Problemstellung

Im allgemeinen mag man die Frage nach dem genauen Geländeprofil im Bereich vor der Porta Vesuvio für akademisch halten. Für Planung und Bau der Wasserleitung hat sie aber große Bedeutung: Wenn nämlich der Ausgangspunkt des Zuleitungskanals an der Stelle, an der in der 1. Versorgungsphase die Avellaleitung von den Hängen des Apennins auf den Hang des Vesuvs wechselte und wo in der 2. Versorgungsphase der Anschluss an die neuerrichtete Serinoleitung erfolgte (*Abb. 2*), bei etwa 51 m über NN liegt (etwa 14 km Luftlinie von Pompeji entfernt), musste sein Niveau beim Erreichen des vom Vesuv herkommenden Lavasporns nordöstlich der Stadt, der seinerseits mehr als 50 m über NN liegt, schon mehrere Meter tiefer liegen, um das auf ca. 43 m über NN liegende Castellum zu er-

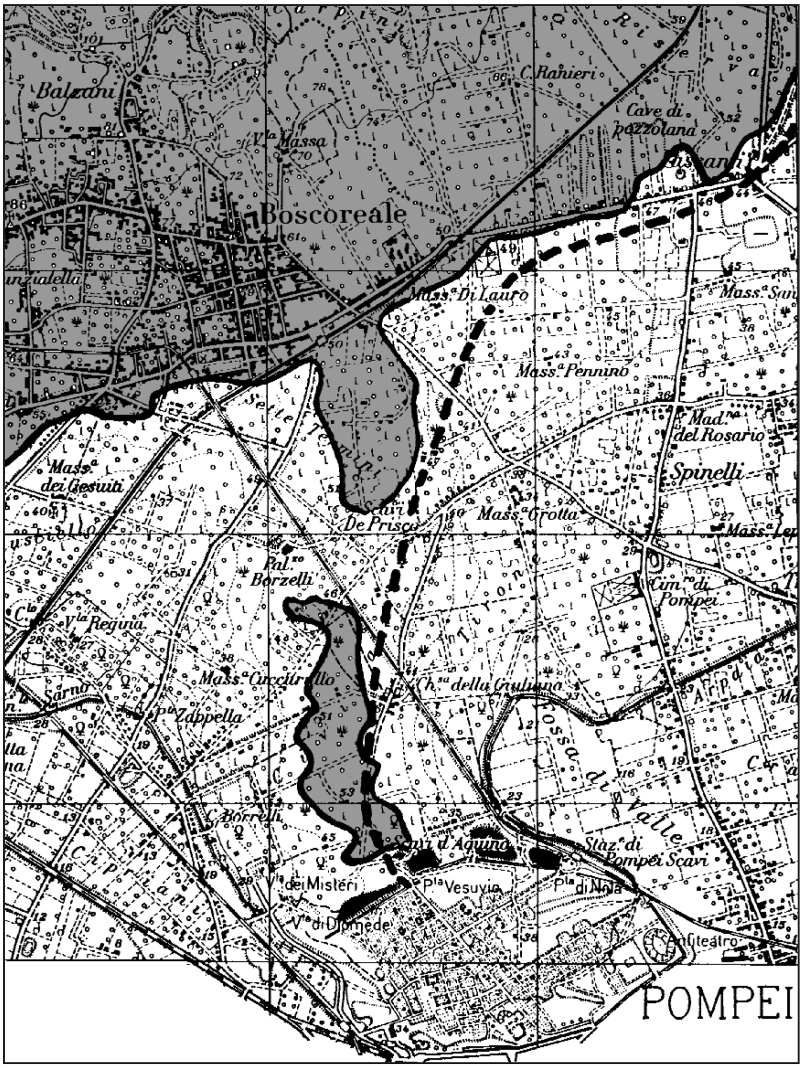

Balzani
C. Ranieri
Cave di pozzolana
V.la Massa
Boscoreale
Mass.a Di Lauro
Mass.a Pennino
Mad.na del Rosario
Spinelli
Mass.a dei Gesuiti
Scavi De Prisco
Mass.a Grotta
Pal.zo Borzelli
V.la Regina
Mass.a Circitiello
Ch.sa della Giuliana
Sarno
P.la Zappella
C. Borrelli
Cim.o di Pompei
Fossa di Valle
Staz. di Pompei Scavi
dei Misteri
V.a di Diomede
P.ta Vesuvio
P.ta di Nola
Anfiteatro
POMPEI

Abb. 6. Ausschnitt aus der Karte des Istituto Geografico Militare (IGM, Carta d'Italia, Blatt 185 III N.O.). Herausgehoben sind die 50-m-Höhenlinie, die über 50 m Höhe liegenden Flächen (grau) und die Hügel aus Grabungsschutt im Norden der Stadt (scharz). Der hypothetische Verlauf der Trasse des Zuleitungskanals auf der Ostseite des prähistorischen Lavasporns ist gestrichelt eingezeichnet.

reichen. Der Kanal müsste also den Rücken des Lavasporns mindestens auf einer kurzen Strecke unterhalb des dortigen Geländeniveaus durchschnitten haben (*Abb. 6*). Nach Austritt aus diesem Abhang (in der Nähe der Villa des T. Siminius Stephanus) müsste der Kanal oberirdisch weitergegangen sein, und wenn es dann unmittelbar vor der Stadt eine natürliche Senke im Geländeprofil gab, dann hätte man diese Senke sogar zuerst auffüllen oder in anderer Weise überbrücken müssen, um den Kanal auf der notwendigen Höhe an die Stadt heranführen zu können.

3.3.2. Der Zuleitungskanal: Abmessungen, Bauabschnitte und Baureihenfolge

Der Zuleitungskanal ist zwar bis ca. 112 m vor dem Castellum, wo sein Gewölbe eingestürzt ist, zugänglich. Da aber der vorletzte Revisionsschacht (ca. 90 m vor dem Castellum und in unmittelbarer Nähe der heutigen Einfahrt ins Grabungsgelände, s. *Abb. 5*) stark einsturzgefährdet ist, beschränkten sich die Untersuchungen auf den Bereich bis zu diesem Schacht.[19]

Wangen und Tonnengewölbe des Kanals sind aus *opus caementicium* gefertigt. Die Fließrinne ist in unterschiedlichen Höhen mit *opus signinum* verputzt.

Im Untersuchungsbereich lassen sich drei Bauabschnitte unterscheiden, die auf die Stadt zulaufend als Bauabschnitte X (bis zum Knick um 12°), Y (vom Knick um 12° bis zur Stadtmauer, einschließlich der Seitenkanäle) und Z (von der Stadtmauer bis zur Einmündung ins Castellum) bezeichnet werden (*Abb. 7*).

Die Maße des Zuleitungskanals lassen sich fast immer glatt in Römische Fuß[20] konvertieren: Er ist im Abschnitt Z, der die Last des Aggers, der Bastion und der Stadtmauer aufzunehmen hat, insgesamt 6′ breit (2′ Mauerstärke der Wangen + 2′ lichte Weite der Fließrinne) und 7′ hoch (4′ lichte Höhe der Wangen, knapp 1′ lichte Höhe der Wölbung, 2′ Mauerstärke des Gewölbes). Das Bauwerk ist hier also von der Sohle bis zum höchsten Punkt der Gewölbeoberfläche ungefähr 2 m hoch.

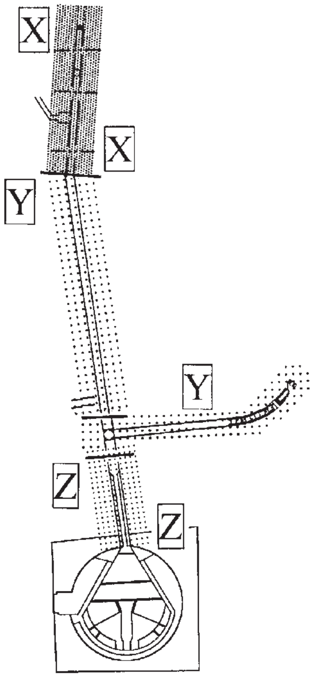


Abb. 7. Bezeichnung der im untersuchten Bereich des Zuleitungskanals festgestellten Bauabschnitte.

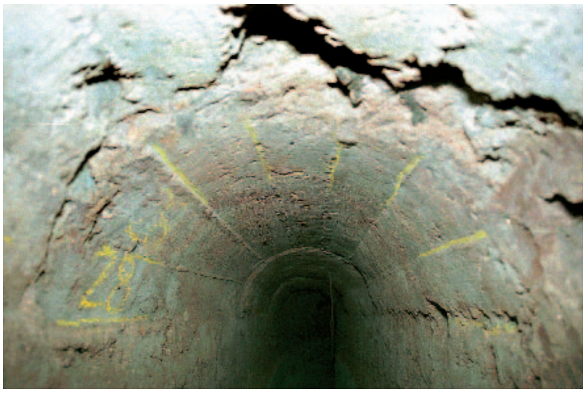


Abb. 8. Typischer Abdruck der Schalbretter eines Lehrgerüstes im Gewölbe des Zuleitungskanals nach Pompeji (Abdruck 28, ca. 32 m vor der Stadtmauer).

In den Abschnitten Y und X ist der Kanal 4′ breit (1′ Mauerstärke der Wangen, 2′ lichte Weite) und 5′ hoch (3′ lichte Höhe der Wangen, knapp 1′ lichte Höhe der Wölbung, 1′ Mauerstärke des Gewölbes).

Während sich also Mauerstärke und Gesamthöhe des Abschnitts Z von den davor liegenden Abschnitten unterscheiden, ist die Fließrinne des Kanals im gesamten Untersuchungsbereich gleichmäßig ca. 2′ breit.

Wichtige Aufschlüsse lieferte die Analyse der Abdrücke, die die Bretter der Lehrgerüste im Gewölbe hinterlassen haben (*Abb. 8*). Diese Lehrgerüste waren von unterschiedlicher Länge (sehr viele sind 5′, das kürzeste ist mit 81 cm knapp 3′, das mit 3,84 m längste ist 13′ lang). Die Analyse der 42 untersuchten Abdrücke zeigt, dass der Zuleitungskanal im laufenden Baufortschritt unter mehrfacher Verwendung vorgefertigter, standardisierter Lehrgerüste errichtet wurde. Diese Wiederverwendung erfolgte im Prinzip in der in Abb. 9 dargestellten Weise.

Die Analyse der Schalbrettabdrücke im Gewölbe führte darüber hinaus auch zu der Erkenntnis, dass der Bauabschnitt Y, also der Bereich zwischen der Stadtmauer und dem ca. 35 m von ihr entfernten Knick um 12°, und dabei handelt es sich um den Kanalabschnitt im äußeren Pomerium, als letzter in den sowohl davor als auch dahinter schon fertiggestellten Kanal eingefügt worden ist. Dies ist sehr ungewöhnlich, denn derartige Kanäle wurden in aller Regel fortlaufend von der Höhe in die Tiefe (= von der Quelle zum Verbraucher) gebaut.

Weiterhin lässt sich in diesem Bauabschnitt, abweichend von der Ausführung in den beiden anderen Abschnitten, eine große Zahl von Baumängeln feststellen (in der Gesamtausrichtung der Fließrinne, in der Ungleichmäßigkeit der Wangenhöhen, in Verputzhöhe und -ausführung im Inneren, in der Ausrichtung der Gewölbe-Lehrgerüste zur Fließrinne, am Außenverputz des Gewölbes usw.). Dies lässt darauf schließen, dass dieser Bauabschnitt - auf Kosten der Sorgfalt - in größter Eile errichtet wurde.

3.3.3. Die vorgefundene Situation des Zuleitungskanals im Gelände

• Der Zuleitungskanal hat zwischen dem vorletzten Revisionsschacht und dem Einlauf ins Becken fast kein Gefälle. Dies ist nicht sehr verwunderlich, denn der auf der gesamten Strecke zwischen der Übergangsstelle vom Apennin zum Vesuv und dem Verteilungsbecken im Castellum zur Verfügung stehende Höhenunterschied beträgt nur rund 8 m auf ca. 14 km Entfernung (Luftlinie). Daraus ergibt sich rechnerisch ein Gefälle von ca. 0,06%. Bei sorgfältiger Nivellierung der Trasse reichte dieser Wert für einen störungsfreien Betrieb der Leitung aus, wie der Vergleich mit anderen antiken Wasserleitungen zeigt.[21] Innerhalb dieser fast horizontalen Strecke jedoch befindet sich ein Abschnitt - von ca. 35 m bis ca. 5 m vor der Stadtmauer, also genau der Bereich des äußeren Pomeriums (!) -, der eine schüsselartige Absenkung hat. Deren tiefste Stelle liegt knapp 15 cm unter dem Niveau der Beckensohle im Castellum. Die Vermessung sowohl der Sohle, der beidseitigen Kalksinterablagerungen als auch des Gewölbes, die alle mit paralleler Linienführung denselben abgesenkten Verlauf zeigen, belegen eindeutig, dass diese Senkung nicht etwa eine Nachlässigkeit in der Nivellierung und Bauausführung der Kanalsohle ist, sondern dass das Bauwerk sich als Ganzes gesenkt hat. Diese Senkung kann nur nach dem Vesuvausbruch und nach dem Ende der Betriebszeit erfolgt und durch das Gewicht der auflastenden Verschüttungsmassen verursacht worden sein. Wäre die Senkung nämlich von Anfang an vorhanden gewesen oder während der Betriebszeit erfolgt, dann hätte sich der Wasserspiegel über der Senke mehr oder weniger gleichmäßig horizontal eingestellt, und die Sinterablagerungen würden nicht denselben Kurvenverlauf zeigen wie die Sohle und das Gewölbe.

Eine zur Kontrolle vorgenommene überschlägige Vermessung der Grabmäler vor der Stadtmauer (*Abb. 3* und *5*), die in unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft dieses Kanalabschnitts errichtetet worden sind, ergab folgendes: Auch das Grabmal des Vestorius Priscus, das Grabmal der Arellia Tertulla und das Grabmal der Septumia sind in derselben Richtung geneigt wie der in unmittelbarer Nähe unter ihnen vorbeilaufende Kanal. Beim Grabmal der Arellia Tertulla ist die Differenz mit 10 cm am deutlichsten.

• Um ein genaueres Bild von der Kanalsituation im Bereich der Villa des T. Siminius Stephanus zu gewinnen, wurde im September 1997 in einer Suchgrabung versucht, den schon einmal im Jahre 1901 in dieser Gegend gefundenen Zuleitungskanal wiederzufinden. Dieses Ziel wurde zwar nicht erreicht, aber aus den Vermessungen des Kanalverlaufes im Inneren und der Niveauhöhen (und zwar: a] der zwischen dem Zuleitungskanal und der Villa des Titus Siminius Stephanus aufgefundenen Straßenoberfläche, b] des vermutlichen Fußbodens der sog. Metallwerkstatt) wurde folgende Situation ermittelt:

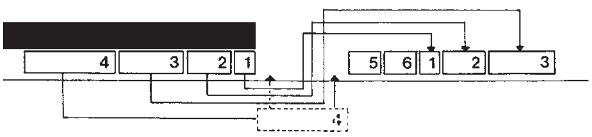


Abb. 9. Prinzipskizze: Methode der Wiederverwendung von Lehrgerüsten zum Gewölbebau nach Entnahme durch eine vorbestimmte Lücke, die später ebenfalls verschlossen wurde.

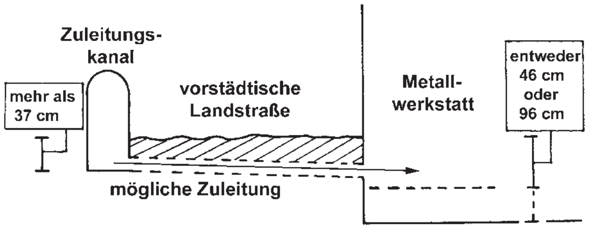


Abb. 10. Niveauverhältnis von Zuleitungskanal, vorstädtischer Landstraße und Metallwerkstatt (sog. Villa des T. Siminius Stephanus) zueinander.

Die Metallwerkstatt liegt etwa 1,70 m tiefer als der nördlich davon liegende Teil der Villa des Titus Siminius Stephanus (Marmorwerkstatt).[22] Dieser 'Industriekomplex' liegt also insgesamt auf unterschiedlichen Höhen an einem Abhang.

Die Sohle des Zuleitungskanals, der diesen Gebäudekomplex in geringer Entfernung (Straßenbreite) passiert, liegt hier deutlich oberhalb des Fußbodens der Metallwerkstatt, aber etwas tiefer als die Straße zwischen dem Kanal und der Metallwerkstatt (*Abb. 10*).[23]

Wenn der Zuleitungskanal also unmittelbar vor der Stadtmauer ungefähr auf demselben Niveau liegt wie ca. 110 m davor beim Passieren der Metallwerkstatt, die ihrerseits schon 1,70 m tiefer liegt als die etwas weiter nördlich gelegene Villa des T. Siminius Stephanus, und wenn der Kanal dort sowohl das Fußbodenniveau des Gebäudekomplexes als auch das der dazwischenliegenden Straße zumindest zu einem großen Teil überragt, dann kann es sich bei dem dazwischenliegenden Geländeprofil nicht um einen Abhang mit mehr oder weniger linearem Anstieg nach Norden handeln.

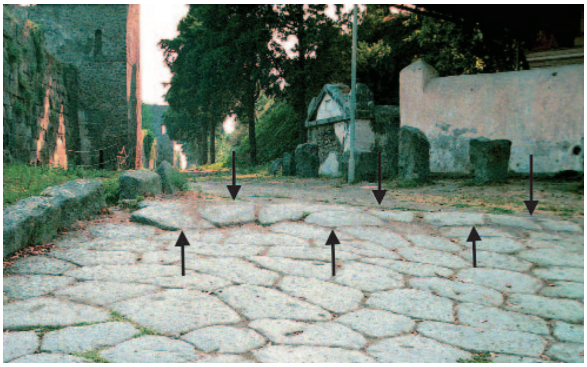


Abb. 11. Unterschiedliche Senkungen des Straßenpflasters vor bzw. auf dem Zuleitungskanal vor der Stadtmauer.

Es deutet vielmehr alles darauf hin, dass der Kanal nach Verlassen des Abhangs zuerst oberirdisch auf einer fast ebenen Fläche weitergeführt wurde. Die Tatsache, dass er unmittelbar vor der Stadt, im Bereich des eigentlichen Pomeriums, eingesunken ist, weist auf einen weniger tragfähigen Untergrund in diesem Abschnitt hin, der zu Auffüllung einer dort ursprünglich vorhandenen Senke angeschüttet worden war und unter der Last der Verschüttungsmassen der Eruption von 79 n. Chr. nachgegeben hat.

Der nicht abgesenkte Bereich hingegen - auf der Nordseite bis zum Knick um 12°, der Grenze zwischen den Bauabschnitten X und Y, auf der Südseite der Bereich unmittelbar vor der Stadtmauer - dürfte auf 'gewachsenem Boden' stehen und dem Druck des auflastenden Materials standgehalten haben.

Dass die äußere Pomerialstraße nach Westen nach Fertigstellung des Kanals erneut aufgefüllt wurde, aber nur gerade so hoch, dass sie den Kanal bedeckt, zeigt sich in einem weiteren Detail (*Abb. 11*): Die Lavapolygone, mit denen die Straße 'gepflastert' ist, liegen direkt, mit einer nur ganz geringen Bettung, auf dem Kanalgewölbe auf.[24] Sie haben sich deshalb vollkommen parallel zum und mit dem Kanal unter der Last der auflagernden Verschüttungsmassen (hier nach Norden [in Abb. 11 nach rechts] abfallend) gesenkt.

Unmittelbar vor der auf dem Gewölbe aufliegenden Reihe ist die Pflasterung jedoch aufgrund stärkerer Setzungen im (aufgefüllten) Erdreich auf ganzer Fläche weiter abgesackt.

3.3.4. Frühere Forschungen: Spano und Maiuri

Spano: Ab Januar 1907 wurde der Bereich nördlich der Stadt freigelegt, wobei man von der Stadt aus nach Norden arbeitete. Spano beschreibt, wie die Pomerialstraße im Kreuzungsbereich mit der Via del Vesuvio nach Westen stark ansteigt, während sie nach Osten stark abfällt. Die auffällige Steigung nach Westen sieht der Ausgräber in dem hier die Pomerialstraße unterquerenden Zuleitungskanal begründet, den er ansonsten aber nicht weiter beachtet. Spano glaubt, dass der Straßenbereich um den Kanal nach dessen Fertigstellung mit Schuttmaterial jeglicher Art aufgefüllt worden sei.[25] Dasselbe Füllmaterial hat Spano später auch an einer Stelle unweit der Grenze zwischen den Abschnitten X und Y festgestellt, wo er das Gewölbe des Zuleitungskanals etwa 50 cm unter dem damaligen Niveau der Umgebung freigelegt hatte. Durch die Tatsache, dass in einem so großen Bereich dasselbe Füllmaterial anzutreffen ist, sah sich Spano in seiner Auffassung bestätigt, dass es sich um eine künstliche Geländeauffüllung handeln müsse, die man im Pomerialbereich östlich der Via del Vesuvio nicht antreffen könne. Die Stadt müsse deshalb auf einer von allen Seiten unzugänglichen Erhebung errichtet worden sei.[26] Spanos Schlussfolgerungen kann man im Licht der neuen Untersuchungsergebnisse nur nachdrücklich unterstreichen.

Maiuri: Der Zusammenhang zwischen der Pflasterung der äußeren Pomerialstraße und dem Zuleitungskanal wird indirekt auch durch A. Maiuris im Jahre 1934 abgeschlossenen Untersuchung der Stadtmauer[27] bestätigt, für die der gesamte äußere Pomerialbereich freigelegt wurde. Maiuri hat dabei nämlich festgestellt, dass die Pomerialstraße in ihrer Gesamtheit auch in der Kaiserzeit weder gepflastert war noch einen Gehweg hatte. Lediglich der Kreuzungsbereich mit der ins Stadttor führenden Via del Vesuvio war und ist gepflastert - aber diese Pflasterung reicht auf der westlichen Pomerialstraße nur genau bis zur Überdeckung des Kanalgewölbes und endet dort abrupt (*Abb. 11*). Dass Maiuri jenseits der Straße nach Norden in den Auffüllungen Schutt festgestellt hat, der erst aus der Zeit nach dem Erdbeben des Jahres 62 n. Chr. stammt,[28] widerspricht nicht der Überlegung, dass die Pomerialstraße selbst schon viel früher aufgehöht worden sei. Wäre nämlich auch die Pomerialstraße erst nach 62 n. Chr. mit Erdbebenschutt aufgehöht worden, hätte sie der Kanal, dessen Gewölbe direkt unter der Pflasterung liegt, vorher nicht unter-, sondern überquert und damit unpassierbar gemacht.

Maiuri hat im Rahmen seiner umfangreichen Analyse der Befestigungsanlagen der Stadt auch die Bastion auf der Westseite der Porta Vesuvio von innen und außen an mehreren Stellen bis zum Grund freigelegt. Er hat dabei, wie bei der Stadtmauer insgesamt, mehrere Bauphasen festgestellt, die auch zu Erhöhungen im Niveau der Straßen geführt haben. Fasst man seine mehrfachen Hinweise auf ältere Straßenniveaus zusammen, ergibt sich auch hier das Bild eines vor dem Stadttor erheblich tiefer liegenden Geländes, das auf das Stadttor hin von allen Seiten anstieg bzw. in dieser Weise nach und nach aufgehöht wurde. Die folgenden Angaben beziehen sich auf die Tav. VI in Maiuris Publikation von 1929, hier Abb. 12. Am Punkt c', der dem Punkt a an der Nordwestecke des Stadttores gegenüberliegt, beträgt die Differenz zwischen der neuen und einer älteren Straße 48 cm.[29] Punkt c im Osten liegt etwas weiter entfernt im Pomerialstraßenbereich; hier beträgt die Differenz zwischen dem Niveau der älteren und der jüngeren Straße schon 92 cm bis 112 cm.[30] Die dritte Angabe ('außen vor der Mauer') ist nicht ganz eindeutig, dürfte aber - wegen der Beziehung zu 'Punkt β' innerhalb der Bastion - unter den genannten Punkten am weitesten vom Stadttor entfernt sein.[31] Hier wird die Tiefe der alten Straße mit 2 m unter dem Geländeniveau angegeben,[32] eine Tiefe, die sich auch bei den Ermittlungen des Niveaus der frühen inneren Pomerialstraße wiederfindet (s. u.).

In ungefähr derselben Tiefe (1,80 m) hat Maiuri im äußeren Pomerium auch in der Nähe des Merkurturmes, also weit entfernt von der Porta Vesuvio, ein altes Straßenniveau festgestellt, das er als 'l'antico piano della via pomeriale esterna' identifiziert, auch hier mit Schutt aller Art aufgefüllt.[33] Ähnliche Tiefen (mehrheitlich im Bereich um 2 m) unter dem späteren Niveau der äußeren Pomerialstraße nennt Maiuri auch an anderer Stelle,[34] vgl. Abb. 13.

3.3.5. Schlussfolgerungen

Aus den Angaben Spanos und Maiuris sowie den Ergebnissen der eigenen Untersuchungen ergibt sich folgendes Bild von der Geländesituation vor dem Bau des Zuleitungskanals.

Der vom Vesuv herabziehende prähistorische Lavasporn verläuft nicht in linearer Neigung, sondern er senkt sich vor der Linie, auf der später die Stadtmauer errichtet wurde, deutlich ab.

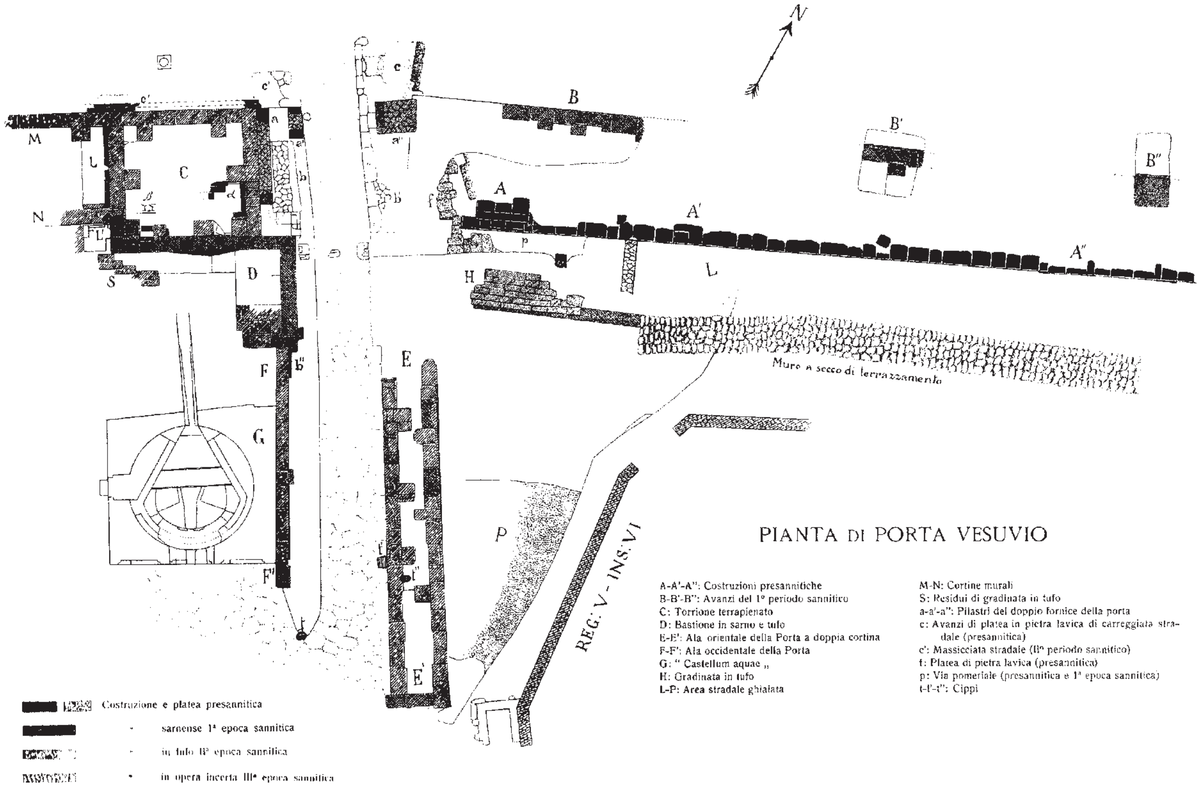

N
M
L
C
β
α
N
L'
S
D
F
B''
G
F'
t
c'
c
a
a'
b
f
A
B
B'
A'
B''
A''
p
H
L
Muro a secco di terrazzamento
E
E'
t'
P
REG. V - INS. VI
PIANTA DI PORTA VESUVIO
A-A'-A'': Costruzioni presannitiche
B-B'-B'': Avanzi del 1º periodo sannitico
C: Torrione terrapienato
D: Bastione in sarno e tufo
E-E': Ala orientale della Porta a doppia cortina
F-F': Ala occidentale della Porta
G: " Castellum aquae „
H: Gradinata in tufo
L-P: Area stradale ghiaiata
M-N: Cortine murali
S: Residui di gradinata in tufo
a-a'-a'': Pilastri del doppio fornice della porta
c: Avanzi di platea in pietra lavica di carreggiata stradale (presannitica)
c': Massicciata stradale (IIº periodo sannitico)
f: Platea di pietra lavica (presannitica)
p: Via pomeriale (presannitica e 1ª epoca sannitica)
t-t'-t'': Cippi
Costruzione e platea presannitica
" sarnense 1ª epoca sannitica
" in tufo IIª epoca sannitica
" in opera incerta IIIª epoca sannitica

Abb. 12. Lageplan des Geländes um die Porta Vesuvio (Abbildung nach Maiuri 1929, Tav. VI).

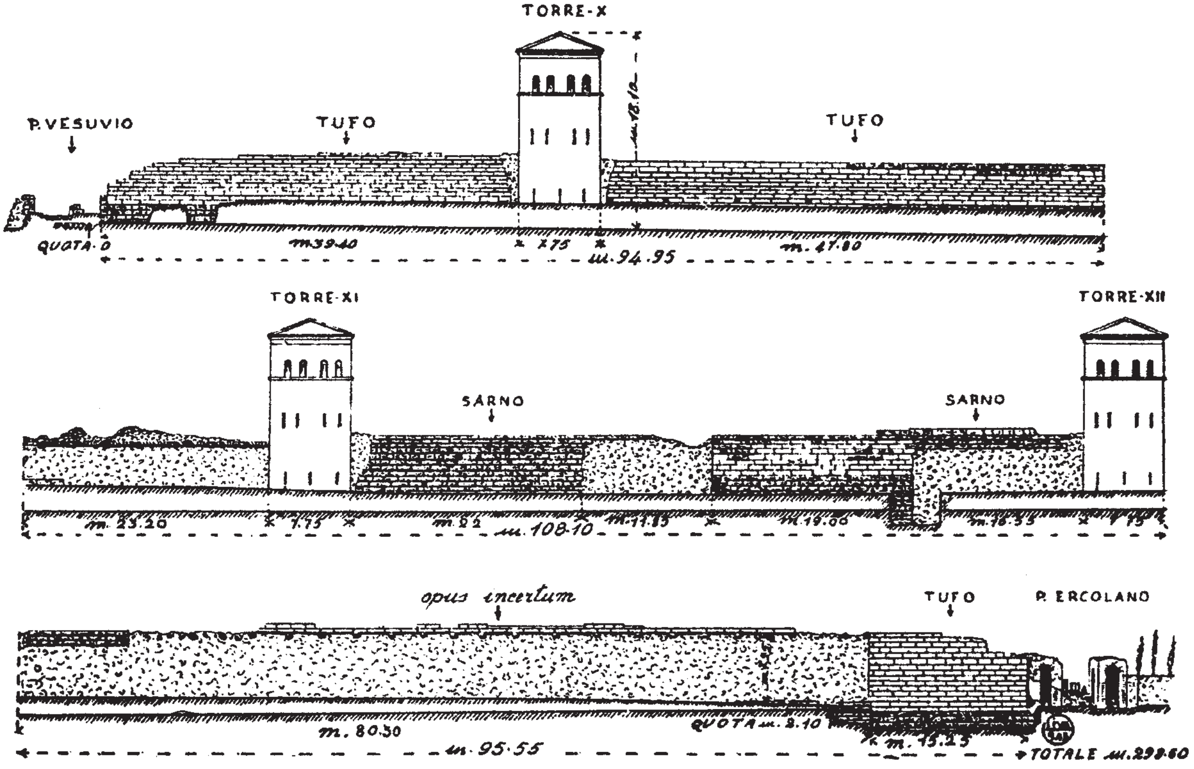


Abb. 13. Überblick über die freigelegte Stadtmauer zwischen Porta Vesuvio und Porta Ercolano mit Tiefenfreilegungen (nach Maiuri 1943, 278).

Südlich dieser Senke wölbt er sich erneut kragenförmig auf (Mauerbereich), um dann wieder (und wahrscheinlich mit stärkerer Neigung als vorher) bis zur 'Abbruchkante' südlich des Foro Triangolare abzufallen (Siedlungsgebiet).

Auf diese kragenförmige, natürliche Aufwölbung des festen Untergrundes muss von Anfang an die Stadtmauer gegründet worden sein, denn unter fortifikatorischen Überlegungen war dies für die ersten Siedler auf dem Stadthügel die günstigste Stelle, um ihre am Hang liegende Siedlung gegen Angriffe von der Bergseite her verteidigen zu können, auch wenn der durch die natürlichen Gegebenheiten vorgegebene Verlauf der Stadtmauer die Ausdehnung des zuerst besiedelten Gebietes um ein Vielfaches übertraf.[35]

Auf die Entwicklung der Stadtmauer und die der inneren und äußeren Pomerialstraße ist später noch genauer einzugehen, aber es scheint aufgrund der Funde Maiuris und De Caros eindeutig, dass die auf den umlaufenden 'Kragen' gegründete Stadtmauer von Anfang an und in jeder späteren Phase beidseitig von einer Pomerialstraße begleitet wurde. Diese Straßen dürften ursprünglich auf demselben Niveau gelegen haben, auf dem auch die Stadtmauer gegründet ist. Am Durchlass in der Stadtmauer, der erst später zum Stadttor (Porta Vesuvio) ausgebaut wurde, könnte es rampenartige Anschüttungen gegeben haben, um das Überwinden des natürlichen, gratförmigen 'Kragens' für Fuhrwerke zu erleichtern.

Auf demselben Niveau wie die Stadtmauer und die Pomerialstraßen wurde aber auch der Zuleitungskanal bei der Durchführung durch die Stadtmauer gegründet. Dies hatte bautechnische (fester Untergrund), aber auch hydraulische Gründe: Hätte man den Kanal um das Maß seiner Gesamthöhe in den Untergrund eingetieft, dann hätte er die Stadt auf einem so niedrigen Niveau erreicht, dass ein großer Bereich im Norden der Stadt nicht mit Wasser zu versorgen gewesen wäre. Hätte man den Kanal aber z. B. durch eine Brücke über die Pomerialstraße hinweggeführt, dann hätte man das ohnehin schon sehr knappe Gefälle im vorstädtischen Leitungsbereich noch weiter verringert.[36] Offensichtlich hat man sich angesichts dieser Alternativen entschlossen, den Kanal ebenfalls auf den 'Kragen', auf dem schon die Stadtmauer und die Pomerialstraßen gegründet waren, aufzusetzen, um das Wasser auf der hydraulisch günstigsten Höhe in die Stadt zu bringen.

Diese Entscheidung hatte enorme Konsequenzen: Der Zuleitungskanal musste westlich der Porta Vesuvio durch Stadtmauer, Agger und Bastion geführt werden, die dafür komplett ausgeräumt bzw. entfernt werden mussten. Vorher querte er die äußere Pomerialstraße in voller Bauhöhe und machte dadurch jeden Verkehrsfluss dieser für die Stadt und die ganze Region wichtigen 'Umgehungsstraße' unmöglich. Um die davor liegende vorstädtische Senke überqueren zu können, musste diese zuerst, mindestens in der Breite der Kanaltrasse, aufgefüllt werden. Dabei konnte das Bauwerk nicht, wie es aus heutiger Perspektive erscheinen mag, in einem vorher ausgehobenen Graben errichtet werden,[37] sondern musste als zunächst freistehendes Bauwerk hochgezogen werden. Dies erforderte einen wesentlich höheren Aufwand für die Schalung, man musste Gerüste (vielleicht Kräne) errichten, hatte erheblich größere Probleme beim Transport des Baumaterials, beim Ausschalen und Wiedereinsetzen der Lehrgerüste usw.

Der in diesem Abschnitt abzweigende Seitenkanal nach Nordosten hatte zwar vom Abzweig an ein stärkeres Gefälle als der Zuleitungskanal, beim Queren der in die Stadt hineinführenden Via del Vesuvio überragte aber auch sein Gewölbe das bisherige Straßenniveau. Insofern war also nicht nur die äußere Pomerialstraße für die gesamte Bauzeit blockiert, sondern es war hier auch keine Einfahrt in die Stadt mehr möglich, und der Seitenkanal kreuzte die äußere Pomerialstraße dann noch ein weiteres Mal östlich der Porta Vesuvio. Für die Dauer der Bauzeit kann es also auf der gesamten Nordseite der Stadt zwischen der Porta Ercolano und der Porta Nola keinerlei Verkehrsbewegungen mehr gegeben haben - eine enorme Beeinträchtigung des gesamten Lebens in Pompeji und der Region.

Unter diesen Umständen bekommt die ungewöhnliche Baureihenfolge Sinn: Der Zuleitungskanal wurde zuerst bis zu einer Entfernung von ca. 35 m vor der Stadtmauer errichtet (Bauabschnitt X, s. *Abb. 7*). Dann wurden die im Inneren der Stadt notwendigen Abbrucharbeiten vorgenommen, die Bastion geleert, ihre Südmauer und die Stadtmauer geöffnet, schließlich die Trasse des Kanals vom Bauabschnitt X bis zum geplanten Standort des Verteilerbeckens eingepeilt. Dann wurde zuerst der Abschnitt Z zwischen dem geplanten Verteilerbecken und dem Austritt aus der Stadtmauer gebaut, wobei die Stadtmauer und die Südwand der Bastion Zug um Zug mit dem Aufbau des Kanals wieder verschlossen wurden.[38] Wahrscheinlich wurden dann erst die Bastion wieder gefüllt und das Becken gebaut. Alle Straßen im Baubereich konnten während dieser Arbeiten ungestört weiterbenutzt werden, und dies war nicht nur zur Aufrechterhaltung des allgemeinen Verkehrs wichtig, sondern auch für die Durchführung der Bauarbeiten selbst.

Erst ganz zum Schluss wurde der noch fehlende Bauabschnitt Y unmittelbar vor der Stadt einschließlich der beiden Seitenkanäle in das davor und dahinter schon fertige System eingefügt. Dies war nicht nur unter bautechnischem Aspekt besonders schwierig und aufwendig, sondern musste, um die Bauzeit möglichst kurz zu halten, in größter Eile erfolgen, und dies erklärt die auffällig hohe Menge von Baumängeln in diesem Bereich.

Durch diese Bauorganisation konnte der Zusammenbruch des gesamten Verkehrs rund um das Wasserleitungssystem zwar nicht verhindert werden. Die Dauer der Beeinträchtigungen war aber wesentlich geringer als bei einer Errichtung des Systems in der sonst üblichen kontinuierlichen Bauabfolge.

Nach Fertigstellung der Kanäle mussten der Vorplatz vor dem Becken nördlich der Regio VI 16, der sich nach Norden anschließende Abschnitt der Via del Vesuvio und der gesamte Bereich der äußeren Pomerialstraße (ausweislich der Befunde Maiuris bis zu Porta Ercolano, s. *Abb. 13*) um ca. 2 m aufgefüllt (und teilweise neu gepflastert) werden, um alle Straßen wieder funktionsfähig zu machen.

4. DIE VERÄNDERUNGEN AN DER PORTA VESUVIO

4.1. Die Situation

Die Porta Vesuvio weicht von der in Pompeji mehrheitlich anzutreffenden Form eines doppelschaligen Zangentores erheblich ab: Dem auch hier doppelschaligen Ostflügel liegt auf der Westseite ein einschaliger Mauerzug gegenüber, der zudem noch wesentlich kürzer ist als der Ostflügel (*Abb. 12*). Die beiden Mauerschalen der Ostseite sind, wie es auch bei anderen Torflügeln üblich ist, durch nach innen ausgerichtete Binderreihen miteinander verzahnt.

Schon A. Sogliano, der Ausgräber der Porta Vesuvio, glaubte, dass die Porta Vesuvio ursprünglich auf beiden Seiten doppelschalige Mauerflügel gehabt haben müsse,[39] und er stellte den Gedanken zur Diskussion, dass die äußere Schale des West-

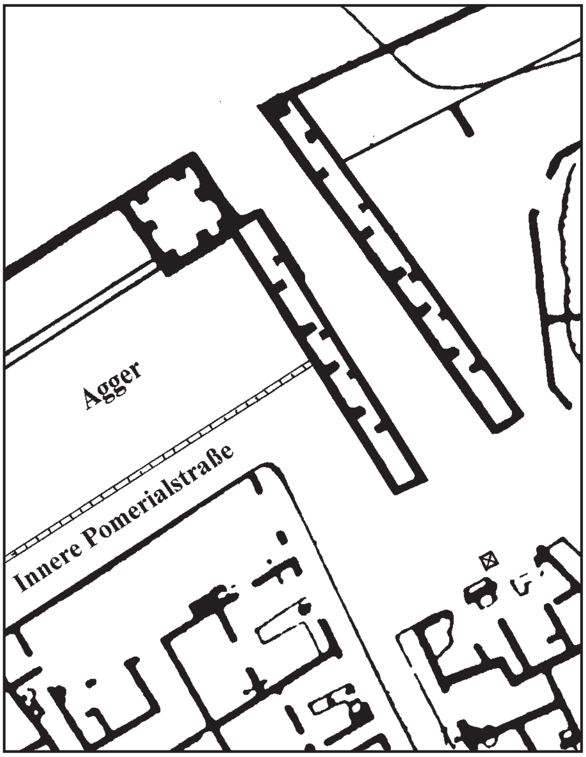


Abb. 14. Porta Vesuvio als doppelschaliges Zangentor in hypothetischer (schematischer) Rekonstruktion.

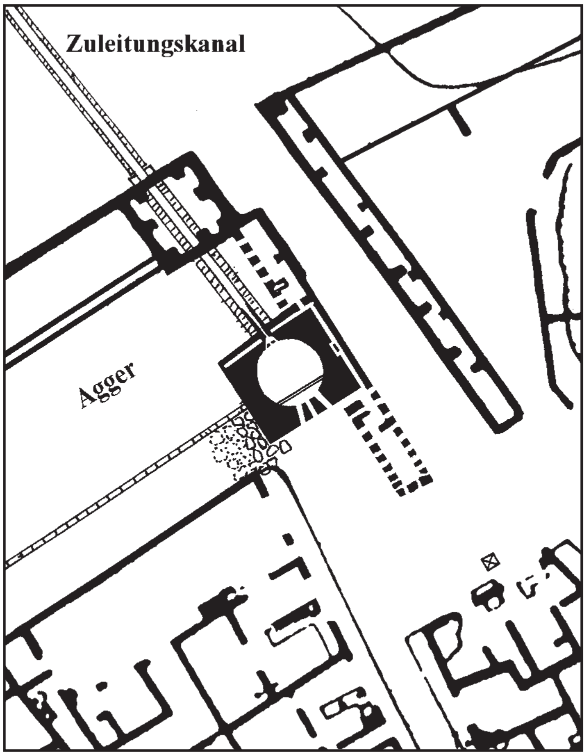


Abb. 15. Veränderungen am westlichen Torflügel der Porta Vesuvio im Zusammenhang mit dem Bau der Wasserverteilungsanlage.

flügels zugunsten des Castellums abgebrochen worden sei.[40]

Ähnliche Vorstellungen hatte auch A. Mau: 'Es ist auch klar, dass der innere (gemeint ist der stadtseitige, südliche) Thordurchgang schon spurlos verschwunden war, als das Castellum gebaut wurde und der vorliegende Platz, dessen Lavapflaster auch seine (des Torflügels) Stelle bedeckt, seine jetzige Gestalt erhielt; dass er einst vorhanden war, schließen wir nur aus der Analogie der anderen Thore und daraus, dass ohne ihn der Mittelraum sinnlos wäre.'[41]

Vorausgesetzt, der Westflügel der Porta Vesuvio sei zugunsten der Wasserverteilungsanlage so einschneidend verändert worden, stellt sich natürlich auch die Frage, wie die innere Pomerialstraße in diesem Bereich ursprünglich an den übrigen Straßenraum angebunden war. Wenn man hier eine ähnliche Situation, wie sie an der Porta Ercolano vermutet wird,[42] annimmt, dann müsste die innere Pomerialstraße bis vor den westlichen Torflügel der Porta Vesuvio gegangen sein und sich dort nach Süden geöffnet haben.

Tatsächlich ist nach den Feststellungen des Verfassers hier eine bisher unbekannte Straßenpflasterung vorhanden (*Abb. 15*, vgl. *Abb. 23* und *24*), und zwar sowohl diesseits als auch jenseits der Stützmauer, die den Zugang zum Castellum gegen den Agger abgrenzt und die in der heutigen Form und Ausdehnung erst nach 1902 errichtet wurde (und als fehlerhafte Rekonstruktion bezeichnet werden muss).

Unter diesen beiden Gesichtspunkten könnte der Planer eine Situation angetroffen haben wie in Abb. 14 skizziert.[43] In dieser Rekonstruktionsskizze wurde der doppelschalige Torflügel auf der Ostseite schematisch auch auf die Westseite kopiert, um eine ungefähre Vorstellung vom denkbaren Aussehen und der Ausdehnung der Toranlage zu gewinnen.

Wenn man - den Überlegungen von Sogliano und Mau folgend - in diese Skizze die Wasserverteilungsanlage einfügt (*Abb. 15*), erkennt man sofort den Umfang der dafür nötigen Veränderungen:

- Abriss der Außenschale des westlichen Torflügels der Porta Vesuvio,
- Verkürzung der verbleibenden Innenschale dieses Torflügels,
- Neupflasterung des Platzes, der vorher von der

abgebrochenen Mauerschale eingenommen worden war,

- Aufgabe der inneren Pomerialstraße als Fahrstraße,
- teilweise Abtragung des Aggers.[44]

Tatsächlich stützen mehrere Beobachtungen am Westflügel der Porta Vesuvio die Überlegungen von Sogliano und Mau:

• Abbildung 16 zeigt, dass es auch in diesem Mauerzug zwei Binderreihen gibt, die bei einer lediglich einschaligen Mauer bautechnisch ganz unnötig sind und nicht erklärt werden können. Diese beiden Binderreihen, in Maiuris Plan (hier *Abb. 12*) nicht dargestellt, befinden sich darüber hinaus nicht nur in derselben Entfernung voneinander wie die in der inneren Mauerschale der Ostseite,[45] sondern die weiter nach Norden gelegene korrespondiert sogar mit der Rückwand des Castellums (*Abb. 16* und *17*). Anders ausgedrückt: Die Nordwand des Castellums ist durch eine Binderreihe mit dem erheblich älteren Mauerzug der Innenschale des Stadttorflügels verzahnt (*Abb. 17*). Daraus ist zu schließen, dass die Außenschale des ursprünglich zweischaligen Westflügels der Porta Vesuvio zwar tatsächlich abgebrochen wurde, um an dieser Stelle den nötigen Platz für die Wasserverteilungsanlage zu schaffen, dass man aber die Binderreihen - zumindest die weiter nördlich befindliche -, die aus der verbliebenen Innenschale nach Westen ragte, unverändert stehen gelassen hat, um hier eine Stützwand gegen den Agger, die spätere Nordwand des Castellums, einbinden zu können und ihr dadurch größere Stabilität zu geben.

• Die Veränderungen am westlichen Torflügel beschränkten sich aber nicht nur auf den Abbruch der Außenschale und eine erhebliche Verkürzung der Innenschale, sondern auch auf deren Form. Wie man in Abb. 16 sieht, hat die Mauer eine nach Süden (in Blickrichtung links) absteigende Treppenform. Diese Form wird von allen Autoren durchgängig als Ergebnis des Einsturzes des Stadttores beim Erdbeben des Jahres 62 erklärt.

Tatsächlich muss die abgetreppte Form der Mauer aber bewusst hergestellt worden sein: Als das Castellum gebaut wurde, hat man dessen Ostwand auf der Außenseite in normalem Bruchsteinmauerwerk aufgeführt, wobei der Torflügel sozusagen als Schalung diente. Lediglich dort, wo die Ostwand des Castellums die Mauer überragte, wurde sie mit *opus reticulatum* verkleidet. Dies geschah im Eckbereich zur Fassade dort, wo dies möglich war, durch eine der Verkleidung auf

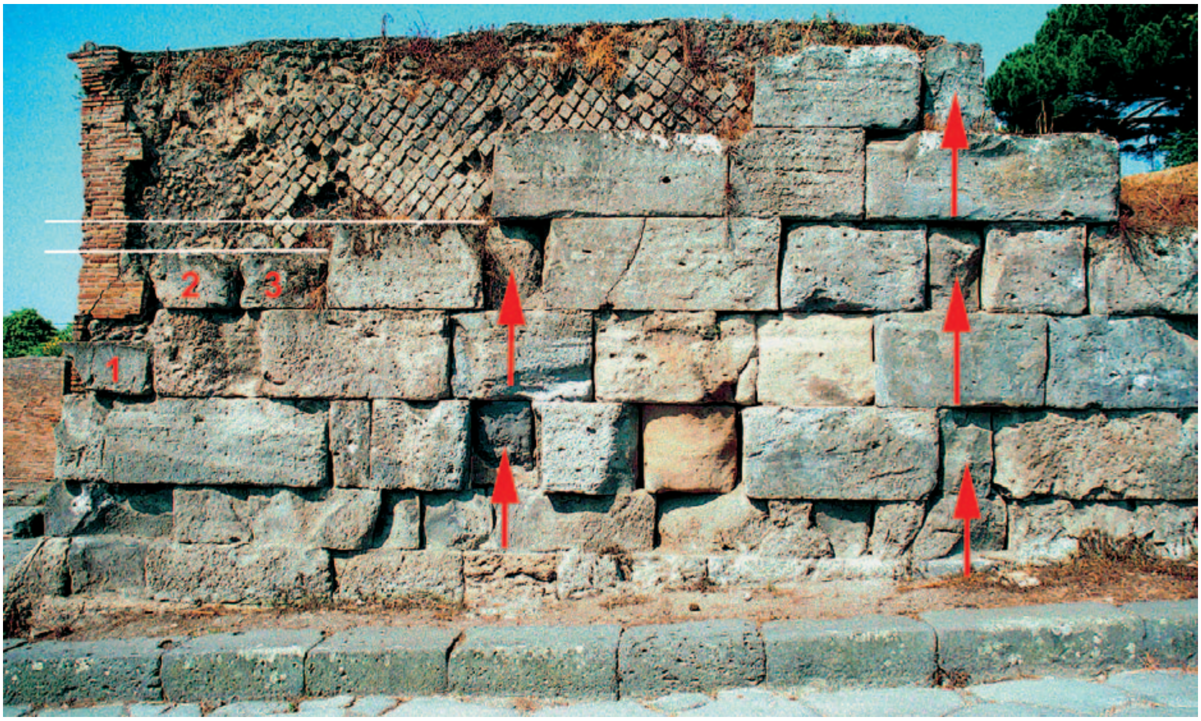


Abb. 16. Blick von Nordosten auf den westlichen Torflügel der Porta Vesuvio und das Castellum (Zustand 1998, Binderreihen durch rote Pfeile gekennzeichnet).

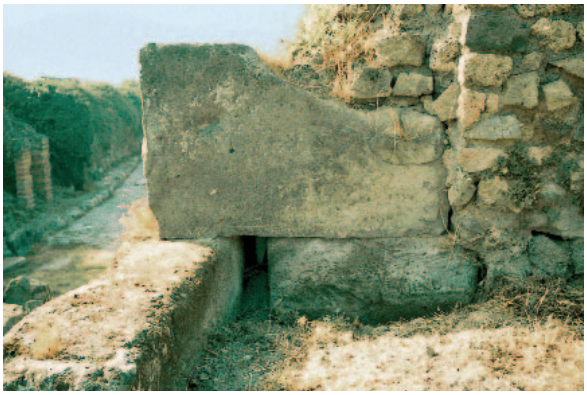


Abb. 17. Binder im nordöstlichen Eckbereich des Castellums.

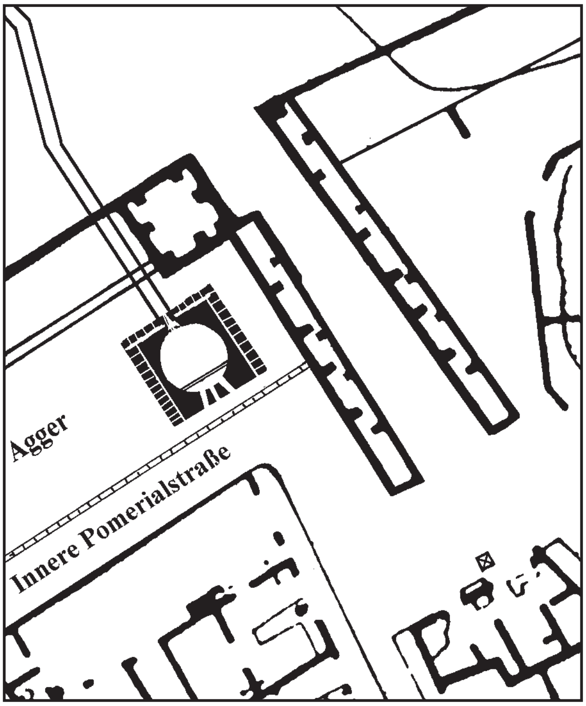


Abb. 18. Alternativer Standort der Wasserverteilungsanlage.

der Westseite entsprechende Verzahnung mit Ziegelmauerwerk. In Abb. 16 erkennt man diese Ziegelverkleidung oberhalb des Steins, der durch die Ziffer 1 gekennzeichnet ist. Dieser Stein entspricht nicht der Höhe der übrigen Blöcke dieser Reihe und ist modern hinzugefügt worden.[46] In der nächsthöheren Reihe erkennt man als südlichen Abschluss, aber nicht bis zur Gebäudeecke, sondern nach vorne nur bis zur Ziegelverkleidung reichend, zwei ebenfalls erheblich flachere Steine als in der Fortsetzung dieser Reihe. Diese Situation ist in Abb. 16 durch horizontale Pfeile und weiße Linien auf den Oberkanten der als Nr. 2 und 3 gekennzeichneten Blöcke bzw. der sich nach rechts (Norden) anschließenden Steinreihe verdeutlicht. Diese beiden Blöcke 2 und 3 sind aber nicht, wie der als 1 gekennzeichnete Block in der Reihe darunter, nachträglich zugefügt worden, sondern die genau bis auf die Oberkante dieser Blöcke reichende und anschließend der Abtreppung exakt folgende Verkleidung mit *opus reticulatum* belegt zwingend, dass diese beiden Blöcke - und damit die nach Süden abgetreppte Form dieses verbliebenen Torflügels - beim Bau des Castellums schon vorhanden war. Dies schließt das Erdbeben des Jahres 62 n. Chr. als Ursache der abgetreppten Mauerform definitiv aus.[47]

4.2. Technische Gründe für den Umbau der Porta Vesuvio?

Die tiefgreifenden Veränderungen an der Porta Vesuvio zugunsten der Wasserverteilungsanlage erscheinen um so erstaunlicher, wenn man sich vergegenwärtigt, welche Alternativen es für den Standort der Wasserverteilungsanlage gegeben hätte. Zwar kam aus hydraulischen Gründen (höchstliegender Bereich des Stadthügels) nur ein Bauplatz westlich der Porta Vesuvio als Standort für die Wasserverteilungsanlage in Frage. Es wäre aber völlig unproblematisch gewesen, die Anlage etwas weiter nach Westen und dort in die Fläche des Aggers hinein zu bauen (*Abb. 18*).
An diesem Standort
- hätte man den Durchgang des Zuleitungskanals durch die besonders befestigte Bastion vermeiden können;[48]
- hätte man keinerlei Veränderung am Torflügel der Porta Vesuvio vornehmen müssen;
- hätte man einen weniger Aufwand erfordernden quadratischen (statt rechteckigen bzw. trapezförmigen) Baukörper errichten und die Mauerstärke der Beckenummauerung auf das statisch nötige Maß reduzieren können;
- hätte man sogar einen Zugang an das Becken von drei Seiten gehabt;
- wäre die innere Pomerialstraße nicht tangiert worden.

Man kann sicher sein, dass der Baumeister, wenn es nur um die Sichtweise eines nüchternen Technikers gegangen wäre, diese oder eine vergleichbare Alternative gewählt hätte. Deshalb müssen für die Wahl des tatsächlichen Standortes der Wasserverteilungsanlage mit ihren enormen Konsequenzen für die Porta Vesuvio und die innere Pomerialstraße gewichtige Gründe vorgelegen haben, die jedoch nicht technischer Natur gewesen sein können.

4.3. Die Wasserverteilungsanlage an der Porta Vesuvio: Aussehen und Funktion

Offensichtlich bestand die Grundintention des Planers darin, ein rundes Becken zu bauen, dessen hydraulische Funktion in der Überleitung des in einer Freispiegelleitung herangeführten Wassers auf drei Druckleitungen bestand.

Dies hätte die Anlage auch geleistet, wenn sie an anderer Stelle (vgl. *Abb. 18*) errichtet worden wäre. Welche Gründe zur Wahl des tatsächlichen Standortes geführt haben, erschloss sich während der Untersuchungen erst sehr allmählich.

a) Die Fließrinne des Zuleitungskanals ist im Prinzip durchgängig etwa 2′ hoch verputzt, und dies ist bei einer maximalen Wassertiefe von 40 cm auch völlig ausreichend. Am Ende des Kanals aber steigt die Höhe der Putzschicht, beginnend etwa 8 m vor dem Becken, auf 3′ an, und ab ca. 4 m vor dem Becken ist dann sogar das gesamte Kanalgewölbe sorgfältig verputzt. Dieser Aufwand ist nicht hydraulisch, sondern ausschließlich optisch-ästhetisch zu begründen. Aber ein derartiges Kriterium hätte bei einem Kanal, der in ein der Öffentlichkeit gar nicht zugängliches Castellum einmündet, keine Rolle gespielt: Selbst der *castellarius*, der als einziger Zutritt in das Gebäude hatte, hätte sich im Eingangsbereich fast auf den Boden legen und weit über den Beckenrand beugen müssen, um den First des Kanalgewölbes überhaupt sehen zu können. Der weit über das hydraulisch Notwendige hinausgehende Umfang des Verputzes am Ende des Zuleitungskanals macht deshalb nur Sinn unter der Annahme, dass dieser Kanalabschnitt ursprünglich öffentlich eingesehen werden konnte.

b) Die Vergitterung des Zuleitungskanals ist in einem versperrten Gebäude nicht nur sinnlos, sondern für den Wartungsbetrieb sogar ausgesprochen hinderlich. Wasserleitungen wurden ja in aller Regel ausdrücklich begehbar errichtet, um eine ständige Kontrolle und Wartung zu gewährleisten. Hier in Pompeji war der Querschnitt der Fließrinne sogar noch erheblich verengt, also ein zusätzliches, für Störungen des Betriebs noch anfälligeres ‘Nadelöhr’, und ausgerechnet dort sollen Wartung und Zugang durch ein Gitter erschwert oder verhindert worden sein?

Auch in diesem Punkt muss man folgern, dass die unter hydraulischem Aspekt sinnlose, ja hinderliche Vergitterung des Zuleitungskanals am Einlauf ins Becken nur sinnvoll zu erklären ist, wenn das Becken unter freiem Himmel lag und der unter diesen Umständen mögliche Zutritt Unbefugter in die Wasserleitung verhindert werden musste.[49]

c) Die Einschnürung im Zuleitungskanal unmittelbar vor dem Becken, die es in dieser Form nur in der Leitung von Pompeji gibt, stellt unter ausschließlich hydraulischen Gesichtspunkten eine nicht nur unsinnige, sondern geradezu kontraproduktive Einrichtung dar. Sie bestand schon seit der 1. Bauphase und bewirkte, dass die Fließgeschwindigkeit des Wassers anstieg und das Wasser gerade dort, wo ruhige Fließbedingungen von Vorteil gewesen wären, nämlich bei der Aufteilung des herangeführten Wassers auf mehrere Ableitungsrohre, mit erhöhter Geschwindigkeit und turbulent ins tieferliegende Verteilerbecken schoss. Auch unter diesem Gesichtspunkt: Das hydraulisch unsinnige, nämlich turbulente, fontänenartige Auftreffen des Wassers ins Becken, das ‘Spektakel’, das ‘Wasserspiel’, muss intendiert gewesen sein (sonst hätte man - bei vorheriger Unkenntnis der Folgen - die für diese Effekte verantwortliche Einschnürung sehr schnell wieder entfernt). Ein ‘Wasserspiel’ ist aber nur sinnvoll, wenn es vom Publikum betrachtet werden kann, und dazu muss die Beckenanlage frei zugänglich und gut einsichtig sein.

Diese und viele andere, hier nicht ausgeführte Beobachtungen sprechen dafür, dass der Planer eine Wasserverteilungsanlage errichten wollte oder sollte, die über die technische Funktion hinaus im Blickpunkt der Öffentlichkeit lag und (auch) einen gewissen Schau- und Demonstrationscharakter hatte. Das Wasser sollte bei seiner Ankunft in die Stadt offensichtlich nicht ‘versteckt’ werden, sondern man beabsichtigte, es den Bewohnern und Besuchern Pompejis an einem prominenten Ort in einer repräsentativen, ‘nymphäumartig’ gestalteten Anlage vorzuführen. Man darf diese sicher nicht mit so prunkvollen und architektonisch aufwendigen Nymphäen wie z. B. denen in Milet, Ephesos, Aspendos, Perge, Side, Korinth oder Antiochia vergleichen, aber die dahinterstehende Idee und Intention dürfte vergleichbar gewesen sein.[50]

Aus den hier nur zusammenfassend beschriebenen Untersuchungsergebnissen und Überlegungen ergibt sich folgendes Bild (*Abb. 19*): Der Zuleitungskanal endete im Freien und ergoss das herangeführte Wasser in ein offenes, rundes Becken. Dieses Becken war in eine Ummauerung eingebettet, die auf Ost- und Westseite 5′ breit

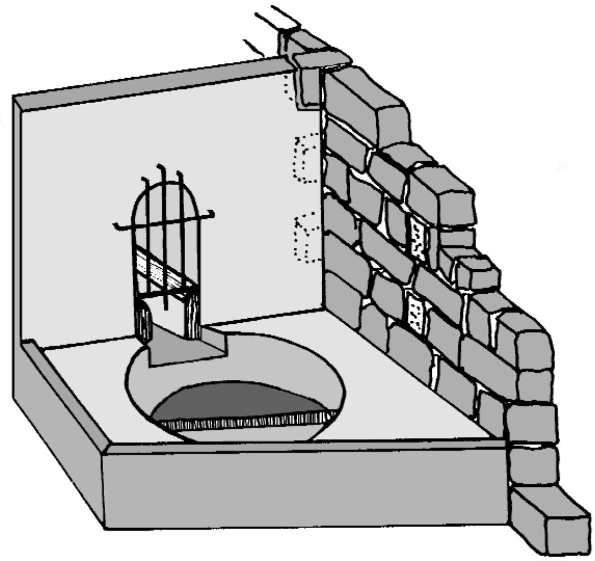


Abb. 19. Rekonstruktionsversuch: Wasserverteilungsanlage in der 1. Phase.

und rundum mit *opus signinum* verputzt war. Die Beckenummauerung für das 3′ tiefe Becken war auf der Südseite 3½′ hoch, was Besuchern der Anlage zwar ein Betrachten, aber keinen direkten Zugang zum oder Zugriff auf das Wasser erlaubte. Zusätzlich hat man den Zuleitungskanal vor unbefugtem Betreten durch ein Gitter gesichert.

Nicht nur, um das Becken auf der Nordseite gegen den hier anstehenden Agger zu schützen, sondern auch wegen des beabsichtigten ‘repräsentativen’ Charakters der Verteilungsanlage dürfte man auf der Nordseite eine Mauer errichtet haben, die mit der Mündung des Zuleitungskanals in einer Fluchtlinie gelegen haben dürfte. Diese Nordwand hätte im Prinzip frei gestanden und dem Druck des Aggers standhalten müssen. Aus statischen Gründen spricht alles dafür, dass sie wenigstens dort, wo dies möglich war, nämlich auf der Ostseite, mit der nach Abbruch der Außenschale verbliebenen Binderreihe der Innenschale des Torflügels verzahnt wurde, um ihre Standsicherheit zu verbessern. Möglicherweise waren die ‘Schauseite’ dieser Wand und die beckenseitige Mauerfläche des Torflügels verputzt und dekoriert.[51] Die Beckenummauerung bekam durch die schräge Ausrichtung dieser Wand einen trapezförmigen Grundriss.

Der Blick eines vor dem Becken auf dem Vorplatz stehenden Betrachters fiel zwangsläufig auch in das Innere des Zuleitungskanals, dessen First etwa 2,10 m über dem Niveau des Pflasters des Vorplatzes liegt. Der Verputz auch des Gewölbes auf den letzten Metern kann nur den Sinn gehabt haben, dem leicht schräg von unten in den Kanal hineinsehenden Betrachter nicht einen den Gesamteindruck der Anlage störenden Anblick von rohem Mauerwerk zu bieten.

Auch die Einschnürung im Zuleitungskanal bekommt im Zusammenhang mit einem offenen Becken - und ausdrücklich nur dann - eine sinnvolle Funktion. Sie gab, wie schon beschrieben, dem Wasserstrahl eine höhere Geschwindigkeit, so dass das Wasser nicht vergleichsweise ruhig über die Sohlstufe ins Becken trat, sondern über diese hinwegschoss, weiter zur Beckenmitte hin (und damit näher zum Betrachter) optisch und akustisch effektvoll (mit Spritzen, Sprudeln, Wellenbildung) auf die Wasseroberfläche im Becken traf. Die von Tölle-Kastenbein beschriebene Motivation, die ‘Anmut des fließenden Wassers’ anschaubar zu machen und mit dem ‘Wasser selbst zu dokumentieren’[52] hätte man auf diese Weise mit einfachen Mitteln, aber sehr wirkungsvoll erreicht.[53]

Die Grundüberlegungen des Planers lassen sich also etwa folgendermaßen wiedergeben. Er wollte (soweit der technische Aspekt) das Wasser des Zuleitungskanals in ein offenes, rundes Becken einleiten, wo es - falls nötig nach Klärung und Reinigung - in drei Rohre verteilt und mittels unterirdischer Rohrleitungen in die Stadt weitergeführt werden sollte. Da der Planer nicht wissen konnte, ob und in welchem Ausmaß das Wasser Sedimente bis ins Verteilerbecken mitführen würde, unterteilte er das runde Becken durch eine Trennwand in zwei Abschnitte, von denen der größere auf der Nordseite zugleich als Absetzbecken fungierte.

Das Becken sollte aber offensichtlich nicht nur an der für die Anlage unter hydraulischen Gesichtspunkten günstigsten Stelle liegen und alle hydraulisch notwendigen Elemente enthalten, sondern es selbst und seine unmittelbare Umgebung sollten einen ‘Blickfang’ darstellen, um den Bewohnern der Stadt Tag für Tag diese bedeutende Verbesserung ihrer Lebensqualität buchstäblich ‘ins Auge fallend’ zu demonstrieren.

Welche Bedeutung gerade dieser Aspekt der öffentlichen Wahrnehmung für die Wahl des Bauplatzes gehabt haben muss, sieht man sofort, wenn man den tatsächlichen und den alternativen Standort in Bezug auf die Verkehrsströme vergleicht (*Abb. 20*): Der tatsächlich gewählte Bauplatz ist deutlich prominenter und liegt im direkten Blickfeld aller von Süden auf die Porta Vesuvio Zugehenden, während der Alternativplatz zwar mit erheblich weniger Aufwand verbunden gewesen wäre, aber fast vollständig durch den

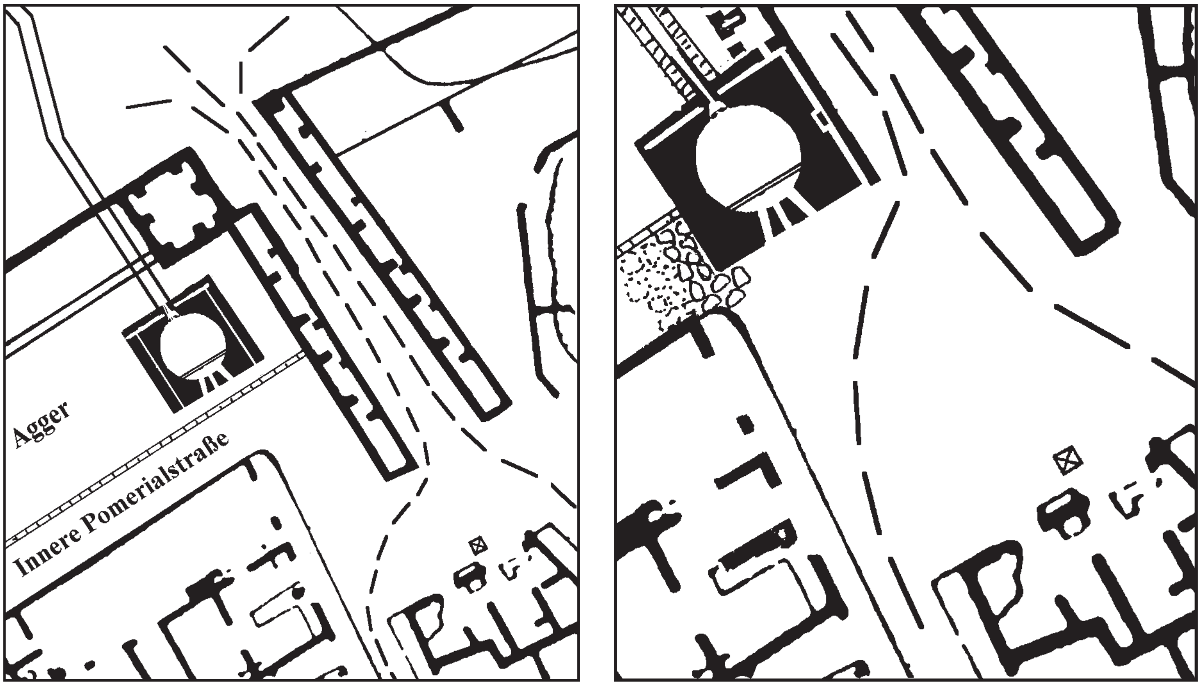


Abb. 20. Alternativer und tatsächlicher Standort unter dem Aspekt der Sichtbarkeit und vorbeiziehender Verkehrsströme.

Torflügel bzw. die Häuser der Regio VI 15 verdeckt worden wäre. Etwas überspitzt ausgedrückt: Der weiter nordwestlich gelegene Standort im Agger hätte gesucht werden müssen, der tatsächlich gewählte konnte nicht übersehen werden.

Vor diesem Hintergrund klärt sich auch die Frage nach der abgetreppten Form der nach dem Abriss der äußeren Schale verbliebenen westlichen Mauerschale des Torflügels. Man kann sich kaum vorstellen, dass der Planer der Anlage neben dem offenen Becken eine die Verteilungsanlage um mehrere Meter überragende Mauer akzeptiert hätte. Der städtebauliche Akzent dieser Region sollte sich vom Stadttor, das zu diesem Zeitpunkt seine fortifikatorische Bedeutung verloren hatte, auf die benachbarte Wasserverteilungsanlage verlagern, und eine unproportional hohe Mauer hätte den Gesamteindruck dieser Anlage erheblich gestört bzw. deren Wahrnehmung behindert. Außerdem hätten größere Teile der Anlage bis weit in den Tag hinein im Schatten gelegen. Es spricht deshalb alles dafür, dass man die Restmauer des Torflügels bis etwa auf Höhe der hinteren Binderreihe, die für die Standsicherheit der Rückwand der Verteilungsanlage Bedeutung hatte, in ihrer bisherigen Höhe stehen gelassen, dann aber von Norden nach Süden stufenweise abgetragen hat.

5. VERÄNDERUNG AN DER INNEREN POMERIALSTRAßE

5.1. Stand der Forschung

Es ist eigentlich nicht korrekt, undifferenziert von ‘der’ inneren Pomerialstraße zu reden, denn als Teil des Befestigungssystems Pompejis, das in Gänze mehrfach verändert und (ins Stadtinnere hinein) ausgedehnt wurde, hat sich auch die innere Pomerialstraße mehrfach verändert und verschoben. Die erste umfassende Beschreibung dieses Ausbauprozesses und seiner zeitlichen Zuordnung stammt von A. Maiuri, erfuhr dann aber wichtige Ergänzungen durch S. De Caro.[54] Obwohl die im Folgenden vorgestellten Befunde nur die letzte Phase der inneren Pomerialstraße betreffen, muss doch kurz auf die bei Maiuris und De Caros Untersuchungen festgestellten Funde von früheren Straßen im inneren und äußeren Pomerium eingegangen werden.

Maiuri

- Auf die von Maiuri im Bereich des Merkurturms ca. 1,80 m unter dem Niveau der äußeren Pomerialstraße aufgefundenen Straßenschicht (‘una robusta massicciata di scheggioni di pietra vesuviana dell’altezza di m 0,30’)[55] wurde oben schon verwiesen.

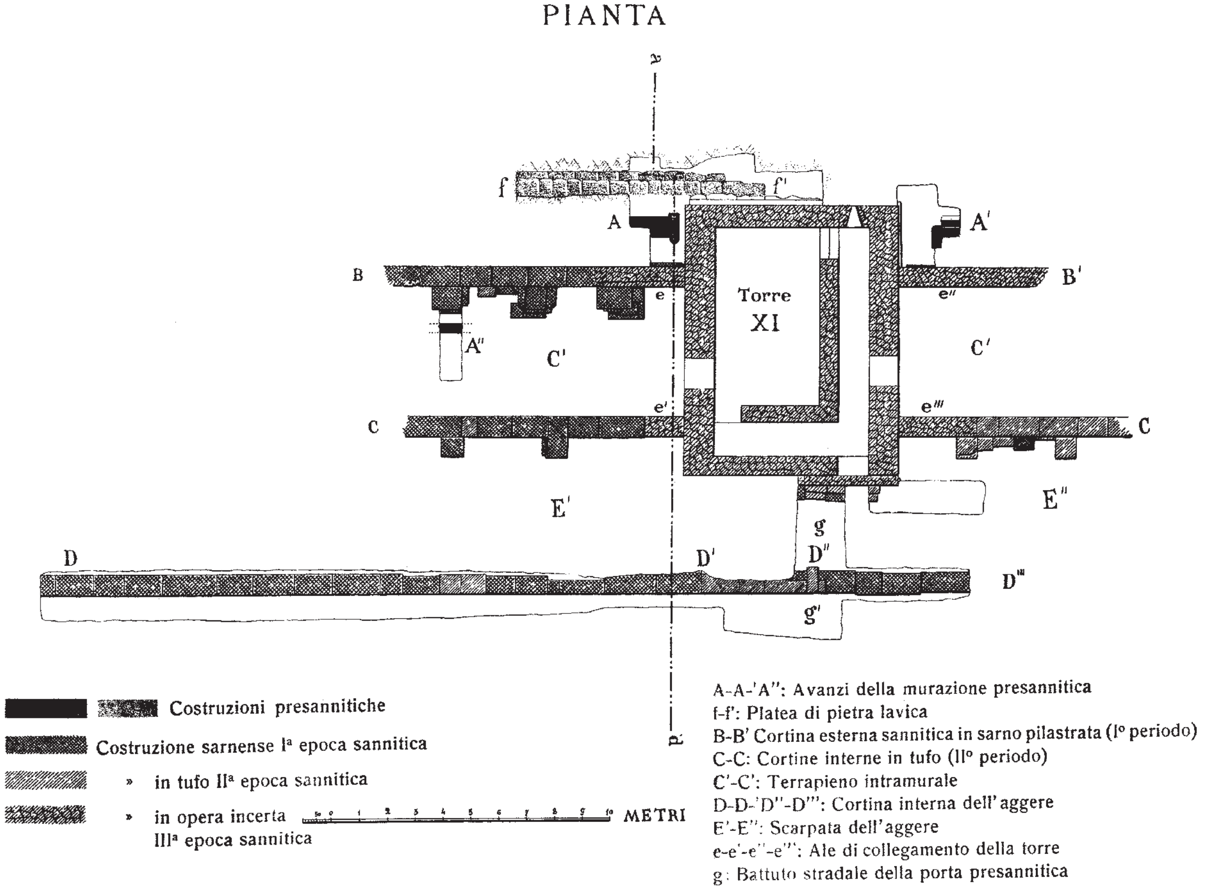

PIANTA
a
f
f'
A
A'
B
B'
e
e''
Torre
XI
A''
C'
C'
e'
e'''
C
C
E'
E''
g
D
D'
D''
D'''
g'
a'
Costruzioni presannitiche
Costruzione sarnense Iª epoca sannitica
» in tufo IIª epoca sannitica
» in opera incerta IIIª epoca sannitica
METRI
A-A-'A'': Avanzi della murazione presannitica
f-f': Platea di pietra lavica
B-B' Cortina esterna sannitica in sarno pilastrata (I° periodo)
C-C: Cortine interne in tufo (II° periodo)
C'-C': Terrapieno intramurale
D-D-'D''-D''': Cortina interna dell'aggere
E'-E'': Scarpata dell'aggere
e-e'-e''-e''': Ale di collegamento della torre
g: Battuto stradale della porta presannitica

Abb. 21. Situation im Bereich des Torre di Mercurio bei der Freilegung (nach Maiuri 1929, Tav. IV).

- Ebenfalls in der Nähe des Merkurturmes, aber auf der Stadtseite, fand Maiuri eine von ihm genau beschriebene Straßenschicht: 'Dinanzi al lato sud della torre ed al piano inferiore di fondazione si osservò, ..., una platea costituita da una massicciata inferiore, composta di scheggione e rottami di Sarno e di uno strato superiore di pochi centimetri di spessore, ottenuto con una massa compatta ben battuta ed impastata di polvere e tritume di pietra sarnense, così omogenea ed uguale da assumere alla prima l'aspetto di un battuto ottenuto con composizione di malta. Trattasi invece dello stesso strato e della stessa massicciata di platea stradale...'[56]

Maiuri interpretiert diese Straßenschicht (in Tav. IV, hier *Abb. 21*, mit g-g' gekennzeichnet), die er zusammen mit der äußeren Pomerialstraße in die 1. samnitische Periode datiert, hier nur als Beleg für die Existenz eines Stadttores vor dem Bau des Merkurturmes an dieser Stelle. Später erklärt er aber ausdrücklich, dass sich eine ältere Pomerialstraße ('battuto di una via pomeriale più antica')[57] auch am Fuß der beim Umbau der Stadtmauer beerdigten Mauer 'D' befindet (Fig. 12,[58] hier *Abb. 22*). Maiuri hat diese Schicht in seiner Fig. 12 zwar eingezeichnet, aber dort nicht, wie hier in Abb. 22 hinzugefügt, ausdrücklich benannt. Er kommt abschließend zu dem Ergebnis, dass an den Füßen sowohl der Mauer B (Außenschale) als auch der Mauer D (Innenschale) schon in der 1. samnitischen Epoche Pomerialstraßen angelegt waren.[59] Mit der späteren Ausdehnung des Aggers in den Pomerialbereich hinein müsse sich auch die Pomerialstraße schon in vorrömischer Zeit weiter nach Süden verschoben haben.[60]

- Eine damit vollkommen übereinstimmende Entwicklung der inneren Pomerialstraße beschreibt Maiuri für entsprechende Funde im Bereich der Porta Ercolano.[61]

- Auf die Feststellungen zu Befunden im Bereich der Porta Vesuvio und der Bastion wird später eingegangen.

Maiuris Zusammenfassung dürfte für alle Befunde verallgemeinert werden können: Verlauf

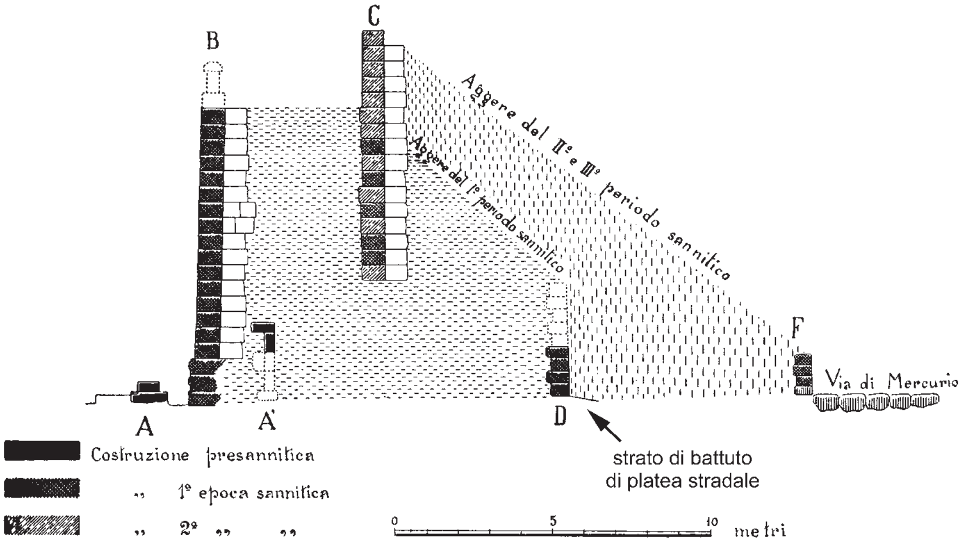

B
C
Aggere del II° e III° periodo sannitico
Aggere del I° periodo sannitico
F
Via di Mercurio
A
A'
D
strato di battuto di platea stradale
Costruzione presannitica
,, 1ª epoca sannitica
,, 2ª ,, ,,
0
5
10
metri

Abb. 22. Entwicklung der Stadtbefestigung im Bereich des Torre di Mercurio (nach Maiuri 1929, 161-162, Fig. 12, hier ergänzt).

und Höhenlagen der inneren Pomerialstraße folgten den verschiedenen Entwicklungsphasen der Stadtbefestigung.[62]

De Caro

- In seinem 'Saggio N. 1', der an der Westseite der Porta Nocera durchgeführt wurde, hat De Caro eine die gesamte Grabungsfläche bedeckende Schicht ('Piano 3') gefunden, die u. a. Bruchstücke der ersten Pappamontemauer bedeckte und deshalb eine wichtige Rolle bei der Datierung der Gesamtbefunde spielt. Diese Schicht datiert De Caro in die 1. Hälfte des 5. Jh. v. Chr.[63] Sie ist nur wenige cm stark, besteht aus stark verdichteten Pappamontesplittern und Sand. De Caro hat keinen Zweifel, dass es sich bei dieser Schicht um eine Verkehrsfläche (Straße oder Weg) handeln müsse.[64]
- In einer weiteren kleinen Grabung ('Saggio N. 5') in der Nähe der Porta Ercolano, unmittelbar an der Westseite der von Maiuri freigelegten Treppenanlage, fand De Caro am Fuß der inneren Mauerschale ebenfalls eine gestampfte Fläche über einer Schotterschicht, die er in Übereinstimmung mit Maiuri auch hier als 'stradina pomeriale interna' identifiziert.[65]

5.2. Der neue Befund: Die innere Pomerialstraße nördlich der Regio VI 11

5.2.1. Anlass der Untersuchung

Während der mehrjährigen Untersuchung des Castellums und des Zuleitungskanals stellte sich der Boden des Zugangsbereich zur Tür des Bauwerks auf der Westseite immer mehr oder weniger gleich dar: Über einen leicht ansteigenden Belag aus diffusem Material erreichte man einen unterhalb der Tür liegenden, als Trittstein dienenden rechteckigen Steinblock, der den Zugang zur relativ hoch liegenden Türschwelle erleichtert. Die Mauer, die auf der Westseite gegen den Agger gebaut ist und diesen flurartigen Zugang zum Castellum ebenso schützt wie erst bildet, reicht noch ein Stück weiter nach Norden, um dann vor Kopf rechtwinklig gegen die Westwand des Castellums abzuknicken. Dieser nördliche Abschnitt des Zugangsbereiches war aber immer, vom Trittstein an nach Norden recht hoch ansteigend, mit undefinierbarem Schuttmaterial bedeckt.

Nach A. Mau musste sich an dieser Stelle eine 'Bank' befinden.[66] Paribeni, der Ausgräber, erwähnt diese nicht, aber sie ist in seinem Plan wie auch in den Plänen von Mau und Maiuri eingezeichnet.[67]

Diese (seit mindestens 20 Jahren verdeckte) Bank sollte im Juni 2001 in einer Reinigungsmaßnahme des Zugangsbereiches wieder zum Vorschein gebracht werden, bei der aber vor allem die Bau- und Gründungssituation der Stützmauer gegen den Agger und die Beschaffenheit des Untergrundes (der Mauer ebenso wie der 'Bank') geklärt werden sollte. Bezüglich dieser Mauer gab es viele Ungereimtheiten. Z. B. passt die Beschreibung des Ausgräbers ('La porta d'ingresso ... è in un certo modo difesa da un murello in *opus incertum*, chiuso verso nord'[68] - die Eingangstür ist '*in gewisser Weise*' durch ein '*Mäuerchen*' geschützt ...)

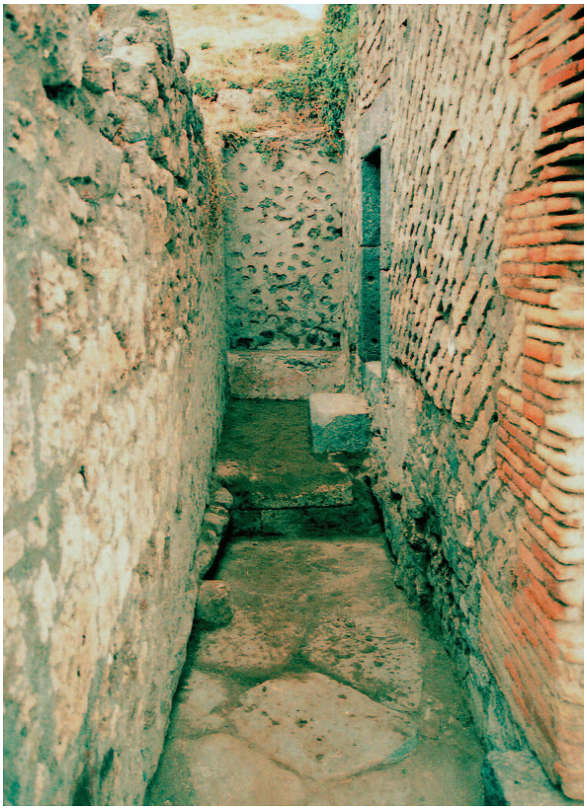


Abb. 23. Eingangsbereich zum Castellum mit erstmalig freigelegter Pflasterung und deren nördlicher Begrenzung durch eine Kalk-/Tuffsteinreihe.

weder zur nur ein Jahr später verfassten Beschreibung Maus noch zum tatsächlichen Aussehen. Schichtungen in der Mauer lassen auf eine sukzessive Erhöhung schließen, und der Abstand zum Castellum ist nicht einmal annähernd in römische Maße zu konvertieren.

Nach Reinigung dieses Bereiches und Freilegung der tatsächlich vorhandenen Bank stellte sich folgende Situation heraus. Die Bank besteht aus mit *opus signinum* (rötlich, Ziegelsplittzuschläge) verputztem Mauerwerk, das auf einer sehr festen und kompakten Schicht von gestampfter Tufferde aufliegt. Das Niveau dieser gestampften Erdschicht wird definiert von der Oberfläche einer quer zur Ausrichtung des Zugangsbereiches ausgerichteten Steinreihe (oben Kalkstein, ca. 21 cm hoch, darunter Tuff, ca. 19 cm hoch; *Abb. 23*), die vor Reinigung des südlichen Abschnitts des Zugangsbereiches kaum als solche erkennbar war, zumal ihre Oberfläche in der Mitte stark beschädigt ist. Diese Steinreihe reicht, wie eine spätere Untersuchung im Untergrund ergab, auf der Ostseite mindestens bis an, vielleicht sogar unter die Beckenummauerung, auf der Westseite geht sie unter der Stützwand durch, die also auf sie aufgesetzt ist.

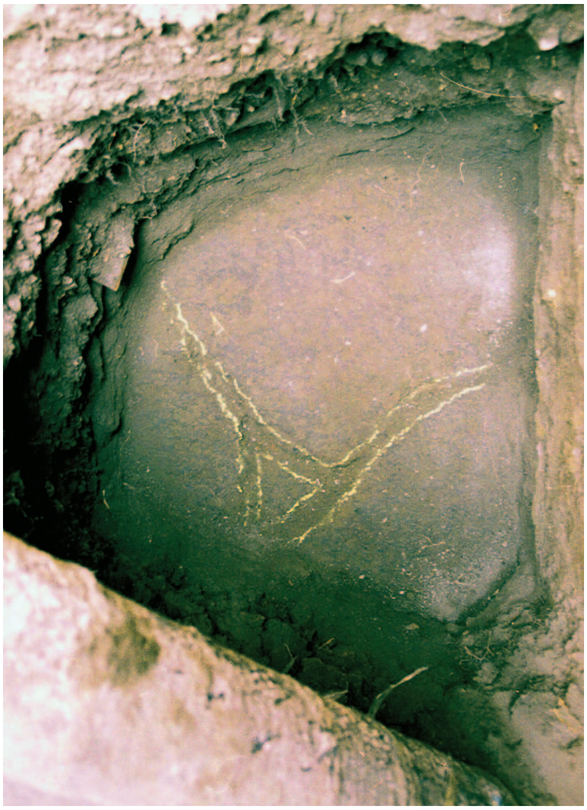


Abb. 24. Straßenpflaster unter dem Agger in der Südostecke der Stützmauer. Rechts die Stützmauer parallel zum Eingangsbereichs des Castellums, unten ein modernes Wasserrohr zwischen dem Tiefbrunnen an der Spitze von Regio VI 16 und einem Stahltank im Agger, das unter der Stützmauer durchgeführt wurde.

Da die Trittstufe vor der Tür ins Castellum mit der Südseite auf dem Kalkblock liegt, mit der übrigen Fläche auf der gestampften Erdschicht, ergibt sich folgende logische und zeitliche Reihenfolge.

Die Steinreihe selbst (vielleicht um die Kalksteinschicht aufgehöht beim Bau des Beckens) muss aus einer früheren Phase stammen als der Trittstein und die Bank. Möglicherweise wurde schon die Beckenummauerung, ganz sicher aber die ihr gegenüberliegende Stützmauer, auf diese Kalkstein-/Tuffreihe aufgesetzt. Die Fläche nach Westen unmittelbar neben der Beckenummauerung, der spätere flurartige Zugangsbereich zum Castellum, wurde nach Norden hin bis auf das Niveau dieser Steinreihe mit Tufferde aufgefüllt, nach Süden fiel die Erdschicht rampenartig bis auf das etwas tiefere Niveau der Pflasterung vor

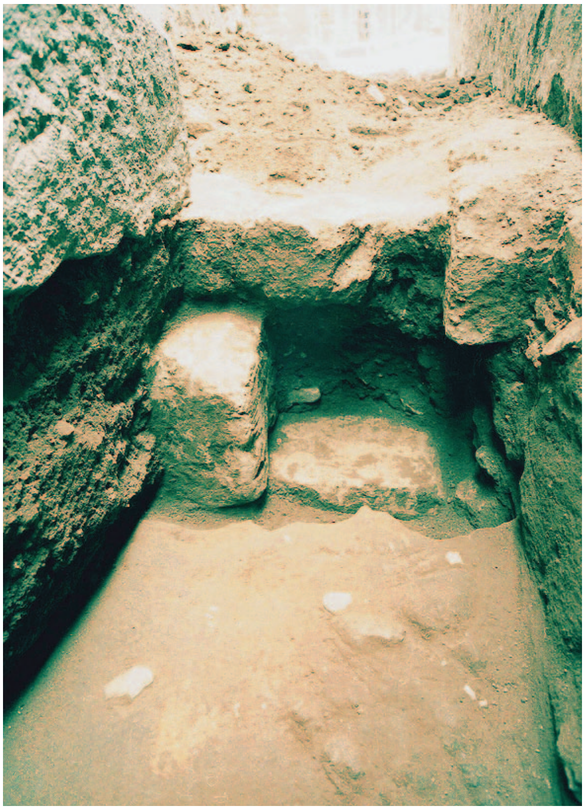


Abb. 25. Blick von Norden in den Freilegungsbereich auf der Westseite des Castellums: Die Kalksteinreihe (hier z. T. mit Aushub bedeckt) ruht auf einem Unterbau aus Tuffblöcken (vielleicht nicht mehr vollständig erhalten); unten der Belag der ursprünglichen Fahrspur der inneren Pomerialstraße.

dem Verteilerbecken ab. Nach dem Bau des Castellums wurde die Trittstufe unter der Eingangstür zum geringeren Teil auf die Kalkstein-/Tuffreihe, zum größeren Teil auf die Erdschicht gelegt, und beim noch späteren Bau der Bank (s. u.) und der Stützmauer (s. u.) wurden auch diese auf die gestampfte, kompakte Erdschicht aufgesetzt.

Auf Höhe der Westecke des Sockels unter der Fassade waren im Eingangsbereich westlich des Castellums, also dort, wo die rampenartig zur Kalkstein-/Tuffreihe vor der Tür des Castellums ansteigende Erdschicht ansetzt, schon seit Jahren einige Pflastersteine zu sehen, die aber weder im Plan Maiuris[69] eingezeichnet sind noch vom Ausgräber oder anderen erwähnt werden. Die Reinigung dieses Bereichs ergab, dass es hier im Eingangsbereich nicht nur eine gegenüber der Pflasterung des Vorplatzes etwa 10 cm niedriger liegende Pflasterung gibt, sondern dass diese offensichtlich sowohl bis unter die Westwand des Castellums bzw. dessen Unterbau (Beckenummauerung) als auch unter die gegenüberliegende Stützmauer reicht (*Abb. 23, 24*). Nach Norden endet die Pflasterung an der Kalkstein-/Tuffreihe.

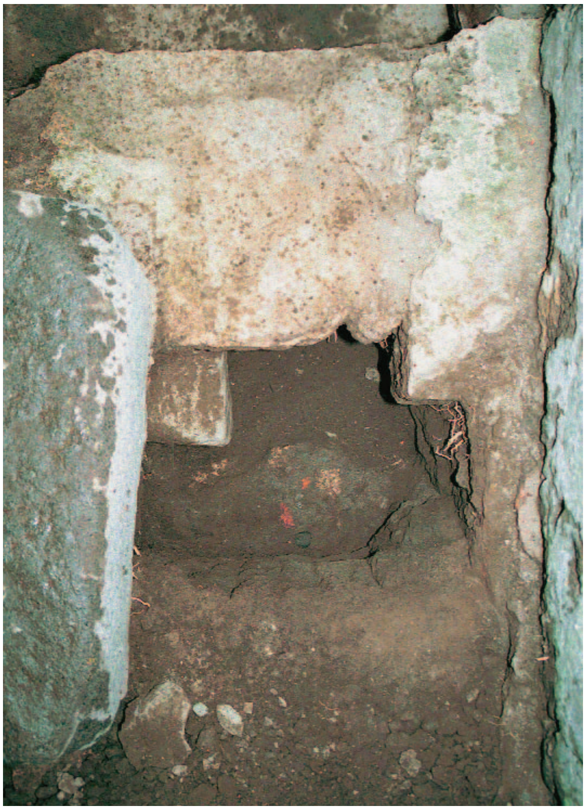


Abb. 26. Blick von oben in den Freilegungsbereich auf der Westseite des Castellums: Am oberen Bildrand das freigelegte Pflaster, dann Kalksteinreihe und Unterbau aus Tuffblöcken. Unten kommt der südliche Rand des gestampften Belages der Fahrspur der inneren Pomerialstraße zum Vorschein (vgl. Abb. 25), wobei der größere Teil dieser Fläche noch mit Verfüllungsmaterial bedeckt ist.

Die oben beschriebene Baureihenfolge ist also um folgenden Tatbestand zu erweitern. Offensichtlich ist der südliche Abschnitt der Wasserverteilungsanlage Pompejis auf eine ältere, gepflasterte Straßenfläche aufgesetzt worden, die etwa 10 cm niedriger liegt als die Pflasterung vor dem Castellum und die nach Norden - zum Agger hin - durch eine das Pflaster um insgesamt knapp 40 cm überragende Kalkstein-/ Tuffreihe begrenzt wird.

Um zu verifizieren, ob die oben beschriebene Kalkstein-/Tuffreihe[70] tatsächlich die nördliche Begrenzung der gepflasterten Straßenfläche bildet, wurde die eingestampfte Erdschicht zwischen der

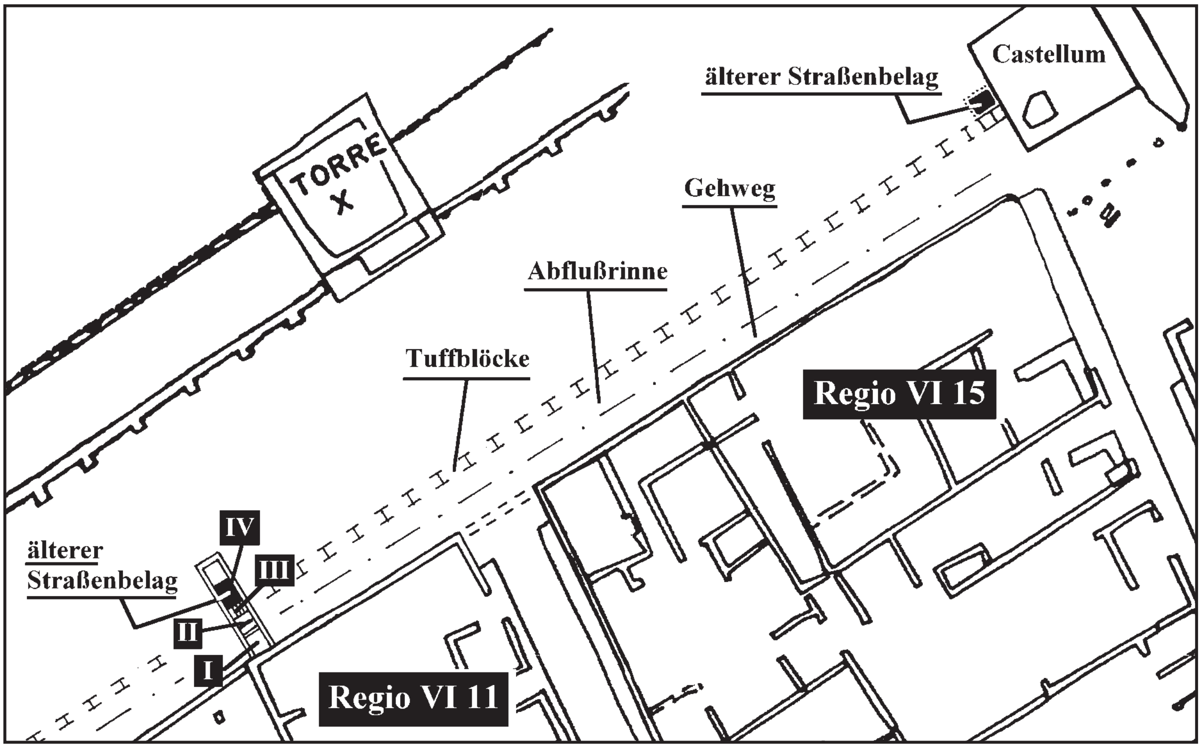


Abb. 27. Lageplan (nach NEAPOLIS 3, Tav. 9) der beiden Suchgrabungen auf der Westseite des Castellums und im Agger nördlich der Regio VI 11, wo das gesamte Querprofil der inneren Pomerialstraße freigelegt wurde: I = Gehweg, II = Abflussrinne, III = Reihe aus Tuffblöcken, IV = tieferliegender älterer Straßenbelag.

Trittstufe und der Stützmauer auf einer Fläche von ca. 100 cm x 40 cm entfernt (*Abb. 25, 26*). Gleichzeitig konnten dabei die Fundamente des Castellums und der Stützmauer untersucht werden. In einer Tiefe von ca. 50 cm unterhalb der Oberfläche der Kalkstein-/Tuffreihe kam eine Fläche zum Vorschein, die den Anschein von *opus caementicium* erweckte. (Ein vielleicht eher verzeihlicher Irrtum, wenn man weiß, dass ihm, in einem vergleichbaren Fall offensichtlich auch schon Maiuri erlegen ist: ‘... così omogenea ed uguale da assumere alla prima l’aspetto di un battuto ottenuto con composizione di malta. ...’)[71]

Diese Fläche endet auf der Südseite in einer unregelmäßigen Kante unmittelbar vor der Steinreihe, die auf dieser Seite im Unterbau aus gelben und grauen Tuffsteinen besteht (*Abb. 25*). (Auf der entgegengesetzten Seite befindet sich ein einziger, durchgehender Tuffblock, vgl. *Abb. 23.*) Sie fällt nach Norden leicht ab, hat eine starke Neigung nach Westen und schließt auf der Ostseite unmittelbar an das Mauerwerk der Beckenummauerung an. Lage, Form, Aussehen und Ausrichtung dieser Fläche ließen die Vermutung entstehen, es könne sich um das Gewölbe eines bis unter die Sohle des Beckens der 1. Bauphase reichenden Kanals handeln, der dann nur die Funktion eines ‘Reinigungskanals’[72] zur Ableitung evtl. eingelagerter Sedimente aus dem kombinierten Tos-/Absetzbecken gehabt haben könnte, und - mit unbekanntem Ziel nach Westen weiterlaufend - jenseits der Stützmauer im Agger wiederzufinden sein müsste.

Diese Hypothese führte zu der eingangs schon angesprochen Grabungskampagne des Jahres 2001,[73] als deren Ergebnis das vor wenigen Zeilen abgebrochene Zitat Maiuris auch hierfür zu Ende geführt werden kann: ‚... tatsächlich handelt es sich um einen Straßenbelag’.[74]

5.2.2. Der Befund

Es war ursprünglich geplant, den Verlauf des vermuteten Kanals im Agger nach Westen fortlaufend jeweils im Kreuzungsbereich der Querstraßen näher zu untersuchen.[75] Dieses Vorhaben (die zu untersuchenden Abschnitte sind überall meterhoch mit Erde und Verschüttungsmassen bedeckt) konnte nicht im geplanten Umfang durchgeführt werden, weil die Studentengruppe der Universität Nimwegen, die dabei mitarbeiten sollte, auf dem

Weg nach Pompeji verunglückte. Die durchgeführte Suchgrabung beschränkte sich deshalb auf eine ca. 6,50 m x 1,20 m große Fläche nördlich der Regio VI 11 (*Abb. 27*).

Das freigelegte Straßenprofil, das sich etwa auf Höhe der Trennwand zwischen den Häusern VI 11,19 und VI 11,3 (eine genaue Zuordnung ist wegen des undurchdringlichen Bewuchses der Region nicht möglich) befindet, schließt unmittelbar an die Nordwand der genannten Häuser an. Diese ruht auf einem Fundamentsockel, der 12 cm weit aus der Wand vorspringt und 10 cm über das Niveau des anschließenden Gehweges hinausragt. In diesem Straßenprofil sind vier Abschnitte zu unterscheiden, die alle ein Gefälle von ca. 5% nach Westen aufweisen.

- *Abschnitt I* besteht aus einem etwa 150 cm breiten Gehweg, der - wie die Abschnitte II und IV - im wesentlichen aus einer harten, gestampften Schicht (wahrscheinlich aus Sand, Kalk, keramischem und vulkanischem Splitt) besteht. Dieser Belag entspricht dem der vorstädtischen Landstraße westlich der Villa des T. Siminius Stephanus[76] und dürfte dem von De Caro in seinem Saggio 1 beschriebenen ‘piano 3’ ähnlich sein.[77] Im Bereich des Gehweges sind in diesen Belag allerdings zahlreiche Steine eingearbeitet (*Abb. 28*). Insgesamt ist eine leichte Neigung von der Hauswand auf den Abschnitt II hin festzustellen.
- *Abschnitt II* besteht aus einer ungefähr in der Mitte in Ost-West-Richtung eingetieften, ca. 120 cm breiten Rinne, die aus demselben Material, allerdings ohne Steineinarbeitung, gefertigt wurde (*Abb. 28, 29*). Die Schenkel dieser annähernd v-förmigen Rinne sind ungleich lang und auch ungleich stark geneigt, weil sie sich auf der Gehwegseite ungefähr bündig an diesen anschließt, auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite aber ungefähr 25 cm unter dem Gehwegniveau liegt.

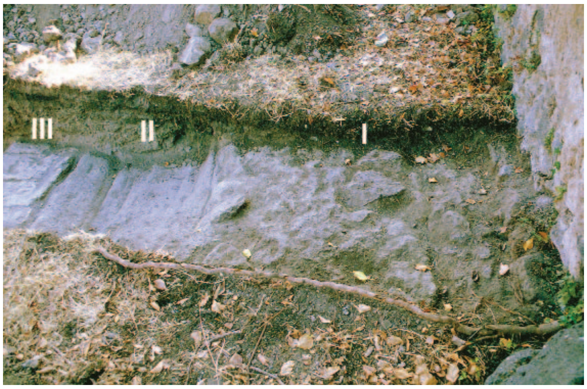


Abb. 28. Profil der freigelegten inneren Pomerialstraße mit Blickrichtung nach Nordosten. Von rechts: Hauswand (Regio VI 11), Gehweg (I), eingetiefte Wasserrinne (II), Reihe aus Tuffsteinblöcken (III).

Aufgabe dieser Rinne kann nur gewesen sein, sowohl das Regenwasser des auf die Rinne hin leicht geneigten Gehweges als auch - und vor allem - das des sich nach Norden anschließenden, stark geneigten Aggers aufzunehmen und nach Westen abzuleiten.

- An diese Rinne schließt sich *Abschnitt III* an. Dabei handelt es sich um eine Reihe von Tuffblöcken, die auf der Schmalseite stehend quer zur Ausrichtung der Rinne nebeneinander aufgereiht sind (*Abb. 29, 30*). Im Grabungsschnitt wurden insgesamt 4 Steinblöcke von ca. 75 cm (2 1/2’) Länge und ca. 30 cm (1’) Höhe freigelegt, die beiden äußeren teilweise, die beiden mittleren in ganzer Breite (Block Ostseite 27 cm, Block Westseite 34 cm). Die drei Blöcke auf der Ostseite sind aus gelbem, der auf der Westseite aus hellgrauem Tuff. Aus den mittleren Blöcken waren die nördlichen Randbereiche abgebrochen. Hier kann man erkennen, dass die Blöcke direkt auf den älteren Straßenbelag aufgesetzt wurden, der in der Spitze bis zu 30 cm weit unter den Blöcken weiterverfolgt werden konnte. Er hat hier eine stärkere Neigung nach Süden als in dem freiliegenden Bereich.

Diese Steinreihe hatte offensichtlich die Aufgabe, den nach Süden über die ältere Pomerialstraße (Abschnitt IV) hinaus erweiterten Agger abzufangen, was auch durch die Stratigraphie der Deckschichten bestätigt wird. Der Übergang von Abschnitt II zu Abschnitt III ist annähernd bündig, während im Übergang von Abschnitt III zu Abschnitt IV ein starker Höhenversprung besteht.

- *Abschnitt IV* schließlich besteht ebenfalls aus einem gestampften Straßenbelag, der deutlich tiefer liegt als die Abflussrinne (Abschnitt II) und der Gehweg (Abschnitt I). Es ist eindeutig zu erkennen, daß sich dieser Belag - er ist etwa 8 cm dick[78] - unter den Tuffblöcken fortsetzt (*Abb. 30*). Diese müssen also in einer späteren Phase auf den - naturgemäß älteren - Straßenbelag aufgesetzt worden sein. Auch die nur über diesem Abschnitt anzutreffende Schotterschicht (Ziffer 3 in *Abb. 31*) weist auf eine nachträgliche Auffüllung hin. Sie überdeckte die ältere Straße in einer Breite von ca. 130 cm. Spurrillen von Wagenrädern, wie möglicherweise in der vorstädtischen Straße, sind hier nicht zu erkennen.

5.2.3. Grabungstiefen und Stratigraphie

Der Gehweg (Abschnitt I) liegt im Grabungsbereich 20 bis 25 cm unter dem heutigen Niveau

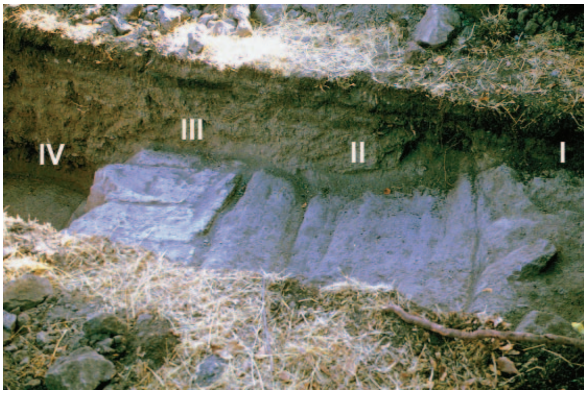


Abb. 29. Profil der freigelegten inneren Pomerialstraße mit Blickrichtung nach Nordosten

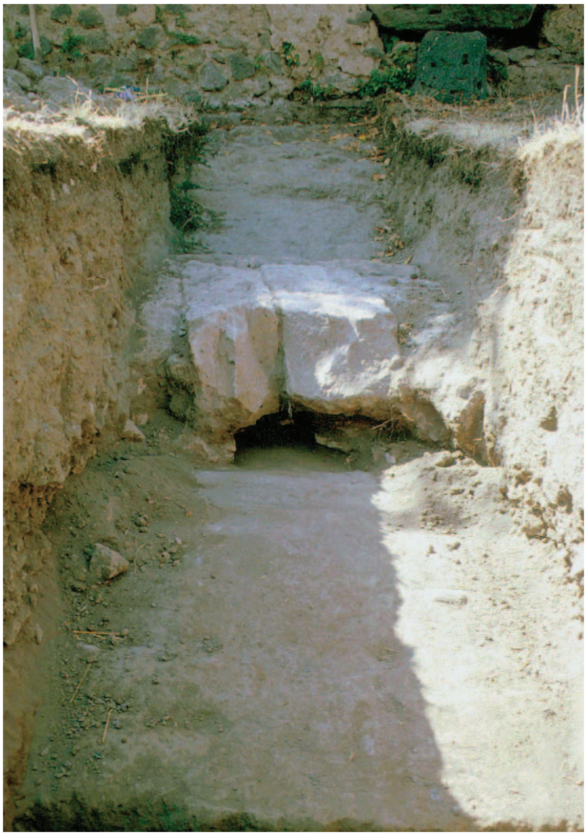


Abb. 30. Profil der freigelegten inneren Pomerialstraße mit Blickrichtung nach Südwesten.

des Aggers. Dieser steigt von der Hauswand bis zu einer Entfernung von etwa 3,50 m (Abschnitte II und III) nur um ca. 5 cm nach Norden hin an. Erst hier, also am Ende der Tuffblöcke, wird die Steigung des Aggers erheblich stärker. Auf einer Strecke von 3 m - zwischen 3,50 m und 6,50 m von der Hauswand entfernt - hat er einen Anstieg um ca. 1,20 m.

Dieses Profil entspricht offensichtlich dem antiken Profil des Aggers an dieser Stelle, denn unter einer etwa 20 cm dicken durchwurzelten Vegetationsschicht (Ziffer 1 in *Abb. 31*) ist eine hangparallel verlaufende Schicht aus vulkanischen Materialien anzutreffen, die bis auf Höhe der Tuffblöcke (ca. 50 cm unterhalb der heutigen Oberfläche) klar gegen den Untergund abgegrenzt ist (Ziffer 2 in *Abb. 31*).

Jenseits des älteren Straßenbelages (Abschnitt IV) wurde der Grabungsschnitt noch ca. 1,50 m weiter nach Norden und ca. 0,5 m unter das Niveau des Straßenbelages (hier ca. 1,50 m unterhalb der heutigen Oberfläche) ausgedehnt. In diesem Bereich war aber nur noch eine homogene, kompakte braun-/ockerfarbene Erdschicht ohne irgendwelche Beimengungen anderer Materialien anzutreffen.[79]

Zwischen der Erdschicht des Aggers (Ziffer 4 in *Abb. 31*), also seiner ursprünglichen Ausdehnung nach Süden, und den Tuffblöcken wurde der Raum über dem älteren Straßenbelag bis etwa auf Höhe der Oberkante der Tuffblöcke und von dort nach Norden ansteigend mit einer Mischung aus Steinschotter, Erde und Sand, aufgefüllt (Ziffer 3 in *Abb. 31*).

5.2.4. Die vorletzte Phase der inneren Pomerialstraße

Der dargestellte Befund zeigt, dass es in der von Maiuri als ‘Römische Epoche’ bezeichneten Zeit einen bislang unbekannten Umbau der inneren Pomerialstraße westlich der Porta Vesuvio gegeben hat, die deren Funktion in diesem Abschnitt einschneidend veränderte. Von der ursprünglich insgesamt etwa 5 m breiten Straßentrasse mit Gehweg und Fahrbereich blieben nach dem Umbau nur noch ein Gehweg und eine Regenwasser-Abflussrinne übrig.

Während die zeitliche Zuordnung des Abschnitts IV in die ältere Bauphase und der Tuffblöcke sowie der Abflussrinne in die jüngere Bauphase eindeutig ist, ist nicht zu erkennen, zu welcher Phase der Gehweg gehört. Wenn man für die innere Pomerialstraße eine Situation annimmt, wie man sie auch bei den meisten innerstädtischen Straßen vorfindet, müsste man die Abfolge Gehweg, Fahrstraße, Agger erwarten. Die Situation der vorletzten Phase würde sich dann wie in Abb. 32 darstellen: tieferliegende Fahrstraße von ca. 3,25 m (11′)[80] und Gehweg von ca. 1,50 m (5′) Breite.

Die Darstellung Maiuris zur Entwicklung der Fortifikation Pompejis müsste deshalb für die

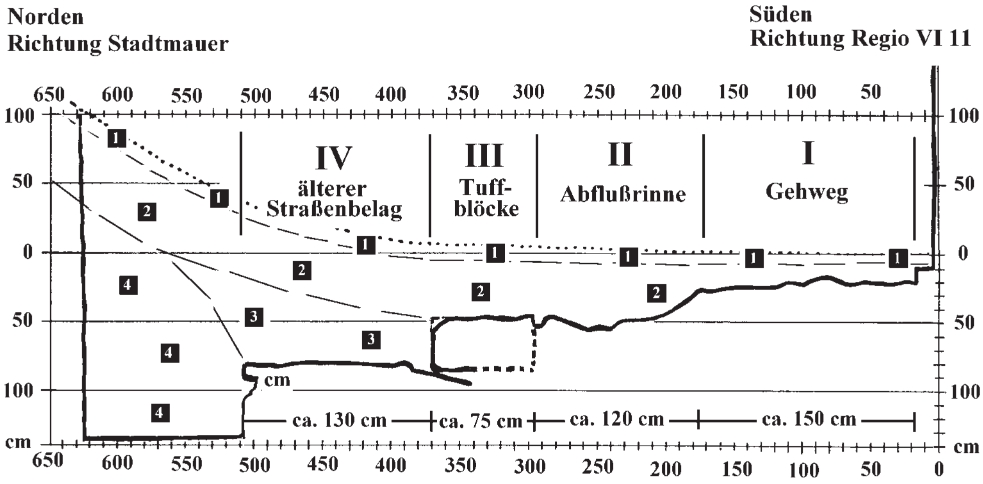

Norden
Richtung Stadtmauer
Süden
Richtung Regio VI 11
IV
älterer Straßenbelag
III
Tuff-blöcke
II
Abflußrinne
I
Gehweg
1
2
3
4
cm
ca. 130 cm
ca. 75 cm
ca. 120 cm
ca. 150 cm
650
600
550
500
450
400
350
300
250
200
150
100
50
0
100
50
0
50
100
cm

Abb. 31. Schnitt in N-S-Richtung durch die innere Pomerialstraße nördlich der Regio VI 11: I = Gehweg aus gestampfter Kalk-Sand-Splitt-Schicht, unregelmäßig mit großformatigen Steinen durchsetzt; II = Abflußrinne aus gestampfter Kalk-Sand-Splitt-Schicht; III = Reihe aus hellgrauen und hellgelben Tuffblöcken, auf älterem Straßenbelag aufliegend; IV = Älterer Straßenbelag auf tieferem Niveau aus gestampfter Kalk-Sand-Splitt-Schicht. Stratigraphie: 1 = Vegetationsschicht; 2 = Vulkanisches Auswurfmaterial; 3 = Schicht mit hohem Stein-/Schotteranteil, Anfüllung zwischen älterem Agger und Tuffreihe oberhalb der älteren Straßenschicht (jüngere Agger-Ausdehnung); 4 = braun-ockerfarbene kompakte Erdschicht (ältere Agger-Ausdehnung).

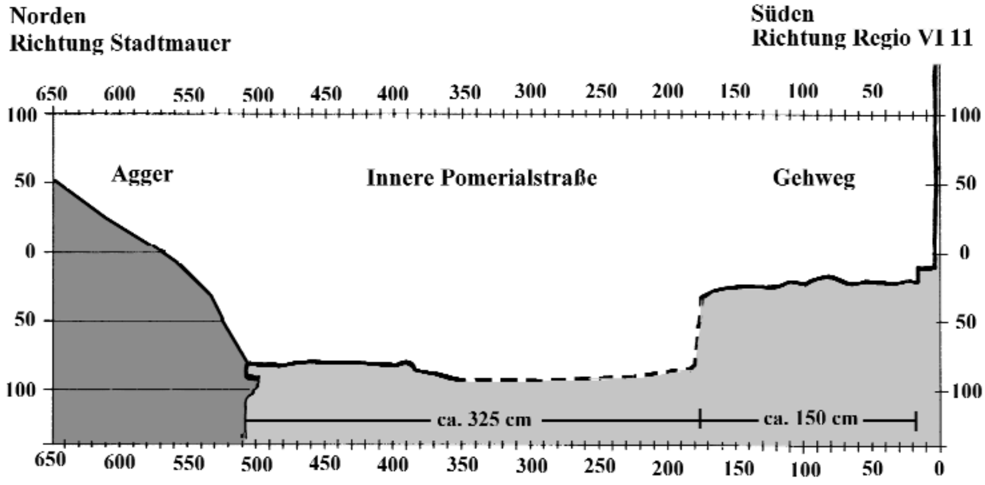

Norden
Richtung Stadtmauer
Süden
Richtung Regio VI 11
Agger
Innere Pomerialstraße
Gehweg
ca. 325 cm
ca. 150 cm
650
600
550
500
450
400
350
300
250
200
150
100
50
0
100
50
0
50
100

Abb. 32. Hypothetisches Profil der inneren Pomerialstraße in der vorletzten Phase.

letzte Phase ('Epoca Romana') und in Bezug auf die innere Pomerialstraße folgendermaßen differenziert werden. Nach/beim Einbau der Türme (3. samnitische Periode, ± 120-89 v. Chr.) hat es notwendigerweise auch eine erhebliche Abflachung des Aggers gegeben. Maiuri weist darauf zwar hin,[81] in der später veröffentlichten Abbildung[82] dieser Situation ist diese aber nicht mitvollzogen worden (*Abb. 33*).

Statt der dort abgebildeten zwei haben die Türme drei Zugänge, davon einen vom Agger her. Diese mittlere Ebene wurde in Abb. 34 hinzugefügt, und daraus ergibt sich, in Ergänzung zu Maiuris Darstellung, die in Abb. 34 skizzierte (abgeschätzte, nicht vermessene) Situation. Der Agger wurde mit dem Bau der Türme abgeflacht; auf Höhe der Torebene 2 erhielt er einen zweiten Rundweg (zusätzlich zu dem auf Höhe der Torebene 3, der schon vorher vorhanden war), neigte sich dann nach unten und lief offensichtlich am Rand der Fahrspur der inneren Pomerialstraße aus.

Diese Situation wurde jedoch noch einmal

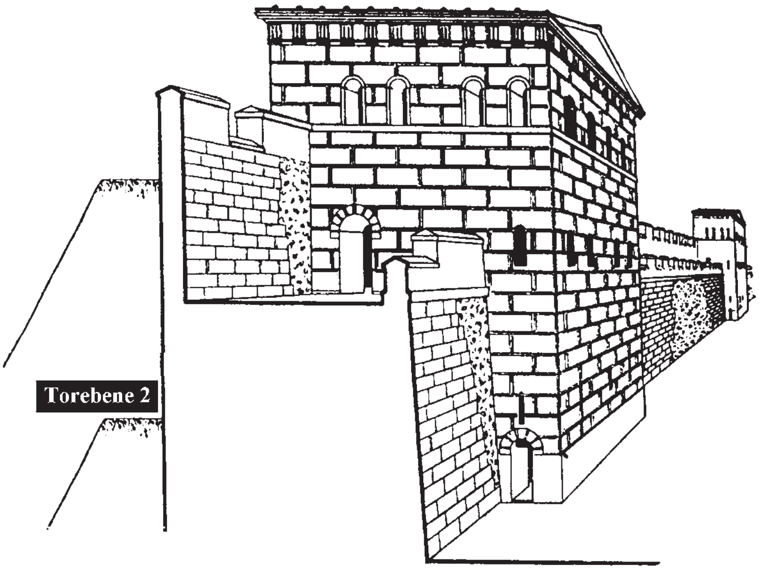


Abb. 33. Stadtmauer, Türme und Agger (nach Maiuri 1943, 289, fig.10) mit ursprünglicher und vom Verfasser korrigierter (grau) Aggerhöhe.

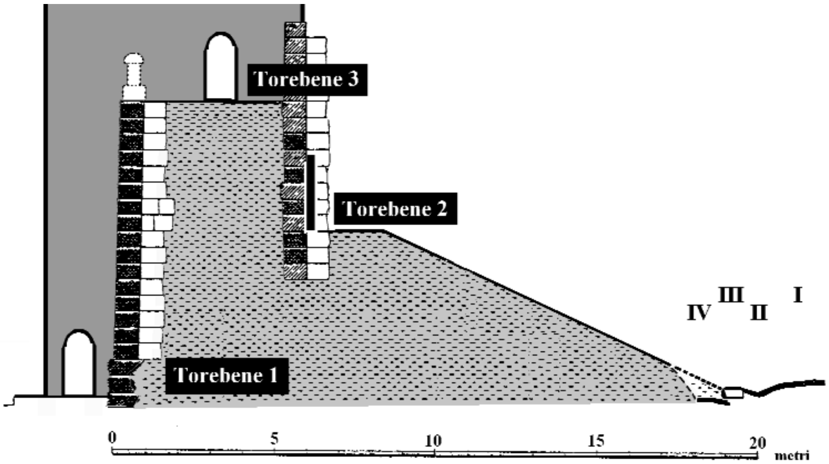


Abb. 34. Turm und bis auf Höhe der Torebene 2 abgeflachter Agger, basierend auf Maiuri 1943, fig. 12, hier Abb. 22.

grundlegend verändert: Der Fahrbereich wurde aufgegeben, die von ihm eingenommene Fläche wurde teilweise durch den weitergeführten Agger, teilweise durch eine großdimensionierte Abflussrinne überdeckt. Der bisherige Gehweg, und damit die fußläufige Verbindung zwischen der Porta Vesuvio und allen dort angrenzenden Straßen, blieb bestehen.

Verantwortlich für diesen letzten Um- bzw. Rückbau der inneren Pomerialstraße von der Porta Vesuvio an nach Westen kann nur der Bau der Wasserverteilungsanlage sein, die die bisherige Zufahrt weitgehend blockiert, den Raum für den Gehweg aber freilässt. Diese Interpretation fügt sich nahtlos an die Umbauten der Porta Vesuvio selbst an: Spätestens mit dem Abbruch der Außenschale und der Verkürzung/Abtreppung der Innenschale des westlichen Torflügels der Porta Vesuvio hatte diese ihren fortifikatorischen Charakter verloren - zugunsten des Bauplatzes für das Wasserverteilungsbecken. Durch dessen Lokalisierung an der offensichtlich mit voller Absicht gewählten Stelle wurde aber auch der fortifikatorische Charakter der inneren Pomerialstraße geradezu zwangsläufig aufgehoben. Es blieb lediglich die Funktion einer fußläufigen Verbindung nach Westen, und die vom Agger abfließenden Wassermengen sollten kontrolliert abgeleitetet werden.

Es muss offen bleiben, ob dieser Rückbau der inneren Pomerialstraße nur den Abschnitt zwischen der Porta Vesuvio und der Via di Mercurio umfasste, die Rinne also über diese Strasse nach Süden entwässert wurde, oder ob sie über die Via di Mercurio hinaus weiter nach Westen ging.

5.2.5. Niveauvergleich dieses Straßenabschnitts mit anderen Befunden

Für eine auch nur einigermaßen zuverlässige Abschätzung des gesamten antiken Geländeprofils im Bereich des Aggers bzw. der inneren Pomerialstraße zwischen der Porta Vesuvio und dem Merkurturm (Turm XI) ist die Zahl der möglichen Messpunkte zu gering. Einen groben Anhaltspunkt geben die Höhenangaben der angrenzenden Straßen in den Stadtplänen.[83] Demnach müsste es im Agger eine leichte Neigung nach Westen geben, die wahrscheinlich dem leichten Gefälle der äußeren Pomerialstraße entspricht (vgl. *Abb. 13*).

Diese Abschätzung ist durch folgende Meßwerte aus eigenen Untersuchungen zu ergänzen. Das Pflaster im Vico del Labirinto liegt 33 cm niedriger als das Pflaster am Castellum unmittelbar vor der Kalkstein-/Tuffreihe. Demgegenüber ist die Differenz zwischen dem älteren gestampften Straßenbelag am Castellum und dem hier beschriebenen im Agger (Abschnitt IV) mit 90 cm wesentlich höher. Wenn man in Rechnung stellt, dass die Fläche am Castellum eine ungewöhnlich starke Neigung hat, könnte der Fahrweg der inneren Pomerialstraße in der älteren Phase der römischen Periode insgesamt tiefer gelegen und kein lineares Gefälle, sondern unmittelbar vor der Porta Vesuvio einen stärkeren Anstieg nach Osten gehabt haben.

Dafür spricht auch eine weitere Überlegung. Maiuri erwähnt bei der Beschreibung seiner Untersuchungen innerhalb der Bastion eine alten Straßenbelag ('piano di un'antica strada glareata') an einem von ihm mit 'β' bezeichneten Punkt in der Südwestecke, der in 4 m Tiefe liege. Diesen Befund vergleicht er mit einem diesem entsprechenden Befund außerhalb der Stadtmauer, den er dort in 2 m Tiefe unter dem 'piano di campagna' gefunden habe.[84] Leider sagt Maiuri nicht, auf welchen Fixpunkt seine Tiefenangaben bezogen sind. Jedoch nennt er innerhalb der Bastion einen weiteren Befund am Punkt 'α', nämlich Reste einer treppenartigen Konstruktion aus Sarnokalk, die nach seinen Angaben in einer Tiefe von 1,70 m liegen. Diese treppenartige Konstruktion wurde vom Verfasser bei der Untersuchung des Kanalgewölbes in der Bastion ebenfalls freigelegt und vermessen (vgl. *Abb. 4*). Dabei wurde festgestellt, dass die oberste Stufe dieser Treppe ca. 30 cm höher als das Kanalgewölbe liegt, und mit diesem Wert lassen sich alle Angaben Maiuris erschließen und mit den vom Verfasser ermittelten Messwerten vergleichen.

Da der Kanal an dieser Stelle etwa 2 m hoch ist (ca. 1,4 m lichte Höhe zzgl. 0,6 m Mauerstärke im Gewölbe), liegt die oberste Stufe der Treppe (Punkt 'α') 2,30 m über der Kanalsohle. Wenn Punkt 'α' von Maiuri andererseits in einer 'Tiefe von 1,7 m gemessen wurde, dann liegt Maiuris (ungenannter) Bezugspunkt 4 m über der Kanalsohle. Genau diese Tiefe von 4 m nennt Maiuri aber auch für den Punkt 'β', so dass sich der dortige alte Straßenbelag innerhalb der Bastion und die Kanalsohle ungefähr auf derselben Höhe befinden müssen. Dieses Niveau entspricht aber auch dem ursprünglichen Niveau der äußeren (später zur Überdeckung des Kanals um ca. 2 m aufgehöhten) Pomerialstraße und der Gründungsschicht der Stadtmauer.

In Relation zu diesen Straßenschichten im äußeren Pomerium und in der Bastion, also unmittelbar vor und hinter der Stadtmauer, liegt die neben dem Eingang ins Castellum gefundene Schicht ca. 60 cm tiefer. Eine vergleichbare Höhendifferenz findet sich auch in dem Sohlabsturz vom Zuleitungskanal zum Becken der 1. Bauphase wieder (ca. 52 cm).

Aus allen diesen Angaben ergibt sich ein klareres Bild der topographischen Verhältnisse am Nordrand der Stadt. Der prähistorische Lavasporn, auf dessen Spitze die Stadt errichtet wurde, bildet zwischen etwa der Villa des T. Siminius Stephanus und der Stadt eine Senke, wölbt sich erneut zu einem relativ scharfkantigen, kragenförmig in NO-SW-Richtung laufenden Grat auf, um dann nach Süden wieder abzufallen. Auf diesen Grat wurde die Stadtmauer gegründet, und isohypsenparallel zu ihm bzw. zur Mauer verlaufen die äußere und die innere Pomerialstraße. Weil Letztere von der eigentlichen Mauer weiter entfernt ist als die äußere Pomerialstraße, muss sie entsprechend dem starken Gefälle unmittelbar südlich des Grates auf einem tieferen Niveau liegen als jene.[85] Weil aber sowohl der Kanal als auch das Verteilerbecken auf diese alten Straßen gegründet wurden - vor der Stadt auf die äußere, in der Stadt auf die innere Pomerialstraße (und zwar die der 3. samnitischen Epoche in der Definition Maiuris)[86] -, musste sich auch eine Abstufung innerhalb des

Wasserverteilungssystems ergeben, also eine Höhendifferenz zwischen dem Niveau der Kanalsohle, die auf Höhe der äußeren Pomerialstraße in die Stadt eintreten musste, und dem Becken, das mehr als 15 m weiter südlich auf dem Niveau der schon einmal verschobenen inneren Pomerialstraße liegt.

6. GESAMTINTERPRETATION UND DATIERUNG

Alle hier dargestellten städtebaulichen Veränderungen rund um die Porta Vesuvio stehen nicht etwa in einem zufälligen zeitlichen Zusammenhang mit dem Bau der Fernwasserleitung, sondern der Bau der Wasserversorgungsanlage ist, wie gezeigt wurde, eindeutig als alleinige Ursache dieser enormen Baumaßnahmen anzusehen.

Man muss sogar noch weiter gehen. Weil es für die Bauausführung der Wasserversorgungsanlage aus hydraulischer Sicht gleichwertige, aus bautechnischer Sicht sogar wesentlich weniger aufwendige Alternativen gegeben hätte, die die Porta Vesuvio und die innere Pomerialstraße in ihrem Baubestand nicht tangiert hätten, hat man deren bauliche Veränderungen nicht etwa notgedrungen in Kauf genommen, sondern man hat die Wasserverteilungsanlage vielmehr in voller Absicht genau so, genau dort, und genau mit diesen Auswirkungen für die Porta Vesuvio sowie das innere und äußere Pomerium errichten wollen.

Es ging dabei offensichtlich um mehr als ‘nur’ um die Wasserversorgung der Stadt, den Umbau einer Straße oder das Aussehen eines Stadttores. Der innere Zusammenhang aller dieser Teilprojekte weist vielmehr auf ein dahinter stehendes Gesamtkonzept hin, dass sich im Zusammenhang mit einer zeitlichen Zuordnung erschließt.

Die Bauwerke selbst liefern keine (oder allenfalls uneindeutige) Anhaltspunkte für eine absolute Bauzeitbestimmung, jedoch erlauben die mineralogischen Analysen der Kalksinterablagerungen im Castellum, im Zuleitungskanal und in der Serinoleitung zumindest eine relative Zuordnung:

- Der Anteil bestimmter chemischer Elemente, die mit dem im Wasser gelösten Kalk als ‘Kalksinter’ auf Wangen und Sohlen der Wasserbauwerke abgelagert wurden, unterscheidet sich im Sinter der 1. Phase signifikant von dem der 2. Phase.
- Die Charakteristik der Ablagerungen der 2. Phase im Verteilungssystem von Pompeji entsprechen wiederum denen der Ablagerungen in der Piscina Mirabilis, dem Endspeicher der Serinoleitung.

Aus diesen Fakten ist zu schließen, dass es in der Wasserversorgung Pompejis zwei Phasen mit Wasserzuleitungen aus verschiedenen Quellgebieten gegeben hat, dass zur Zuleitung von Palma Campania bis zur Stadt derselbe Kanal benutzt wurde, und dass Pompeji in der 2. Phase dasselbe Wasser bekommen hat wie der Endspeicher der Serinoleitung in Misenum.

Aus den Vergleichen mit weiteren Proben ergibt sich darüber hinaus, dass das in Misenum und Pompeji (2. Phase) ankommende Wasser nicht ausschließlich aus den Serinoquellen stammte, sondern ein Mischwasser aus den Serinoquellen und den Quellen gewesen sein muss, aus denen Pompeji in der 1. Phase Wasser bekam (und wofür nur das Quellgebiet von Avella in Frage kommen kann).

Wenn nun aber die Serinoleitung augusteisch datiert wird (eine Zuordnung, der sich auch der Verfasser in Abwägung aller in der Literatur genannten Überlegungen anschließt), dann ist für die 1. Versorgungsphase, und damit auch für den Bau des Zuleitungskanals, des Verteilungsbeckens, des innerstädtischen Versorgungsnetzes mitsamt eines Großteils der Türme und Brunnen, aber auch für die hier beschriebenen Umbauten im äußeren Pomerium, an der Porta Vesuvio und der inneren Pomerialstraße, zwingend ein früherer Zeitpunkt anzusetzen.

Bei der Ermittlung dieses Zeitpunktes sind folgende Punkte zu bedenken:

- Der ‘Rückbau’ der Porta Vesuvio, die Aufgabe der Fahrstraße im inneren Pomerium und die Aufhöhung der äußeren Pomerialstraße (die man ja auch als eine Verminderung der Differenz zwischen dem Umgebungsniveau und der Höhe der Stadtmauer ansehen kann) stellten eine gravierende Schwächung der Fortifikation der Stadt dar. Es wäre unter diesem Gesichtspunkt zu fragen, von welchem Zeitpunkt an eine derartige Schwächung bzw. die Aufgabe der Fortifikation denkbar war.
- Es ist kaum an zu nehmen, dass eine Provinzstadt wie Pompeji eine Fernwasserleitung aus eigenen Mitteln finanziert und erbaut haben könnte. Weil vermutlich mindestens auch die Stadt Nola aus der Avellaleitung versorgt wurde, ist schon diese Leitung als eine überregionales Bauprojekt anzusehen, dessen Entstehung man sich kaum ohne die Regie einer übergeordneten Instanz (Rom) vorstellen kann.
- Mit der Fernwasserversorgung wurde die Lebensqualität der Bewohner Pompejis einschneidend verbessert, aber es konnten auch viel mehr Bewohner als vorher mit Trinkwasser versorgt werden. Unter beiden Aspekten muss es einen

Zusammenhang zwischen den Bau der Wasserleitung und sozio-kulturellen Veränderungen in der Stadt geben.

Dass für den Bau des Wasserversorgungssystems unter allen diesen Ansatzpunkten übereinstimmend nur die sullanische Zeit in Frage kommen kann, soll im Folgenden kurz begründet werden.

- Nach der Eroberung der Stadt durch die Truppen Sullas und die Umwandlung Pompejis in eine römische *colonia* hatten die Befestigungsanlagen der Stadt ihren Sinn mangels jeglicher Bedrohung durch äußere Feinde verloren. Die Stadtmauer wurde deshalb teils abgebrochen, teils überbaut, teils geriet sie mangels weiterer Pflege einfach in Verfall. An manchen Stellen wurde auch das Pomerium (teilweise) überbaut. Alle durch den Bau der Wasserversorgungsanlage verursachten Veränderung der Befestigungsanlagen können deshalb frühestens zu diesem Zeitpunkt stattgefunden haben.
- Dass Pompeji von diesem Zeitpunkt an nur noch eine relative Eigenständigkeit besaß und seine Geschicke in allen Bereichen weitgehend in Rom (mit)bestimmt wurden, ist hinlänglich bekannt. Gerade diese Steuerung durch Rom erklärt andererseits aber die Errichtung eines überregionalen Wasserversorgungssystems.
- Die von der römischen Zentralmacht verfügte Ansiedlung mehrerer tausend Veteranen (und ihrer Familien) in der Stadt und in ihrem Umkreis bewirkte einen schlagartigen Anstieg der Bevölkerungszahl. Dies führte zu einer regen Bautätigkeit im öffentlichen wie im privaten Bereich, aber auch zu einer völligen Veränderung der soziologischen Strukturen. Es ist unbekannt, wie die Verteilung von Alt- und Neubürgern auf die Stadt selbst bzw. auf das Umland im einzelnen erfolgte. Es besteht aber Übereinstimmung darin, dass ein im Nordosten der Stadt gelegener Vorort, der *Pagus Augustus Felix Suburbanus* (unklar, ob er eine völlig Neugründung war oder ob ein vorhandener Vorort großflächig ausgebaut wurde), dabei eine bedeutende Rolle gespielt hat.

  Es kann vor diesem Hintergrund kein Zufall sein, dass zusammen mit dem Wasserversorgungssystem der Stadt selbst auch eine Leitung nach Nordnordosten errichtet wurde, die aufgrund ihrer hydraulischen Bedingungen eine große Zahl von Verbrauchern mit Wasser versorgen konnte.
- Die Positionierung und Gestaltung der Beckenanlage unter freiem Himmel an prominenter Stelle fügt sich auch in psychologischer Hinsicht nahtlos in sullanische Zeit. Man kann den im Gegensatz zu anderen Nymphäen sicher bescheidenen, aber doch deutlich erkennbaren 'Demonstrationscharakter' dieser Anlage so deuten, dass die römischen Eroberer der einheimischen Bevölkerung mit diesem Großprojekt ihre technische und finanzielle Überlegenheit, ganz allgemein ihren Machtanspruch, zeigen wollten. Man kann darin aber auch ganz pragmatisch eine Maßnahme sehen, mit der der allgemeine Lebensstandard in Pompeji vor allem zugunsten der neuangesiedelten Bürger verbessert und auf ein Niveau gebracht werden sollte, den die Neubürger, in der Mehrzahl wohl Kriegsveteranen, von anderswo durchaus schon gekannt haben dürften. Vielleicht muss man im Bau einer solchen Anlage, die der gesamten Bevölkerung unmittelbar und unübersehbar (!) zugute kam, aber auch eine Art 'Werbung' sehen, also den Versuch, die einheimische Bevölkerung, die sich zuerst einmal als besiegt, unterlegen, aus vielen bisherigen sozio-kulturellen Bezügen herausgeworfen erlebt haben muss, von der Leistungsfähigkeit der römischen Kultur und Lebensweise sowie den in ihr möglichen Entwicklungen und Verbesserungen der Lebensqualität zu überzeugen.

Zusammenfassend führen drei ganz unterschiedliche Aspekte zu demselben Ergebnis.

Erstens erzwingt die einhellige augusteische Datierung des Castellums (das ausweislich der Befunde aber erst in der 2. Bauphase der Wasserverteilungsanlage entstand) im Zusammenhang mit den Sinterbefunden eine Datierung des Zeitpunktes für den Bau des Systems (Zuleitungskanal/offenes Verteilungsbecken/innerstädtische Weiterleitung und Verteilung) in frühe römische Zeit.

Zweitens ist es unabweisbar, dass zugunsten dieses Bauvorhabens außerstädtisch gewaltige Erdanschüttungen bis unmittelbar an die Stadtmauer heran vorgenommen, innerstädtisch die Außenschale des Westflügels der Porta Vesuvio abgerissen und die innere Pomerialstraße aufgegeben wurden. Alle diese Maßnahmen, die die fortifikatorische Wirkung der Verteidigungsanlagen entscheidend herabsetzten, können frühestens in sullanischer Zeit erfolgt sein.

Drittens verweist auch eine Vielzahl anderer Indizien auf die sullanische Epoche (Positionierung der Anlage an prominenter Stelle im Stadtbild/offene Beckenanlage mit 'Schaueffekten' in nymphäumartiger Umgebung/Seitenkanal zur Versorgung eines Vorortes im Zusammenhang mit der Ansiedlung einer großen Zahl von Kolonisten/Erhöhung des Lebensstandards im Zusammenhang mit der Romanisierungspolitik der samnitisch/oskischen Stadt usw.).

Betrachtet man das Bauvolumen des eigentlichen Fernwasserversorgungssystems zusammen mit den damit verbundenen umfangreichen Veränderungen im Bereich des äußeren Pomeriums, der Porta Vesuvio und der inneren Pomerialstraße, dann dürfte sich dieses Bauprojekt als eines der größten in der Geschichte der Stadt und als eines der folgenreichsten für die Lebensqualität ihrer Bewohner erweisen.

ANMERKUNGEN

* Im Sommer 2001 wollten Jos de Waele und ich zusammen mit einer Gruppe von Studentinnen und Studenten der Katholischen Universität Nimwegen eine größere Untersuchung im Agger zwischen der Porta Vesuvio und der Via di Mercurio durchführen. Diese Pläne wurden durch den schrecklichen Autounfall der niederländischen Gruppe, bei dem Jos de Waele und zwei Studentinnen ums Leben kamen, zunichte gemacht. In den folgenden Tagen, während derer ich aus anderen Gründen noch in Pompeji bleiben musste, habe ich versucht, in einer räumlich sehr begrenzten Grabung im Agger wenigstens an einer einzigen Stelle unserer ursprünglichen Fragestellung nachzugehen. Die Feststellungen über die innere Pomerialstraße, die hier neben anderen Untersuchungsergebnissen vorgestellt werden, sind der letzte Befund in meinem von Jos de Waele betreuten Untersuchungsprojekt 'Wasserleitung Pompejis' und zugleich der erste Befund, den ich nicht mehr mit ihm diskutieren konnte. Ihm, meinem Lehrer, Doktorvater und guten Freund, sei dieser Artikel in großer Dankbarkeit gewidmet.
  Dem Soprintendenten von Pompeji, Herrn Prof. Dr. P. G. Guzzo, und dem Direktor der Grabungen, Herrn Dr. A. D'Ambrosio, gilt mein besonderer Dank für ihre Unterstützung.

[1] Larsen 1982; Peleg 1996; Jansen 2002, 38 ff.

[2] Eschebach/Schäfer 1982.

[3] Nappo 1996.

[4] Mygind 1917; Maiuri 1931.

[5] Eschebach 1979 (Stabianer Thermen); Eschebach 1991 (Forumsthermen).

[6] Jansen 2002, 47 ff.

[7] Paribeni (im handschriftlichen Grabungstagebuch und) 1903, 29-30.

[8] Kretzschmer 1983, 63.

[9] Ohlig 2002.

[10] Sgobbo 1938, 96-97; Elia 1938, 110-111.

[11] Ohlig 2001.

[12] Ohlig 1995 und 2002.

[13] Ohlig 2003.

[14] Ein weiterer, erheblich kleiner dimensionierter Seitenkanal zweigte - etwa in der Mitte der äußeren Pomerialstraße nach Westen liegend - auf Sohlhöhe aus dem Zuleitungskanal ab (*Abb. 5*). Auch er war schon während der Betriebszeit reduziert bzw. verschlossen worden, und zwar stufenweise: Zuerst wurden ein oder mehrere Bleirohre in diesen Seitenkanal gelegt (ein kleinformatiges Rohrfragment konnte *in situ* liegend geborgen werden), während die restliche Öffnung des Seitenkanals zugemauert wurde, dann wurde auch diese reduzierte Ableitungsmöglichkeit entfernt und der gesamte Abzweig verschlossen.

[15] Ohlig 1997; Ohlig 2001, 135 ff.

[16] Gralfs 1988; Stefani 1998.

[17] Ohlig 2001, 353-354.

[18] Coarelli/La Rocca/De Vos 1990, 15; Mau 1908, 28; Alfano/Friedlaender 1929, 8; Mygind 1917, 296-297; Eschebach 1970, 14; Noack/Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, 3-4.

[19] Die Vermessungen des Zuleitungskanals fanden zum größten Teil im Inneren statt. Drei Freilegungen von außen [a) unmittelbar vor der Stadtmauer, b) am Knick um 12°, c) an der Einsturzstelle des Seitenkanals nach Nordosten am östlichen Rand der Via del Vesuvio] boten u. a. die Möglichkeit zu Kontrollmessungen.

[20] Ein Römischer Fuß (1') = 29,6 cm.

[21] Wenn man das von Vitruv (VIII, 6. 1) genannte Idealgefälle zwischen einem viertel und einem halben Fuß auf 100 Fuß Länge für die 14 km lange Zweigleitung nach Pompeji zugrundelegt, so bleiben die tatsächlichen Bedingungen weit unter diesen Vorgaben: Statt einer Höhendifferenz von etwa 8 m müsste sie dann eine Höhendifferenz zwischen 35 m und 70 m haben.

[22] Sogliano 1899, 238.

[23] Diese Konstellation lässt eine unter der Straße durchführende Wasserversorgung des 'Industriekomplexes' direkt aus dem hier vorbeilaufenden Kanal möglich erscheinen, wobei die in Abb. 10 genannten unterschiedlichen Höhen von der tatsächlichen Lage des an der einzig zugänglichen Stelle zerstörten Fußbodens abhängten.

[24] Eine vergleichbare Situation zeigte sich auch bei der Freilegung des Seitenkanals nach Nordosten am Ostrand der Via del Vesuvio. Auch hier liegen die Lavapolygone der Straßenbedeckung fast ohne Bettung direkt auf dem Gewölbe auf, um Höhe zu sparen.

[25] Spano 1910, 491.

[26] Spano 1910, 402.

[27] Die Untersuchungen der Befestigungsanlagen zogen sich über einen längeren Zeitraum hin: Die erste Phase war 1927 beendet. Ihre Ergebnisse hat Maiuri im Jahre 1929 (*MAL* 33) publiziert. Die Freilegung der Stadtmauer begann 1933 an der Porta Ercolano und ging bis zum Merkurturm. Sie wurde 1934 mit der Freilegung des Abschnitts von der Porta Vesuvio bis zum Merkurturm abgeschlossen.

[28] Maiuri 1943, 277.

[29] Maiuri 1929, 186-187.

[30] Maiuri 1929, 185.

[31] Maiuri 1929, 190.

[32] In diesem Zusammenhang ist interessant, dass Maiuri (Maiuri 1943, 279) zwar einen Zusammenhang zwischen dem aufgehöhten Niveau der Pomerialstraße und dem damals offensichtlich noch unversehrt erhaltenen und mit dem Straßenniveau höhengleichen Mundloch des letzten Revisionsschachts vor der Stadtmauer feststellt. Weil er aber die Aufhöhung der Straße in die Kaiserzeit datiert, und zwar früher als den Bau der Wasserleitung, ist für ihn die Höhe des Schachts vom Niveau der schon aufgehöhten Straße abhängig, nicht aber die Aufhöhung der Straße Folge des Kanalbaus. Den Grund für die Aufhöhung der Straße sieht er darin, dass die innerstädtische Verkehrssituation möglicherweise so schwierig geworden sein könne, dass man die Pomerialstraße als Umgehungsstraße ausgebaut und dafür diese Mühe der Aufhöhung auf sich genommen hätte. Aus Maiuris folgendem Hinweis aber, dass für gesicherte Aussagen weitere Tiefenuntersuchungen nötig seien, kann man schließen, dass

ihn diese Erklärung auch selbst nicht ganz zufriedengestellt hat, zumal ein Ausbau der Straße nicht notwendigerweise zu einer Erhöhung geführt hätte.

[33] Maiuri 1929, 158.

[34] Maiuri 1943, 278-279.

[35] Zu dieser Diskussion s. De Caro 1985, 109 ff.

[36] Wäre eine solche Brücke auch nur 2 m hoch gewesen, hätte dies schon einen Verlust von 25% des Gesamtgefälles der Strecke von Palma bis Pompeji bedeutet.

[37] Die kurze Baubeschreibung von I. Riera (Bodon/Riera/Zanovello 1994, 243 und 246) ist insofern unrichtig.

[38] Ohlig 2001, 97 ff.

[39] Eine Ansicht, die auch von J. K. Haalebos † (Nimwegen) im persönlichen Gespräch mit dem Verfasser (März 2000) vertreten und ausführlich diskutiert wurde.

[40] Sogliano 1906, 98-99.

[41] Mau 1904, 42.

[42] Eschebach 1995, 115: 'Reste dieser älteren Pflasterung sieht man ... an der Einfassung des Bürgersteigs vor dem Eingang VI 1,4, die aus Steinen der hier aufgelassenen ehemaligen inneren Pomerialstraße besteht (diese war etwa 5 m breit, ihre nördliche Begrenzung lag 22,5 m von den Stufen des Aggers entfernt).'

[43] In dieser Skizze ist die nach Maiuri (Maiuri 1931, 546-547) erst in augusteischer Zeit erfolgte und auf das Straßenpflaster aufgesetzte Erweiterung der Taberna an der Spitze der Regio VI 16 noch nicht wiedergegeben, so dass der von Maiuri entdeckte samnitische Tiefbrunnen hier noch im Straßenbereich liegt.

[44] Sollte es auch hier noch einen treppenartigen Anstieg zur Stadtmauer - oder Reste davon aus früheren Epochen - (vgl. die von Maiuri [Maiuri 1929, 174, 186, 190 und Tav. VI, hier Abb. 12, 'S', 'H', 'A'] beschriebenen Befunde) gegeben haben, dann müsste auch dieser spätestens zu diesem Zeitpunkt entfernt worden sein.

[45] Der Abstand beträgt auf der Westseite (in Abb. 16 auf Höhe der beiden unteren Pfeile) 2,99 m, auf der Ostseite (unterste Reihe) 3,04 m. Beide Maße dürften 11 oskische Fuß (3,025) repräsentieren.

[46] Auf Fotos im Archiv der SAP aus den Jahren 1902 und 1905 ist hier eine Lücke, in der man den Zustand des Rohbaumauerwerks sehr gut erkennen kann. Auf Fotos ab 1941 hingegen ist die Lücke mit dem kleineren Steinblock verschlossen, dessen moderne Zufügung sich auch leicht an seiner Vermörtelung erkennen lässt.

[47] Und es spricht nach Ansicht des Verfassers nichts dagegen, in der 'Zackenlinie' rechts vom Castellum in dem bekannten Relief aus dem Haus des L. Caecilius Iucundus (V I, 26) nicht eine Abrisslinie des Stadttores vom Castellum zu sehen, sondern den Versuch des Bildhauers, die schon vor dem Erdbeben vorhandene abgetreppte Form des Torflügels darzustellen.

[48] Eine dafür notwendig gewordene zusätzliche Verschwenkung des Zuleitungskanals vor der Stadt wäre hydraulisch völlig problemlos gewesen.

[49] Es gibt eine vergleichbare Vergitterung beim ebenfalls im Freien endenden 'Aqueduc de Vieu' (Blanchet 1908, 62-63).

[50] Vgl. grundsätzlich Tölle-Kastenbein 1990, 187-188; für Nîmes Hodge 1992, 8.

[51] Reste eines Verputzes finden sich noch in Mauernischen auf der gegenüberliegenden Innenseite des Torflügels.

[52] Tölle-Kastenbein 1990, 187.

[53] Man könnte nun einwenden, dass man mit dieser These zwar die Motivation für den Einbau der Einschnürung erklären könne, dass aber ihr negativer hydraulischer Effekt (Turbulenzen im Becken, wo ein ruhiger und gleichmäßiger Wasserspiegel für die Verteilung günstiger wäre) noch nicht beseitigt gewesen wäre. Hier kommt jedoch eine im Becken quer zum Zuleitungskanal angeordnete Trennwand zur Geltung: Sie gab dem nördlichen Beckenabschnitt (auch) die Funktion eines Tosbeckens: Das Wasser traf zwar, durch die Einschnürung absichtlich beschleunigt, mit höherer Energie und entsprechenden Effekten auf den Wasserkörper im Becken, verlor dort aber - wie in jedem Tosbecken - einen Teil seiner kinetischen Energie und floss anschließend ruhig über die Trennwand hinweg durch einen Rechen in das kleinere Teilbecken vor den Ablaufrohren ab (Einzelheiten s. Ohlig 2001, 214-215).

[54] Maiuri 1929 und 1943; De Caro 1985.

[55] Maiuri 1929, 158.

[56] Maiuri 1929, 129.

[57] Maiuri 1929, 160.

[58] Maiuri 1929, 161-162.

[59] Maiuri 1929, 162.

[60] Maiuri 1929, 163, 168.

[61] Maiuri 1929, 131-132 (Piani Stradali).

[62] Maiuri 1929, 139.

[63] De Caro 1985, 90.

[64] De Caro 1985, 81.

[65] De Caro 1985, 104.

[66] Mau 1904, 42.

[67] Paribeni 1903, 28; Mau 1904, 43; Mau 1908, 236; Maiuri 1931, 555.

[68] Paribeni 1903, 27.

[69] Maiuri 1931, 555. Ein nahe der Stützmauer unmittelbar vor dem Gehweg fehlender Pflasterstein dürfte bei der Verlegung der Rohre zwischen dem samnitischen Tiefbrunnen und dem Wasserreservoir im Agger (Maiuri 1931, 556-557) entfernt worden sein, denn genau an dieser Stelle treten Rohre aus dem Agger unter der Mauer durch (vgl. Abb. 24) und laufen unterhalb des Straßenpflasters, den Vorplatz diagonal querend, weiter nach Südosten. Bei diesen Arbeiten dürften auch die anderen, oben erwähnten Pflastersteine freigelegt worden sein.

[70] Man erkennt in Abb. 25 und 26 zwei Blöcke in dieser Reihe: Der Block am rechten Bildrand, der nur zu einem geringen Teil (21 cm) unter der Stützmauer hervoragt, ist 66 cm breit, der wahrscheinlich bis unter den Castellumunterbau weiterlaufende linke Block ist nur 57 cm breit. Die Blöcke sind an der Südseite (Straßenpflaster) bündig zueinander ausgerichtet. Die Kalksteinreihe scheint einen Unterbau aus gelben und grauen Tuffquadern zu haben (Abb. 25). Der Trittstein vor der Tür des Castellums liegt etwa 15 cm weit auf der Kalksteinreihe auf. Der übrige Teil (ca. 60 cm) ruht auf der gestampften Erde.

[71] Maiuri 1929, 129.

[72] Solche Reinigungskanäle aus Absetzbecken (auch 'Spülkanäle' oder 'Spülschleusen' genannt, sind auch in anderen antiken Anlagen bekannt (vgl. Fahlbusch 1982, 110-111; Grewe 1986, 182 ff.; Tölle-Kastenbein 1990, 97 ff.; Grewe 1992, 85 ff.; Hodge 1992, 117 ff.), aber nicht als Standardeinrichtung anzusehen.

[73] Siehe Anmerkung *

[74] Maiuri 1929, 129: '....Trattasi invece dello stesso strato e della stessa massicciata di platea stradale.'

[75] Dem Soprintendenten sei auch für die Genehmigung dieser Zusatzuntersuchungen ausdrücklich gedankt.

[76] Dieser Belag, wahrscheinlich mit Wagenspuren, wurde bei einer Suchgrabung zwischen der sog. Villa des T.

Siminius Stephanus und dem im Jahre 1901 dort freigelegten Zuleitungskanal angetroffen, vgl. Ohlig 2001, 353-354 (Anhang IV, Teil 17).

[77] De Caro 1985, 81 und fig. 17.1.

[78] Dies korrespondiert sowohl mit den Angaben De Caros ('pochi centimetri...') über die Schicht 3 in Saggio I der Untersuchung an der Porta Nocera als auch dem Befund an der vorstädtischen Straße zwischen der Villa des T. Siminius Stephanus und dem Zuleitungskanal.

[79] Diese Situation dürfte der entsprechen, die De Caro (De Caro 1985, 86) als 'il vergine ... di terra gialla' beschreibt.

[80] Zum Vergleich: Diese Breite entspricht etwa der der Fahrspur des Vicolo dei Vettii, der Via Consolare vor der Casa del Chirurgo und der schmalsten Stelle der Stabianer Straße (die nach Nissen zwischen 3,24 und 4,10 m breit ist [Nissen 1877, 545]). Eine große Zahl von Straßen in Pompeji (vici) ist viel schmaler (Nissen 1877, 556-562). Die Fahrbahnbreite von 3,25 m erlaubte auch ein problemloses Passieren von zwei Fuhrwerken mit der offensichtlich in Pompeji häufig anzutreffenden Achsbreite von 1,44 m (Maiuri 1943, 277; Tsujimura 1991, 61; Ohlig 2001, 354).

[81] Maiuri 1929, 218: '... costruzioni di torri a cavaliere delle mura e del cammino di ronda ed abbassamento del piano dell'aggere, in corrispondenza del vano di accesso alle torri.'

[82] Maiuri 1943.

[83] Eschebach 1993; NEAPOLIS; CTP.

[84] Maiuri 1929, 189, vgl. Tav. VI, hier Abb. 12.

[85] Vgl. die zusammenfassende Bewertung Maiuris (Maiuri 1929, 139).

[86] Maiuri 1929, 218.

ABKÜRZUNGEN

CTP - *Corpus Topographicum Pompeianum*, hier: Pars III: *The RICA Maps of Pompeii*, Rome 1984.

NEAPOLIS - E. Furnari, (Hg.), *NEAPOLIS, Progetto-sistema per la valorizzazione integrale delle risorse ambientali e artistiche dell'area vesuviana*, Bd. 1: *La valorizzazione dei beni culturali e ambientali*, Bd. 2: *Temi progettuali*, Bd. 3: *Planimetrie della città antica di Pompei*, Rome 1994.

SAP - Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei.

LITERATUR

Alfano, G. B./I. Friedlaender 1929, *Die Geschichte des Vesuv. Illustriert nach gleichzeitigen Urkunden*, Berlin.

Blanchet, A. 1908, *Recherches sur les aqueducs et cloaques de la Gaule romaine*, Paris.

Bodon, G./I. Riera/P. Zanovello 1994, *Utilitas Necessaria. Sistemi idraulici nell'Italia romana*, Roma.

Coarelli, F./E. La Rocca/M. de Vos-Raaijmakers/A. de Vos 1990, *Pompeji, Archäologischer Führer*², Bergisch Gladbach.

De Caro, S. 1985, Nuove indagini sulle fortificazioni di Pompei, *AION* 7, 75-114.

De Haan, N./G. Jansen (Hg.) 1996, *Cura aquarum in Campania. Proceedings of the Ninth International Congres on the History of Water Management and Hydraulic Engineering in the Mediterranean Region* (BABesch Suppl. 4), Leiden.

Eschebach, H. 1970, *Die städtebauliche Entwicklung des antiken Pompeji* (RM, Ergh. 17), Heidelberg.

Eschebach, H. 1979, *Die Stabianer Thermen in Pompeji* (Denkmäler antiker Architektur 13), Berlin.

Eschebach, H. und L. 1995, *Pompeji vom 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis 79 n. Chr.*, Köln.

Eschebach, H./T. Schäfer 1983, Die öffentlichen Laufbrunnen Pompejis. Katalog und Beschreibung, *PompHercStab* 1, 11-40.

Eschebach, L. 1991, Die Forumsthermen in Pompeji, Regio VI, Insula 5, *AW* 22, 4, 257-287.

Eschebach, L. 1993, *Gebäudeverzeichnis und Stadtplan der antiken Stadt Pompeji*, Köln.

Eschebach, L. 1996, Wasserwirtschaft in Pompeji, in De Haan/Jansen 1996, 1-12.

Fahlbusch, H. 1982, Vergleich antiker griechischer und römischer Wasserversorgungsanlagen, *MInstWasser* 73, Braunschweig.

Gralfs, B. 1988, *Metallverarbeitende Produktionsstätten in Pompeji*, Oxford.

Grewe, K. (Hg.) 1986, *Atlas der römischen Wasserleitungen nach Köln*, Köln.

Grewe, K. 1992, *Planung und Trassierung römischer Wasserleitungen* ², Wiesbaden.

Hodge, A. T. 1992, *Roman Aqueducts and Water Supply*, London.

Jansen, G. (Hg.) 2000, *Cura Aquarum in Sicilia, Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress on the History of Water Management and Hydraulic Engineering in the Mediterranean Region* (BABesch Suppl. 6), Leiden.

Jansen, G. 2002 *Water in de Romeinse stad, Pompeji - Herculaneum - Ostia*, Leuven.

Kretzschmer, F. 1983, *Bilddokumente römischer Technik*⁵, Düsseldorf.

Larsen, J. D. 1982, The Water Towers in Pompeii, *AnalRom* 11, 41-67.

Maiuri, A. 1929, Studi e ricerche sulla fortificazione di Pompei, *MAL* 33, 113-288. (Dieser Aufsatz wird in der Literatur häufig mit der Jahresangabe 1930 zitiert.)

Maiuri, A. 1931, Pompei. Pozzi e condotture d'acqua nell'antica città. Scoperta di un antico pozzo presso 'Porta Vesuvio', *NSc*, 546-575.

Maiuri, A. 1943, Pompei. Isolamento della cinta murale fra Porta Vesuvio e Porta Ercolano, *NSc*, 275-294.

Mau, A. 1904, Ausgrabungen von Pompeji, Kastell der Wasserleitung, *RM* 19, 41-50.

Mau, A. 1908, *Pompeji in Leben und Kunst*², Leipzig.

Mygind, H. 1917, Die Wasserversorgung Pompejis, *Janus* 22, 294-351.

Noack, F./K. Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, *Baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen am Stadtrand von Pompeji* (Denkmäler antiker Architektur 2), Berlin.

Nappo, S. 1996, L'impianto idrico a Pompei nel 79 d. C. Nuovi dati, in De Haan/Jansen 1996, 37-45.

Nissen, H. 1877, *Pompeianische Studien zur Städtekunde des Altertums*, Leipzig.

Ohlig, Ch. 1995, Vitruvs '*Castellum Aquae*' und die Wasserverteilung im antiken Pompeji, *Schriftenreihe der Frontinus-Gesellschaft* 19, 124-147.

Ohlig, Ch. 1997, Neue Erkenntnisse über die Wasserversorgung im antiken Pompeji, *Schriftenreihe der Frontinus-Gesellschaft* 22, 57-102.

Ohlig, Ch. 2000, Aquädukt-Daktyloskopie' im Zuleitungskanal von Pompeji. Eine Methode zur Untersuchung der Baugeschichte eines antiken Wasserleitungssystems, in Jansen 2000, 163-169.

Ohlig, Ch. 2001, *De Aquis Pompeiorum. Das Castellum Aquae in Pompeji: Herkunft, Zuleitung und Verteilung des Wassers* (Circumvesuviana, Bd. 4), Nijmegen.

Ohlig, Ch. 2002, Vitruvs technisches Konzept zur Wasserversorgung einer Stadt und die Verteileranlage im antiken Pompeji. Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte eines

Faktoids, in Ohlig/Peleg/Tsuk 2002, 201-212.

Ohlig, Ch./Y. Peleg/T. Tsuk, (Hg.) 2002, *Cura Aquarum in Israel, Proceedings of the 11th International Conference on the History of Water Management and Hydraulic Engineering in the Mediterranean Region* (Schriften der Deutschen Wasserhistorischen Gesellschaft [DWhG], Bd. I), Siegburg.

Ohlig, Ch. 2003, Technische Einrichtungen zur Wasserverteilung im *Castellum Aquae* von Pompeji, in Ohlig (Hg.) 2003, 213-226.

Ohlig, Ch. (Hg.) 2003, *Wasserhistorische Forschungen, Schwerpunkt Antike* (Schriften der Deutschen Wasserhistorischen Gesellschaft, Bd. 2), Siegburg.

Paribeni, R. 1903, Pompei. Relazione degli scavi eseguiti durante il mese di novembre (1902), *NSc*, 25-33.

Peleg, J. 1996, Der Zweck und der Betrieb der Wassertürme von Pompeji, in De Haan/Jansen 1996, 33-36.

Sgobbo, I. 1938, Serino. L'acquedotto romano della Campania: «*Fontis Augustei Aquaeductus*», *NSc*, 75-97.

Sogliano, A. 1906, Pompei, Relazione degli scavi fatti dal dicembre 1902 a tutto marzo 1905, *NSc*, 97-100.

Spano, G. 1910, Scavi fuori Porta del Vesuvio, *NSc*, 399-416.

Stefani, G. 1998, Contributo alla carta archeologica dell'ager pompeianus. I rinvenimenti presso Porta Vesuvio, *RStPomp* 7, 1995-96, 11-33.

Tsujimura, S. 1991, Ruts in Pompei. The Traffic System in the Roman City. *Opuscula Pompeiana* 1, 58-90.

Tölle-Kastenbein, R. 1990, *Antike Wasserkultur*, München.

PARKSTRASSE 32
D-46487 WESEL
DEUTSCHLAND

BABesch 79 (2004)

Metal Utensils from the Time of the Bar Kokhba Revolt discovered in the Southern Judaean Foothills, Israel

Boaz Zissu and Amir Ganor

Summary

This paper presents metal utensils from the time of the Bar Kokhba Revolt that were discovered at Moran 1 site in the Southern Judaean Foothills.
Moran 1 site contains sparse remains of buildings with underground cavities beneath them. In 1981, a large hiding complex was examined here, the first one to be discovered in this region. In February 2000, we re-examined the site. On the surface we found twenty bronze coins, dated from the first to the eighth century CE. A bronze Bar Kokhba's coin was discovered at the entrance shaft to the hiding complex. In one of the chambers of the complex, three metal objects were found: an elbow key, an iron strigil and a bronze mirror. The objects were hidden together in the complex, during the Bar Kokhba Revolt (132-135 CE). The mirror's back was ornamented with attachments cast in bronze in the form of busts of Isis and Sarapis. The gods faces were deliberately rubbed, apparently by pious Jews, in order to strip them of their idolatrous status, as described in the Mishnah (Abodah Zarah 4:5). The article describes the objects and offers interpretations as to their meaning. Did the artifacts belong to a man or a woman who lived at the site? Strigils and mirrors are associated with bathhouses or gymnasia in the Graeco-Roman world - seemingly far removed from Jewish life in a remote village in the early second century CE. Or was the strigil taken, along with the bronze mirror, as booty from Roman soldiers stationed in the Jewish region, at the beginning of the revolt? Were Roman army units billeted in the Judaean rural areas during the first-second centuries CE?

Since 1997, the authors have been conducting a survey in the southern Judean Foothills (Shephelah) on behalf of the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA), with the assistance of the Joe Alon Center. The survey is being carried out in the 'Devira Map' (120), which extends from longitudinal coordinates 100 to 140 and from latitudinal coordinates 090 to 130. The purpose of the paper is to present and discuss new finds from the time of the Bar Kokhba Revolt that have been discovered during the survey at Moran 1 Site.

THE FINDS AT MORAN 1

'Moran 1' is an ancient site that is not marked on the maps.[1] It is located between Horbat Moran (Khirbet Murran) and Horbat Dagesh, on a gentle slope descending from the east toward Nahal Moran, one of the tributaries of Nahal Yaval (map ref. 13885/09395; *fig. 1*). The site covers an area of about 5000 sqm and contains sparse remains of buildings with natural and artificial underground chambers beneath them (*fig. 2*).

In 1981, a team from the Joe Alon Center comprising David Alon, Avi Navon, and 'Eid el-Turi examined a large hiding complex that had been breached in by antiquities looters (*fig. 3*). The complex contained some eighteen underground chambers connected by passages and formed a ramified complex with a total length of about 150 meters (*fig. 4*). This was the first hiding complex discovered in the Judaean Foothills by the team from the Joe Alon Center. After Alon realized the significance of the hiding complex phenomenon, this one served as a touchstone for identifying other complexes in the region (Alon 1987, 150-153; see discussion below).

In February 2000, we examined the site as part of the 'Devira Map Survey'.[2] The vast majority of the potsherds scattered on the surface is from the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age, while few were from the Roman and Byzantine periods.

Twenty bronze coins were found: the earliest are from the 1st century CE; they include a Nabatean coin of Aretas IV, a coin of the Roman procurator Festus, and a *prutah*[3] from the second year of the Jewish War against the Romans. The only coin found from the 2nd century CE is a bronze one overstruck by the Bar Kokhba administration. It was discovered at the entrance shaft

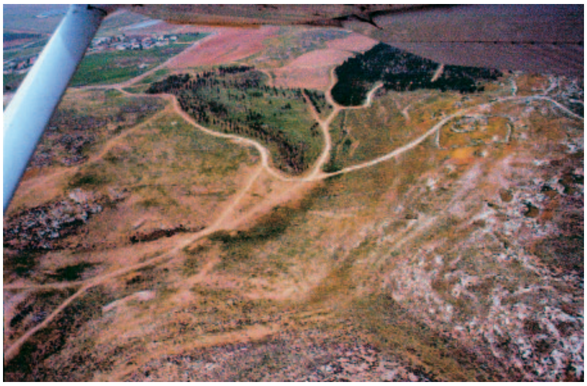


Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

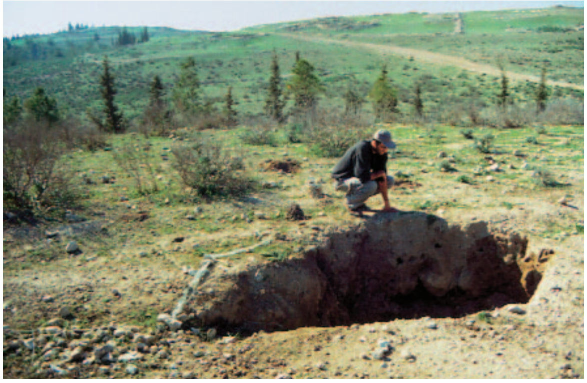


Fig. 3.

to the hiding complex in which the metal objects discussed below were found. A single coin was dated to the 3rd century CE, to the reign of the Roman emperor Aurelian. Fourteen coins were from the late Roman and early Byzantine periods (4th and 5th centuries). The latest coin was dated to the Umayyad dynasty in the first half of the 8th century. This period is also represented by a bulla and a lead weight (A full catalogue of the coins, the pottery and other finds will be published by *IAA* with the survey's final reports).

The Bar Kokhba coin is from the second year of the revolt, 133-134 CE (*fig. 5*).[4] Alon reported rumors from villagers of the nearby el-Burj, who had engaged in illicit excavations, of the discovery of numerous coins from the Bar Kokhba Revolt in the underground chambers and in buildings on the surface. Our coin is significant because it was the first Bar Kokhba coin found at this site in a controlled archeological activity. This find also marks the southernmost spot on the Judean Shephelah's map of Bar Kokhba coins found in controlled excavations (Zissu/Eshel, 2002).

In the top layer of dirt filling most of underground chamber no. 14b in the hiding complex (see *fig. 4*, after Alon 1987, 151, fig. 62), a small hoard was found. The hoard contained three metal utensils: an elbow key, a bronze mirror, and an iron strigil (*figs. 6-12*). The objects were apparently wrapped in cloth and placed in a rock-cut ventilation shaft that rose to the surface; dirt then fell in, filling the underground chamber. The objects were dated to the time of the Bar Kokhba Revolt, based on known parallels, the Bar Kokhba coin, and the overall context.

THE UTENSILS: DESCRIPTION AND DISCUSSION

'Elbow' key (figs. 6-7)

The key is made of iron. Its upper arm is 16 cm long; its forearm is 14.5 cm long; and its bit is 8 cm long and has three tines (teeth), each with a length of about 3 cm. Due to a thick covering of rust, it is impossible to tell the original thickness of the parts. The key was found broken in three pieces and very corroded, and it was treated in the IAA laboratories.

The key belongs to a type known as 'knee' or 'elbow' key in the Mishna (M Kelim 14:8; T Kelim, Baba Metzia 4:7):

> 'If a knee-shaped key is broken at its joint it becomes insusceptible to uncleanness. R. Judah declares it susceptible since one may still open [the door] from within. If a gamma-shaped key was broken off at its bend it becomes insusceptible. If [what remained] still retained the teeth and gaps it remains susceptible. If a key has lost its teeth it is still susceptible because of the gaps.'[5]

Keys of this sort were inserted from outside in a hole in the door and threw a bolt attached to the

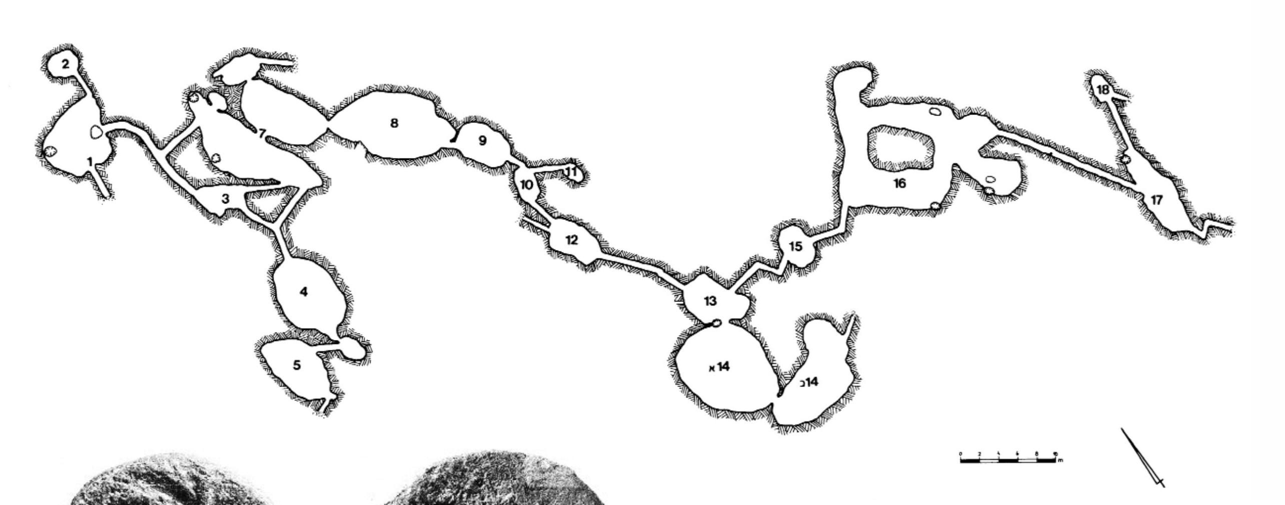

2
1
7
3
4
5
8
9
10
11
12
13
א14
ב14
15
16
17
18

Fig. 4.

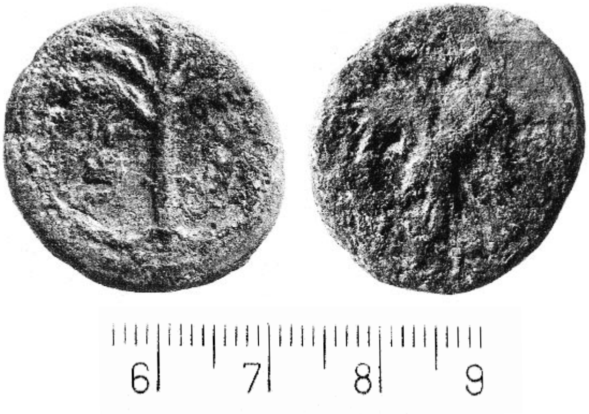


Fig. 5.

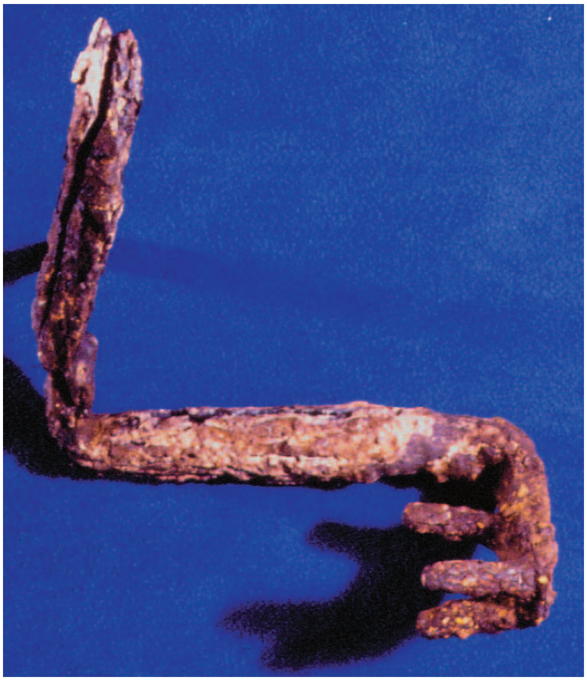


Fig. 6.

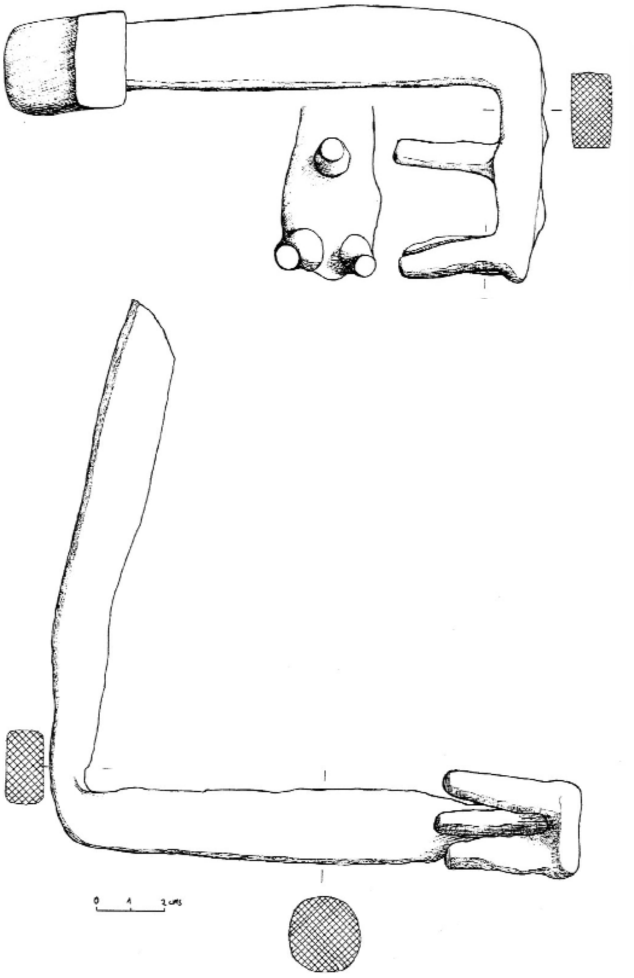


Fig. 7.

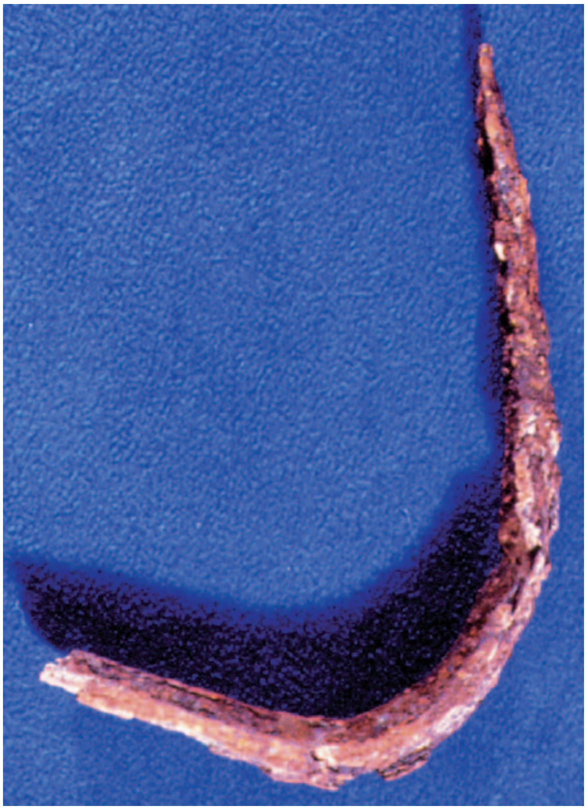


Fig. 8.

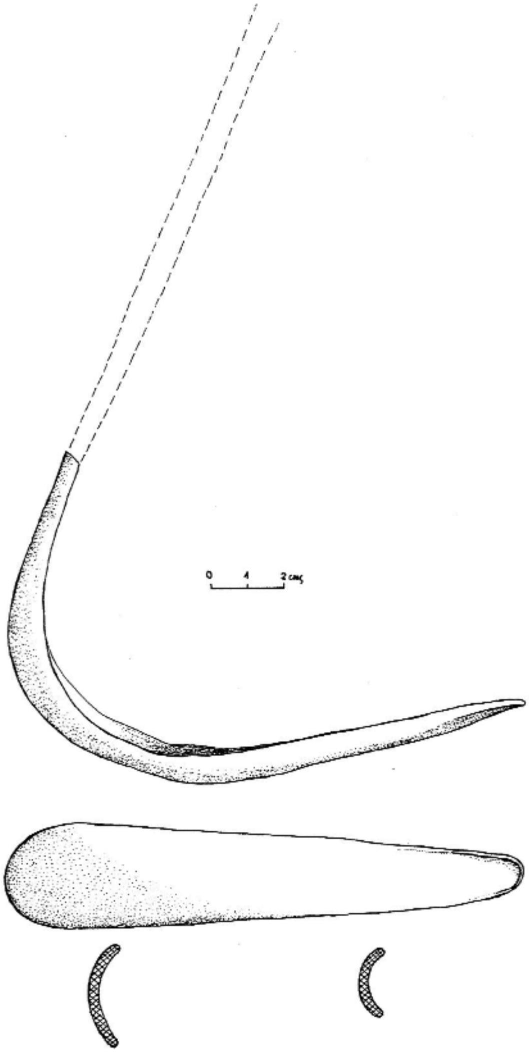


Fig. 9.

inside of the door. Hence the key size is an indication of the size of the door, which in turn hints at the size of the building. In his detailed report on the keys brought to the Cave of the Letters by Jewish refugees at the end of the Bar Kokhba Revolt, Yadin explains how the keys worked in light of the mishnah quoted above (Yadin 1963, 94-100; see also Sperber 1993, 49-57; Amit 1993).

Yadin divided the ten keys that he had found in the Cave of the Letters into three groups by size: small, medium, and large. The shank of the largest of them is 30.5 cm long (upper arm, 11.5 cm; forearm, 19 cm). Yadin supposed that the large keys were used for doors of substantial thickness and weight, such as the gates of a fortress or large courtyard, whereas the medium-sized ones opened the doors of private homes. Thus it was suggested that the set of keys that included large ones belonged to Yehonathan or Masabala, the commanders of En Gedi, who presumably used them to lock the public buildings and the fort there.

The length of the shank of the key discussed in this paper is at least 31 cm (not including the bit; originally the upper arm was slightly longer but it was worn down at the end). The large size of the key from Moran suggests that it was used to lock a thick door to an outsized building. This key is our only clue to understanding the nature of the settlement at the site on the eve of the Bar Kokhba Revolt.

Elbow keys in the Roman Empire are known from archeological records (Hopkins 1928; Vallois 1911, 1241-1248; Yadin 1963). In addition to the finds from the Cave of the Letters, keys of this type are known from 1st- and 2nd-century CE assemblages in Judea, but only few were published: the key from the settlement at Horbat Hillel in the Hebron hills, which was destroyed in the Bar Kokhba revolt (Amit/Zissu 1999); fragments of a key found in the hiding complex at ‘Ain ‘Arrub, where many finds from the period of the two revolts against Rome have been found (Tsafrir/Zissu 2002, fig. 19:13); keys from Kh. el-Duweir and Kh. el-Aliya in the Hebron hills (D. Amit, pers. comm.); two medium-sized keys (one of them repaired in antiquity) from ‘Nahal Yoel’ site in the Jerusalem hills, dated to the late Second Temple period (surveyed in 1992 by Zissu with D. Weiss and G. Solimany); a key from the Yad Binyamin hiding-complex (found in a Bar Kokhba revolt assemblage by S. Weksler-Bdolach in 1994); a key from a cave west of Jericho (found in E. Ehrnstamm’s excavations of a refuge cave near Na’aran in 1993); and other unpublished specimens.

Strigil (figs. 8-9)

The strigil is made of iron. Of the three objects, it was preserved in the worst condition. The handle and part of the blade are missing. Three fragments were found, and putting them together restored about half the blade, including the tip, with a total length of about 13 cm and an average blade width of approximately 3 cm. In the preserved portion, the angle of the blade seems to have been approximately 50 degrees.

The strigil (*strigilis* in Latin; στλεγγίς in Greek) is a metal implement, usually bronze or iron (but occasionally silver, electrum, lead, bone, or ivory). The strigil has a rounded, concave blade with sharpened edges and was held by a handle. It was used to scrape off the oil that people put on their bodies in bathhouses in the Greco-Roman world (see the discussion in Dorigny 1911, 1532-1534; Balsdon 1969, 29-30; on the importance of bathhouses in the Roman’s life, see Carcopino 1940, 254-263; Guhl/Koner 1989, 508). The utensil originated in the ancient Greek gymnasium, where athletes used it to scrape off the *ceroma* (oil and wax) that they had rubbed on and covered with sand in order to prevent their slipping from the rival’s grasp (Guhl/Koner 1989, 105-110).

Over the years minor changes were made in the shape of the strigil. Whereas in the older ones the blade was slightly rounded and the handle has a loop into which one inserted one’s fingers, in the Roman period the handle was rectangular. The angle at which the body of the strigil was bent seems not to have any chronological significance. Some strigils are ornamented and others have their owner’s name incised on them.

The way in which the strigil was used to scrape the body is depicted in various works of art, such as sculptures (especially well known are the ἀποξυόμενος sculptures), architectural ornamentation, murals, gems and engravings of bathhouse scenes on mirrors (Dorigny 1911, 1533-1534). The strigil is relatively rare among archeological finds in Israel. One is shown in a mosaic from Migdal, along with other bathhouse objects (Reich 1989, 43-44). In Jerusalem an iron strigil was found in a shaft grave in Mamilla from the 2nd century BCE, apparently in a Jewish context (Reich 1994, 117).

We have no way of knowing what exactly this strigil was used for. Did it belong to one of the inhabitants? Such objects are associated with the world of the Roman thermae and gymnasia seemingly far removed from Jewish way of life in a distant village in the early 2nd century CE.

Mirror (figs. 10-12)

The mirror consists of three parts. Its body is round (with a diameter of 10.8 cm), made of bronze, and lathe-turned. Its back is ornamented with eight concentric incised circles. A lathe-turned raised lip at a right angle to the body surrounds the front of the mirror, in which one could see one’s reflection. The omega-shaped handle, is made of an iron wire with a diamond-shaped cross-section; the curved ends were inserted through the rings of two attachments soldered to the back of the mirror. The handle is rusted onto the attachments and can no longer be moved, but originally it could move within the attachments as in a hinge.

The attachments are cast of bronze in the form of schematic figures (3 cm high). The makers of the busts were careful to make each one unique: the one on the left has two flat V-shaped horns, whereas the one on the right has what looks like an upside-down trapezoid on its head. Below we shall see that the figures represent the gods Isis and Sarapis.

At the back of the figures is a tin-filled depression used to attach the bust to the back of the mirror. The two fasteners at the back of the mirror are 7.8 cm apart, and signs of soldering are easily discernible. By comparing this mirror with better-preserved specimens, we can determine the direction of the attachments.

Numerous mirrors (*specula* in Latin; ἔνοπτϱον, ἔσοπτϱον, ϰάτοπτϱον in Greek) are known from ancient writings and the archeological record (for a summary, see De Ridder 1911, 1422-1430; for a brief description of the use of mirrors and of the cosmetics of Roman women, see Guhl/Koner 1989, 499-500). Mirrors in the Greco-Roman world were made of burnished metal-usually bronze, but sometimes precious metals-and were plated

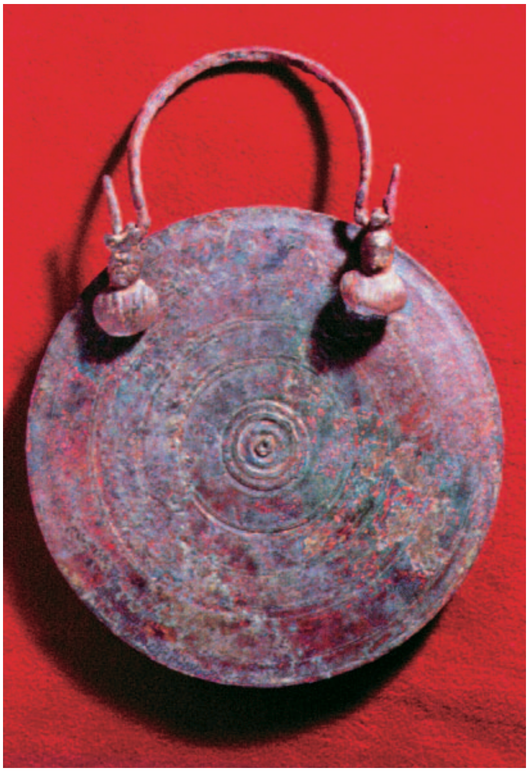


Fig. 10.

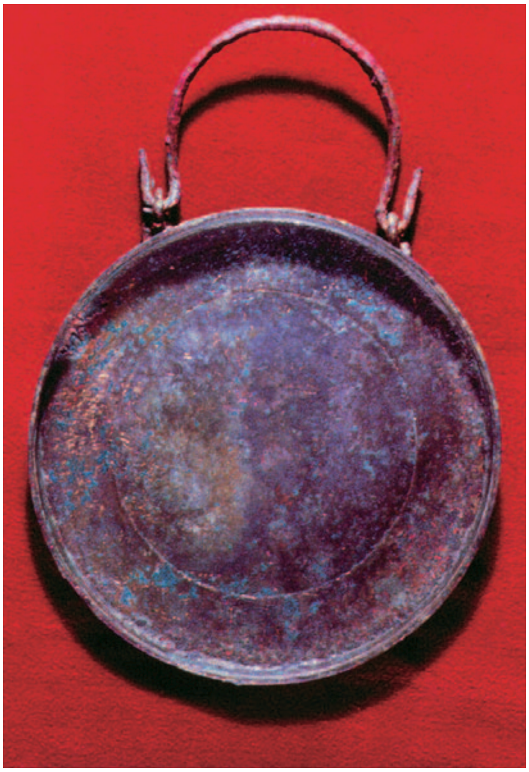


Fig. 11.

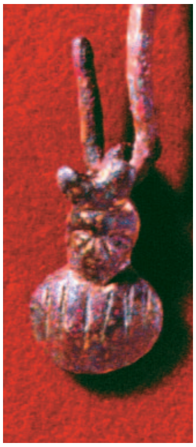


Fig. 10a.

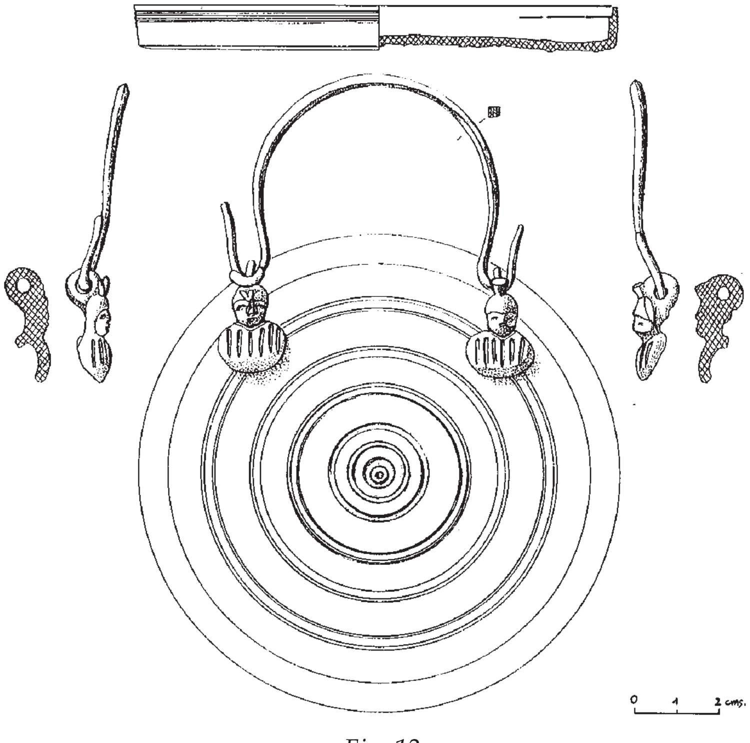


Fig. 12.

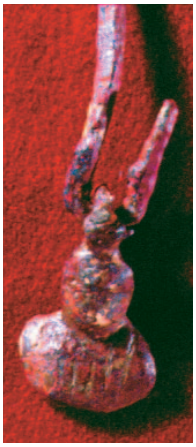


Fig. 10a.

with silver or tin. Most were round. The sources of inspiration for the Greek and Roman mirrors should probably be sought in ancient Egypt. Mirrors in the Greco-Roman world are customarily divided into three main types: mirrors with a handle,[6] mirrors on a high pedestal[7] and mirror boxes.[8] Roman manufacturers made innovations in the mirrors - both in the material used (lead and glass) and in the shape (square mirrors) - while also continuing to produce mirrors in the Greek tradition.

Our mirror belongs to the third type. Although we only have half of it, it was originally made of two similarly shaped parts with slightly different diameters, so that one could be inserted into the other and they could be closed together like a flat box. Anlen and Pardou (1989) published mirrors from their private collections and from museums. The one shown on pages 418-419 belongs to this group of mirrors; it is unique in that the hinge attaching the two parts has been preserved. We can see from this mirror how they were closed; one of the reasons for closing them was to protect the smoothed (and sometimes silver-plated) inner part against scratches.

Mirrors of this type are known from the Hellenistic and Roman east and should apparently be dated to the 1st and 2nd centuries CE (Hayes 1984, 188 ff.). Our mirror is one of the few in this group whose place of discovery and context are known. The vast majority of mirrors of this kind were not found in controlled excavations and their origin can only be guessed at based on the place of purchase - the region encompassing Israel, Cyprus, and Egypt - although, considering the extensive commerce in the Roman Empire, they could have come from farther away.

Hayes (1984, 188-195) surveyed eight mirrors and mirror handles of this type at the Royal Ontario Museum. The museum had obtained the mirrors through donations by collectors who had acquired them in the antiquities market: four of them are from a Jerusalem antiquities dealer, two were purchased in Cyprus, and two are of unknown provenance. Mirror no. 321 in the collection is a matching set consisting of a mirror and a cover that could also be used as a mirror. It is extremely similar to our mirror, in terms of both the production technique and the ornamentation patterns used on the handle fasteners, which are taken from the cultic world of the east: Isis and Sarapis busts adorn the back of the mirror and Isis and Osiris ornament the back of the cover. The two halves were purchased from a Jerusalem dealer, who said they originated in Ashqelon.[9] Hayes pointed out that another mirror with a figure of Isis is in a museum in Limassol, Cyprus. Based on the style, Hayes dated the mirror to the 1st or 2nd century CE.

Hayes' catalogue includes also a group of eight mirror-handle fasteners that are extremely similar to the ones discussed here (nos. 325-332). They all have figures of Isis, Sarapis, and Osiris. The quality varies and some of the fasteners are schematic, as on the mirror from Moran. Six of the fasteners were acquired in Egypt; the other two are of unknown provenance. Hayes found in Karanis (Egypt) another parallel to one of the fasteners. This one was ornamented with a figure of Osiris.

Clermont-Ganneau (1899, 432-433) documented a mirror of this type around 1870, as well as fasteners from other mirrors with figures of cupids and Artemis, found in the possession of peddlers in the Gaza market.

The Cesnola antiquities collection (acquired in Cyprus in the 19th century) of the Metropolitan Museum in New York includes mirrors that are similar in design and size to ours (Richter 1915, 268-270, nos. 787, 789). These mirrors belong to type 3, but their covers are not hinged. The dimensions of each mirror differ slightly from those of its cover, making it possible to insert one into the other in order to protect the inner, polished surfaces. The most common ornamentation pattern in the group of mirrors from Cyprus is concentric circles. One of the mirrors (no. 789), apparently found in Dali, still has its handle, which is almost identical to the one in our mirror in terms of its shape and the way it was attached to the body of the mirror. In mirror no. 789, instead of two deities attaching the handle to the body, the fasteners were in the shape of ox heads.

Two lathe-turned mirrors with concentric circles on the back (the handles were not preserved), are in a museum in Boston (Comstock/Vermeule 1971, 274-275). One of them (no. 398) was found in the necropolis in Assos, in western Asia Minor, in an unknown context; all we know about the other (no. 400) is that it is 'said to have been excavated in London during the 19th century.'

Obliteration of the Figures of Isis and Sarapis

The goddess Isis originates in ancient Egypt and symbolizes, *inter alia*, the fertility of the soil in the Nile Delta. The cult of the Egyptian gods Isis and Sarapis was adopted, adapted, and spread by the Greeks in the Ptolemaic period. The cult became very popular in the Roman Empire among emperors and commoners alike. Eventually, Isis took on many powers and associations, in the sense of *una quae est omnia*, i.e., one deity that encompasses them all. In the 1st century CE, Isis became the chief goddess in the pantheon of the Roman Empire. One of her attributes, which originate in Egyptian iconography, is the horns of a cow, which sometimes change shape into a half-moon. Lotus leaves are sometimes depicted above the horns (Lafaye 1900, 577-586). In our fastener, too, lotus leaves adorn Isis's head.

Sarapis, a deity 'developed' in Ptolemaic Egypt, was Isis's faithful consort. In the Roman Empire he became a popular deity with numerous roles (Charron 1998). His most prominent attribute is the *kalathos*, a headdress shaped like an upside-down trapezoid. The *kalathos* was originally a unit of measure for wheat, and on Sarapis's head it symbolized the fertility of the land. Along with Isis, and even without her, Sarapis, who is identified with Jupiter, occupied an important place in the pantheon (Lafaye 1911, 1248-1251; for a study of the cult of Isis and Sarapis, see Takács 1995; for a survey of shrines dedicated to them in the Roman Empire, see Wild 1984).

The gods' faces, and especially Sarapis's nose, were deliberately rubbed (see *figs. 10, 10a, 12*). The Mishnah (Abodah Zarah 4:5) explains how to strip pagan idols of their idolatrous status:

> How is an idol desecrated? If a gentile cut off the tip of its ear or the end of its nose or the tip of its finger, or battered it even though naught was broken off, he has desecrated it. If he spat in its face, or made water before it, or dragged it about, or threw filth at it, he has not desecrated it. If he sold it or gave it in pledge, Rabbi says: He has desecrated it. But the Sages say: He has not desecrated it.

Two examples of obliteration of pagan images are known from finds from the time of the Bar Kokhba Revolt. The phenomenon was identified by Y. Yadin in the group of metal utensils discovered in the Cave of the Letters; these objects had been probably taken as booty from a Roman army unit (Yadin 1963, 44-45). A. Kloner found a silver pendant depicting the face of a woman (apparently Isis) in a hiding complex in Horbat Midras; Kloner noticed that her nose was deliberated damaged for the reasons mentioned above (Kloner 1987, 355, figs. 160, 168).

Discussion - The Possible Significance of the Discovery

One of the most interesting aspects of the Bar Kokhba Revolt (132-135 CE) is the extensive use of caves for hiding and refuge. One should distinguish between two types of caves: refuge caves and hiding complexes.

The refuge caves are karstic (natural) and are located mainly in the Judean Desert (Eshel/Amit 1998).

Most of the hiding complexes (or systems) were hewn artificially in the soft limestone, underneath buildings in ancient Jewish settlements. They are found mainly in the Judean Foothills, but some were uncovered also in the Judean hill-country. About 125 sites containing hiding complexes are known today (Zissu 2001; Kloner/Zissu 2003).

In ancient times it was customary to cut underground cisterns, ritual baths, olive presses, storerooms, stables, quarries and columbaria, underneath houses and in courtyards between houses for daily use by residents.

The makers of the hiding complexes blocked and cancelled the original entrances to these preexisting chambers, and linked them by ramified networks of underground burrows. These narrow and low burrows are winding, sometimes with 90-degree turns or changes in level by means of vertical shafts. Along some of the burrows are mechanisms for blocking them from the inside. The purpose of the sharp turns, changes in level, and blocking facilities was to make it difficult for the enemy to advance inside and to make him vulnerable. The narrow tunnels allow only one fighter to advance at a time. Presumably, an intruder would not be familiar with its labyrinthine layout and could not use his weapon while crawling with a source of light in his hand. This put the attacker at a great disadvantage to someone waiting in ambush and neutralized the superiority of a military unit trained for face-to-face warfare. Many of the underground systems have standard features that suggest that they were installed as a planned element of the military strategy that the Jews used against the Roman army during the Bar Kokhba Revolt (Kloner 1983, 1983a; Oppenheimer 1982). These hiding systems were presumably described by the Roman historian Cassius Dio (*Roman History* LXIX, 12, 3, trans. E. Cary):

> 'To be sure, they did not dare try conclusions with the Romans in the open field, but they occupied the advantageous positions in the country and strengthened them with mines and walls, in order that they might have places of refuge whenever they should be hard pressed, and might meet together unobserved under ground; and they pierced these subterranean passages from above at intervals to let in air and light.'

Elbow keys found in hiding complexes and refuge caves from the time of the Bar Kokhba Revolt are well known. In times of crisis, it was only natural for fugitives to lock the door to their house and take the key to a refuge cave in the remote desert cliffs, and this is indeed what the people who hid in the hiding complex hewn beneath the houses did. The fact that they took their keys indicates that they intended to return home, but the discovery of the keys in the caves may suggest that they failed to realize their hopes.

The key was apparently wrapped in cloth, together with the mirror and strigil. The strigil is clearly connected to the world of the Roman *thermae*, *palaestrae* and *gymnasia* - institutions that would seem to have been foreign to rural Jewish life in the late Second Temple period and between the two revolts against Rome. The mirror can belong also, with the strigil, to some *instrumentum balnei*. The mirror ornamentations are evidently pagan, and therefore were deliberately defaced, presumably by pious Jews.

It seems strange that the strigil and the mirror were found in a hiding complex apparently used by Jews during the second revolt against Rome. We cannot discount the possibility that the strigil and the mirror were taken as booty from a Roman army camp, perhaps during successful battles at the beginning of the Bar Kokhba Revolt, and thus found their way to the hiding complex at the end of the revolt (on Jewish victories and the hard task of subduing the revolt, see Eck 1999). The finds in the Cave of the Letters (Yadin 1963) and the Cave of the Sandal illustrate that booty was indeed taken by refugees to the caves (Eshel and Zissu 1994/9).

We cannot discount the possibility that a Roman army camp (and bath-house?)[10] was located within the Jewish settlement at Moran 1 or in close vicinity.

Roman army units were based in the cities and towns of the eastern provinces (Isaac 1990, 268-282); the best example of army units camped in an eastern city is Dura Europos (Pollard 1996). G. Webster (1969, 54), in his essential study on the Roman imperial army of the 1st and 2nd centuries CE wrote:

> 'There was another important difference between the arrangements on this eastern frontier and those on the north. The garrisons, instead of having forts of their own, were normally billeted in the towns in the populated areas; official buildings for administration, stores and armaments were necessary, but they are to be found side by side with other public and private buildings in the town, like the police headquarters today.'

The archaeological and epigraphic evidence in Israel supports this account.

Document no. 11 found in the archives of Babatha (Lewis *et al*. 1989, 41-46) tells us of the presence of a Roman army unit commanded by a centurion at En Gedi. H. Cotton even suggested that the camp was located in the center of the settlement (Cotton 2001, 147-148). A military-style row-type bathhouse excavated in En Gedi was dated to the period between the revolts against Rome (Mazar/Dunayevsky 1964, 128-130; 1967, 142-143; Y. Hirschfeld, pers. comm.).

In the 1st-2nd centuries CE Roman baths are not common in Jewish settled rural areas. The discovery of Roman bathhouses from this period inside excavated settlements at Kh. Umm el-Umdan (A. Onn, S. Weksler-Bdolach, and Y. Rapuano, pers. comm.) and at the 'Shoham bypass' sites in the northern Judean Shephelah (Dahari/Ad 2000) suggests Roman army presence. V. Tsaferis excavated a similar bathhouse on the grounds of the Greek Orthodox church in Kefar Nahum (Capernaum), and proposed a date in the late 1st century CE (paper presented by Tsaferis at the conference 'Jesus and Archaeology', Jerusalem, 2000). This discovery may shed light on the New Testament tradition about a Roman centurion in Capernaum (Matthew 8: 5-13; Luke 7: 1-10; John 4: 43-54).

Another interesting find that may indicate the presence of a Roman army unit in a Jewish settlement in the period between the revolts is the graffito of a Roman battleship, found at Kh. Rafi, a large site located in a commanding position, north of Beit Guvrin. S. Wachsmann and Kloner (1978) suggested that the artist was familiar with this type of ship, despite the schematic artwork. Based on the details of the depiction, the ship was dated to the first half of the 2nd century CE. In the researchers' opinion, a Roman soldier who had previously served in the navy did the engraving, and a Jew who was displeased with the depictions defaced it. Presumably, then, a Roman army unit was stationed in Kh. Rafi before the Bar Kokhba Revolt. When the Jews reconquered the site-perhaps during the revolt the images of the sailors were defaced.

The utensils found in the hiding complex at Moran 1 may have been looted from a bathhouse or other Roman army garrison billeted in the Jewish area, and they may have then been concealed in the hiding complex.

NOTES

[1] D. Alon reported an Arabic name for this site - 'Araq el-Gudeib - although this name does not appear on maps or gazetteer.

[2] The survey was carried out with the participation of Moriah Schlevin, Shimon Dan and Sa'id el -Amleh. Assistance was provided by Ella Altmark (metal conservation) Noga Z'evi (finds drawing), Tsila Sagiv and Clara Amit (studio photography) all from IAA. We are very grateful to Dan Barag, Erich S. Gruen, Hanan Eshel, Amos Kloner, Shelley Wachsmann and Avi Navon for their valuable advice. Our thanks are due to Yoav Farhi and Vladis Krogliak for their assistance. We acknowledge the generous support of Yad Hanadiv (Rothschild Foundation), the Joe Alon Center and the Program in Ancient History and Mediterranean Archaeology at the University of California, Berkeley.

[3] Ancient Hebrew term for a small bronze denomination (Meshorer 2001, 122-123).

[4] The coin is of a 'palm tree/vine leaf' type; AE, 10.21 grams, Ø 24-26 mm; axis 12; for coins of this type, see Meshorer 2001, Pl. 68, no. 260a.

[5] This and other quotations from the Mishnah are taken from Herbert Danby's translation (London, 1933), with slight variations for the sake of consistency and the context of this paper. See also Yadin 1963, 94-100.

[6] These existed in the Greek world from the 6th century BCE. They consist of a disk and an elongated and usually ornamented handle. The handle was sometimes made of a different material (e.g., bone, wood, or ivory) and was attached to an ornamented protrusion on the perimeter of the disk.

[7] The elongated pedestal is usually in the shape of a woman, but it is sometimes shaped like a man or an architectural feature. The ornamentation is mainly on the fasteners that attach the pedestal to the mirror disk and sometimes on the edges of the mirror itself; the back is adorned with concentric circles.

[8] These mirrors have a disk-shaped body and a matching hinged cover that opens at a right angle. The exterior of the cover is ornamented with incised patterns, as well as patterns in relief. The interior of the cover is polished so that it, too, can be used as a mirror; in some cases it is adorned with concentric circles or incised patterns and scenes.

[9] It should be noted that another mirror of this type was found in Ashqelon in 1997 during a salvage excavation of a Roman shaft tomb (E. Altmark, Y. Israel, and Y. Lander, pers. comm.).

[10] Roman legionaries were used to bathing, and the bathhouse was essential for them, even when posted on the fringes of the Empire.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alon, D. 1987, The Hiding Complex at Murran, in A. Kloner/Y., Tepper, *The Hiding Complexes in the Judean Shephelah*, Tel-Aviv, 150-153 (Hebrew).

Amit, D. 1993, Appendix: Further on Keys and Locks, in D. Sperber, *Material Culture in Eretz-Israel during the Talmudic Period*, Jerusalem, 58-59 (Hebrew).

Amit, D./B., Zissu 1999, Jewish Sites from the Second Temple Period near Masu'ot Itzhak, in M. Livneh/R. Yehezkeli (eds.), *Yad le-Yair, Eretz-Israel, Researches in the Memory of Yair Bashan*, Tel-Aviv, 114-129 (Hebrew).

Anlen, L./R. Padiou 1989, *Les miroirs de bronze anciens, symbolisme et tradition*, Paris.

Balsdon, J.P.V.D. 1969, *Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome*, London.

Carcopino, J. 1940, *Daily Life in Ancient Rome, The People and the City at the Height of the Empire*, New Haven.

Charron, A. 1998, Sarapis, dieu Tutélaire d'Alexandrie, *Archéologia* 345, 22-27.

Clermont-Ganneau, Ch. 1899, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine during the Years 1873-1874*, I. London.

Comstock, M./C. Vermeule 1971, *Greek Etruscan and Roman Bronzes, in the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, Greenwich, Connecticut.

Cotton, H.M. 2001, En Gedi between the Two Revolts, *Scripta Classica Israelica* 20, 139-154.

Dahari, U./U. 'Ad, 2000, Shoham Bypass Road, *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 20, 56*-59*.

De Ridder, A. 1911, Speculum, in Ch. Daremberg/M.E. Saglio (eds.), *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, IV/2, Paris, 1422-1430.

Dorigny, S. 1911, Strigilis, in Ch. Daremberg/M.E. Saglio (eds.), *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, IV/2, Paris, 1532-1534.

Eck, W. 1999, The Bar Kokhba Revolt: The Roman Point of View, *JRS* 89, 76-89.

Eshel, H./D. Amit 1998, *Refuge Caves of the Bar Kokhba Revolt*, Tel-Aviv (Hebrew).

Eshel, H./B. Zissu 1994-1999, Roman Coins from the 'Cave of the Sandal' West of Jericho, *Israel Numismatic Journal* 13, 70-77.

Guhl, E./W. Koner 1989, *Everyday Life of the Greeks and the Romans*, New York.

Hayes, J.W. 1984, *Greek, Roman and Related Metalware in the Royal Ontario Museum, A Catalogue*, Toronto.

Hopkins, A.A. 1928, *The Lure of the Lock*, New-York.

Isaac, B. 1990, *The Limits of Empire, The Roman Army in the East*, Oxford.

Kloner, A. 1983, The Subterranean Hideaways of the Judaean Foothills and the Bar-Kokhba Revolt, *The Jerusalem Cathedra* 3, 114-135.

Kloner, A. 1983a, Underground Hiding Complexes from the Bar Kokhba War in Judean Shephela, *Biblical Archaeologist* 46, 210-221.

Kloner, A. 1987, Pottery and Miscellaneous Finds in the Hiding Complexes, in A. Kloner/Y. Tepper, *The Hiding Complexes in the Judean Shephelah*, Tel-Aviv, 338-356 (Hebrew).

Kloner, A./Y. Tepper 1987, *The Hiding Complexes in the Judean Shephelah*, Tel-Aviv (Hebrew).

Kloner, A./B. Zissu, "Hiding Complexes in Judaea: An Archaeological and Geographical Update on the Area of the Bar Kokhba Revolt' in P. Schäfer (ed.) *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered. New Perspectives on the Second Jewish Revolt against Rome*, Tubingen, 181-216.

Lafaye, G. 1900, Isis, in Ch. Daremberg/M.E. Saglio (eds.), *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines* III/1, Paris, 577-586.

Lafaye, G. 1911, Serapis, in Ch. Daremberg/M.E. Saglio (eds.), *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, IV/2, Paris, 1248-1251.

Lewis, N./Y. Yadin/J. Greenfield (eds.) 1989, *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of the Letters. Greek Papyri, Aramaic and Nabataean Signatures and Subscriptions, Judaean Desert Studies* 2, Jerusalem.

Mazar, B./I. Dunayevsky 1964, En-Gedi, Third Season of Excavations, Preliminary Report, *IEJ* 14, 128-130.

Mazar, B./I. Dunayevsky 1967, En-Gedi, Fourth and Fifth

Seasons of Excavations, Preliminary Report, *IEJ* 17, 122-143.

Meshorer, Y. 2001, *A Treasury of Jewish Coins*, Jerusalem.

Oppenheimer, A. 1982, Jewish Sources Concerning the Subterranean Hideaways in the Time of Bar Kokhba, *Cathedra* 26, 24-29 (Hebrew).

Pollard, N. 1996, The Roman Army as 'Total Institution' in the Near East? Dura-Europos as a Case Study, in D.L. Kennedy (ed.), *The Roman Army in the East*, (JRA Suppl. Series 18) Portsmouth, Rhode Island, 211-227.

Reich, R. 1989, A Note on the Roman Mosaic from Magdala on the Shore of the Sea of Galilee, *Qadmoniot* 85-86, 43-44 (Hebrew).

Reich, R. 1994, The Ancient Burial Ground in the Mamilla Neighbourhood, Jerusalem, in H. Geva (ed.), *Ancient Jerusalem Revealed*, Jerusalem, 111-118.

Richter, G.M.A. 1915, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, New York.

Sperber, D. 1993, *Material Culture in Eretz-Israel during the Talmudic Period*, Jerusalem (Hebrew).

Takács, S.A. 1995, *Isis and Sarapis in the Roman World*, Cambridge.

Tsafrir, Y./B. Zissu 2002, A Hiding Complex of the Second Temple Period and the Time of the Bar-Kokhba Revolt at 'Ain-'Arrub in the Hebron Hills, in J. Humphrey (ed.), *The Roman and Byzantine Near East* 3 (Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 49), Portsmouth, Rhode Island, 6-36.

Vallois, R. 1911, Sera, in Ch. Daremberg/M.E. Saglio (eds.), *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, IV/2, Paris, 1241-1248.

Wachsmann, S./A. Kloner 1978, A Ship Graffito from Khirbet Rafi, *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 7, 227-232.

Walters, H.B. 1899, *Catalogue of the Bronzes, Greek, Roman, and Etruscan, in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum*, London.

Webster, G. 1969, *The Roman Imperial Army of the First and Second Centuries A.D.*, London.

Wild, R.A. 1984, The Known Isis-Sarapis Sanctuaries from the Roman Period, in H. Temporini/W. Haase (eds.), *ANRW*, II/7, Berlin and New York, 1739-1851.

Yadin, Y. 1963, *The Finds from the Bar Kokhba Period from the Cave of the Letters, Judean Desert Studies* I, Jerusalem.

Zissu, B. 2001, *Rural Settlement in the Judaean Hills and Foothills from the Late Second Temple Period to the Bar Kokhba Revolt*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Hebrew University, Jerusalem (Hebrew).

Zissu, B./H. Eshel 2002, The Geographical Distribution of Coins of the Bar Kokhba War, in D. Barag (ed.), *Studies in Memory of Leo Mildenberg* (*Israel Numismatic Journal* 14), Jerusalem, 157-167.

BOAZ ZISSU
CALGARY INSTITUTE FOR THE HUMANITIES
ES 640, UNIVERSITY OG CALGARY
2500 UNIVERSITY DRIVE NW
CALGARY, AB T2N 1N4
CANADA
bzissu@yahoo.com
zissu@ucalgary.ca

AMIR GANOR
ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY
PO BOX 586
JERUSALEM
ISRAEL 91004
ganor@israntique.org.il

BABesch 79 (2004)

Greek Gods and a Roman Emperor
Sculpture in the Beirut Central District Archaeology Project

Ans Braakenburg-van Breukelen

Abstract

The reconstruction of the city centre of Beirut, destroyed after years of civil war, has given archaeologists the opportunity to carry out salvaging excavations.
This paper discusses five sculptures uncovered between 1995-1998. The statuettes of Aphrodite and Apollo, the heads of Dionysus and Hadrian were all found in disturbed trenches and/or secondary deposits. The Aphrodite, on exhibition in the National Museum of Beirut, dates from the 1st century BC. The Apollo and the heads of Dionysus and Hadrian were created in the 2nd century AD. The most likely context and function of the sculptures, in particular the head of Hadrian, in Hellenistic and Roman Beirut are mentioned in the summary.

INTRODUCTION

The city centre of Beirut, destroyed and abandoned after years of war, has been transformed into a vast building pit since 1994. The reconstruction of the central district has given archaeologists of Lebanon and Europe the opportunity to carry out salvaging excavations to investigate the city's urban history. To save Beirut's antiquities, UNESCO organised and funded the excavations conducted by fourteen teams of different nationalities. Layers of civilizations dating back to the Bronze Age Canaanite settlement provide information about the history of the Phoenician, Persian, Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Umayyad, Mamluk and Ottoman settlements.

In 1994 Lebanon's Prime Minister Hariri established the construction company Solidere, which has been rebuilding the city centre, and which has been funding the salvaging excavations since 1995. Dr Hans H. Curvers of the Amsterdam Archaeological Centre of the University of Amsterdam coordinates the excavations for Solidere and the Department of Antiquities of Lebanon. In 1995 archaeologists uncovered the ancient *tell* and the fortification wall, *glacis*, around the Phoenician city. The wall had been damaged by the foundations of a Crusaders castle and a 20th-century tower block. Evidence of Phoenician domestic dwellings was found near the souk area. During the 4th century BC, a Hippodamic plan of house-lined streets was adopted. Until recently, this Hellenistic street plan still existed in the souk area.

The wealth of the Levantine cities, Beirut, Sidon, Tyre, Byblos and Tripoli was based upon the trade of glass, ceramics, gems and other precious products, and especially silk. Roman Berytus was well documented in written records at the time. Strabo (16. 2. 19) mentions that Emperor Augustus granted the city the status of *colonia* in 15 BC. The city plan showed a *cardo maximus* and a *decumanus*. Josephus (*Antiquitates Judaicae* 3. 19. 335) writes about a theatre, as well as baths, a basilica and monumental archway, temples and porticos erected by king Herod Agrippa I (10 BC-AD 44). In the 3rd century AD, a Law School was founded that continued to be important for 300 years. A severe earthquake and a tidal wave destroyed the greater part of the city in AD 551.

During building activities in the city in 1944-1945 the French architect Jean Lauffray investigated the remains of ancient buildings and made a hypothetical plan of Roman Beirut. Recent excavations have provided more evidence on the existence and location of the *cardo maximus* north (Curvers/Stuart 2002). There are plans for an archaeological park in which the tell, the *glacis*, the Roman baths and the Crusaders castle will be preserved. The restored National Museum reopened in 1998. On exhibition with the objects that were saved during the war, is the recently discovered Aphrodite, which is described in the pages below.

As a student, I participated in the salvaging excavation of Bey 066 (*fig. 1*).[1] The present article discusses five sculptures uncovered between 1995 and 1998. The statuettes of Aphrodite and Apollo, the heads of Dionysus and Hadrian were all found without a context - beneath the road surface, in a fill or as stray finds in the rubble of collapsed walls.

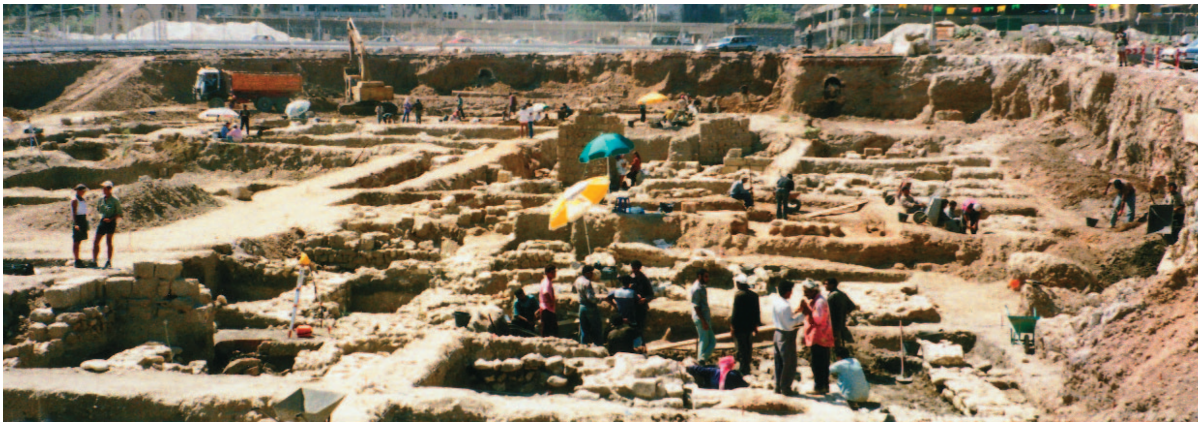


Fig. 1. Excavation Bey 066 Beirut. Photo author.

APHRODITE

For centuries artists from all over the Mediterranean world carved sculptures inspired by the Classical Aphrodites of Praxiteles. One of those derivations (*figs. 2, 3*) was discovered in Beirut in the spring of 1995 during preparatory activities of the excavation in Rue Foch (BEY 019). The statuette was found in the topsoil.

Description

The statuette represents a semi-nude Aphrodite in leaning stance. It is 48 cm high and approximately 15 cm wide at the level of the hips.
The marble of the sculpture is white and coarse grained.
The head is lost, and a cavity between the shoulders shows that it had been carved separately. The cavity had not been discoloured by contact with the soil, so the head may have been separated from the body only recently. Both arms and both feet, as well as the left ankle are missing. The break of the left ankle is remarkably smooth, as if polished by the touch of many hands. The foot may have been lost in antiquity. The statuette was found broken into four fragments and was repaired recently. It is evident from the fresh breaks that the folds of the himation on the outside of the left leg, the top of the pillar and the drapery hanging down were all damaged recently. Nearly all folds are lost on the outside of the leg. The lower end of the pillar must have broken off at a much earlier date. Small chips and stains of red earth are visible on the body, drapery and pillar. There is a greyish discolouration on the right shoulder and thigh. There are two rectangular holes of about 2x2 cm in the shoulders to fasten the statuette to a wall or support. One of the holes is located in the middle of the back; the other second is situated towards the upper right arm. There are marks of a tooth chisel in the socket for the head. The lower left arm was held in position by a wedge-shaped, metal dowel of about 2.5 cm long and 0.5 to 1 cm wide, but only the cavity remains. The dowel was fixed horizontally in the drapery above the pillar, on the spot of the elbow where the upper arm was cut out horizontally through the biceps and then vertically down to the elbow, forming a solid angular surface to receive the elbow end of the lower arm. The socket contains traces of a greyish brown residue.

The sculpture's weight rests on the right leg, and the stance shows a strong contrapposto. The left foot had either rested on a raised support or on its toes. The lower left arm had rested on a quadrangular pillar, while the right upper arm had been lifted slightly to the front. The upper section of the torso is narrow and elongated. The breasts are smallish and high, the nipples vaguely marked. The abdominal muscles are indicated on both sides of the linea alba and in the region of the lower abdomen.

There are subtle swellings of subcutaneous fat at the waist and below the navel. The navel is small and round, while the *delta inguinalis* is indicated by a deep V-shaped groove. The hips are broad, the pelvis is sharply tilted and the right hip forms a pronounced outward curve. The outline of the left side of the body is rendered in a shallow double-curve. The thighs seem fleshy.

A large mantle covers the left shoulder and upper arm and is loosely draped over the *clavicula* and the top of the left breast. At the back the fabric covers both shoulders, forming two sets of folds. To the lower right leg, a deep and sharp concave

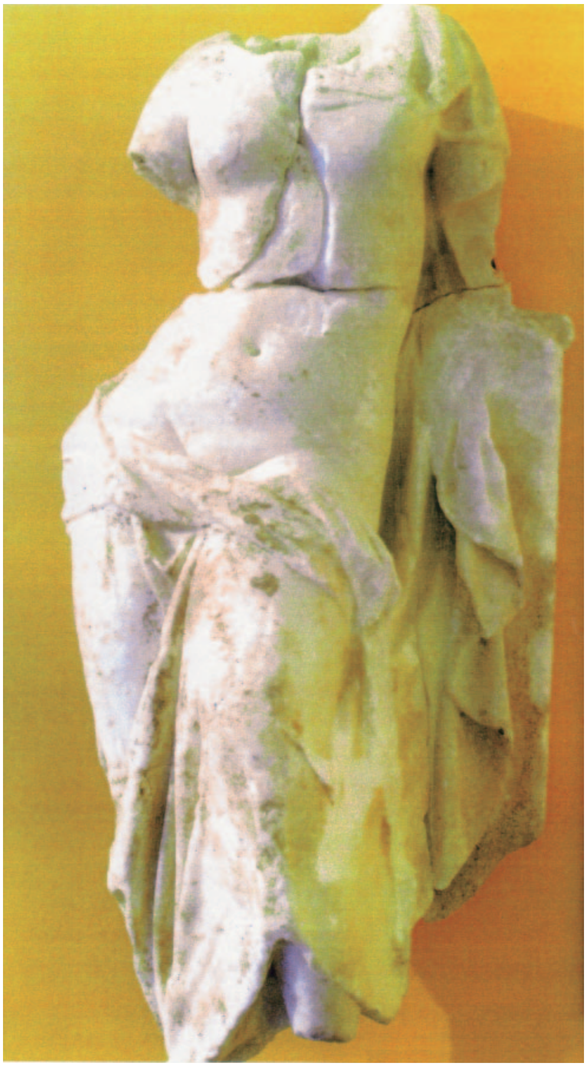


Fig. 2. Aphrodite; Nat. Museum Beirut, Inv. 15665. Photo H.H. Curvers.

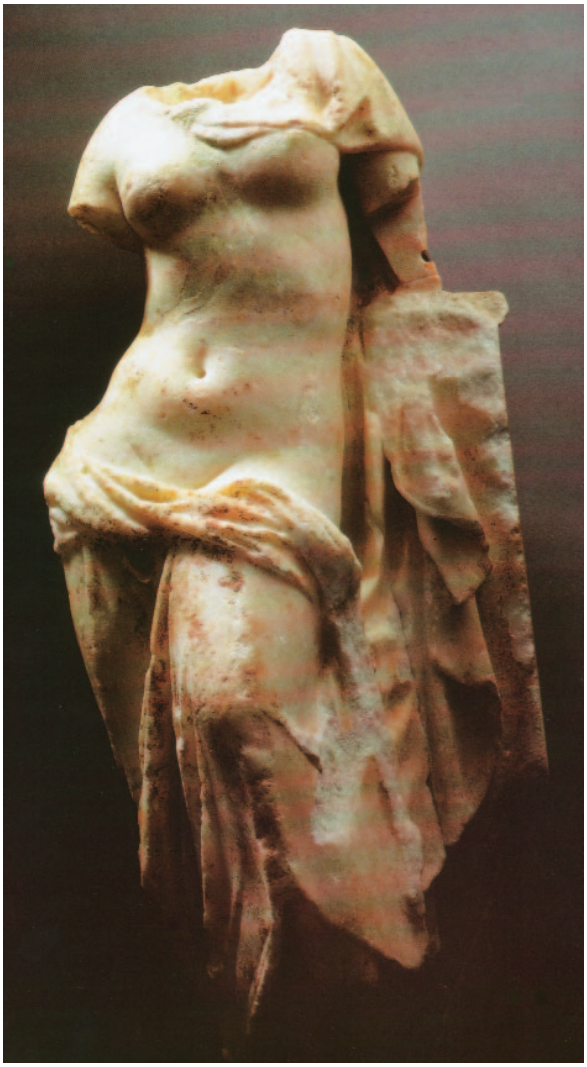


Fig. 3 Aphrodite, restored; Nat. Museum Beirut, Inv. 15665. After Liban 1999, p. 171.

fold with several smaller curving folds above it, while the second set falls in diagonal folds from both shoulders to the right hip, where it is partially folded up into a roll. The material is stretched over the right gluteus, forming a set of folds in the shape of a three-pronged fork. The drapery accentuates the outlines of the right *gluteus* and thigh. The mantle is draped in a roll around the right hip and slants downward to the left thigh, ending in flat folds outside the left leg. The material clings to the thighs, and the lower hem is raised, uncovering the lower left leg. The fabric covering the front right leg falls in deep diagonal folds while, above them, two deep triangular folds repeat the V-shape of the pubic zone. The other end of the *himation* falls in vertical, tubular and curving zigzag folds from the pillar to the floor. Hiding the outside of the left thigh, part of the mantle is draped from the supporting pillar to the left thigh where it disappears under the overhanging folds of the roll.

The modelling of the figure is graceful, and the deep diagonal folds of the drapery covering the legs draw the eye to the out-swinging hip pose. The thighs and buttocks are rather sturdy and form a contrast with the elongated chest and small breasts.

The back is more superficially rendered and suggests that the statuette had been intended for placement in a niche or set against a wall.

Comment

The Aphrodite of Beirut leans against a pillar in a relaxed stance. The left arm was probably bent at the elbow, the lower arm outstretched forward. The right upper arm is held close to the body, while the lower arm had possibly been held in front of the abdomen or outstretched in front of the body.

The mantle accentuates her beauty and delicately emphasizes the contours and pose of the body. It covers the lower part of the body and legs, the back and shoulders, and also the head, as is proven by the outline on the back of the right shoulder. A corner of the mantle was draped from the right shoulder over the head, and covers the left shoulder and breast. It is not clear exactly how the Aphrodite held her head; however, the pose of the body suggests that it might have been held to her left.

In the 5th century BC, Phidias made a chryselephantine Aphrodite for Elis. Pausanias (6. 25. 2) mentions the statue as a draped figure poised with one foot resting on a tortoise. It is possible that the Aphrodite of Smyrna (*LIMC* II, 177), which is now in Berlin, is a copy of this statue. A. Delivorrias (1984, 9-151) compiled a complete inventory of all versions of the Aphrodite derived from the Aphrodite Urania based on pose and drapery. A typical feature of the Urania type is that the left foot rests on a tortoise. The so-called Aphrodite Pontia-Euploia type is a variation of the Urania type seen in the Berlin statue. According to *LIMC* II (69) it is mostly represented in smaller-than-life-size Hellenistic and Roman versions. Examples are the Aphrodite from Liverpool (*fig. 4*), Dresden (*LIMC* II, fig. 600) and the Fogg Art Museum (*LIMC* II, fig 602). The left arm of the Aphrodite Pontia-Euploia type rests on a pillar or a trunk or idol, while the left leg is raised and partly bare. The foot rests on its toes. The mantle is loosely draped over her head. The pose and proportions of the Aphrodite of Beirut resemble those of the Pontia-Euploia type; however, the body of the first is more sensuous, and the right hip curves out more pronouncedly while the pubic zone is more exposed.

The examples of the Pontia-Euploia type keep a corner of the mantle from falling by squeezing it under the armpit. However, the way in which the end of the mantle was draped over the left shoulder and especially over the left breast of our statuette is unlike any of the statues of the Pontia-Euploia type or any other Aphrodite type known to me.

The heads of the Aphrodites of Liverpool (*fig. 4*) and Dresden are inclined and turned to the left, and the eyes are downcast. While the head of our goddess may have been similar, one cannot help but wonder whether she was dreaming, musing, or looking out far beyond the observer. The right arm of the Liverpool Aphrodite, if genuine, is bent to her right hip and her fingers touch the roll of the mantle. The position of the upper right arm of the Aphrodite of Beirut is certainly different and there are no signs that the hand or fingers touched her body or mantle roll.

A further similarity, between our statuette and the Fogg Art Aphrodite, in addition to the resemblance in pose, proportions and drapery, is the way the material of the mantle clings to the thighs. The arrangement of her mantle resembles the Pontia-Euploia type - specifically in the rendering of the diagonal and V-shaped folds over the legs and the roll of the mantle.

Another comparable statuette is the Aphrodite of Madrid (*fig. 5*), which is mentioned by W. Klein (1921, 99) as a representative of the rococo tendency in late Hellenism. The Madrid and Beirut versions share the graceful modelling of the torso. However, the pubic zone of the latter is exposed more emphatically than in the case of the Madrid statuette. Remnants of her right thumb are still visible on the right hip of the Madrid statuette, so it would be fair to assume that her right hand had touched her hip, exactly as in the case of the Liverpool Aphrodite. The end of the mantle is draped across her head, similar to the Pontia-Euploia type and the statuette from Beirut.

Dozens of smaller than life-size Aphrodite statuettes have been found on Delos, all nude and semi-draped, leaning against a pillar, their left leg somewhat raised and the foot resting on a support. Their torsos are adapted to Hellenistic fashion and all have a more or less pronounced hip swing. The mantle roll curves upwards to the left arm and the edge held up with the upper left arm. Occasionally the mantle is draped over the left shoulder, but the head is never covered. The position of the upper right arm, close to the body, and the rendering of the folds of the mantle across the legs of the Delian Aphrodite's resemble the statuette from Beirut.

Such marble Aphrodites were found in the houses of well-to-do merchants on Delos. In the House of the Poseidoniasts, the clubhouse of the Syrian merchants, Dionysius, son of Zeno from Beirut dedicated the famous group of Aphrodite, Pan and Eros to his children and the ancestral gods (Mitchell Havelock 1996, 104-105; Marcadé

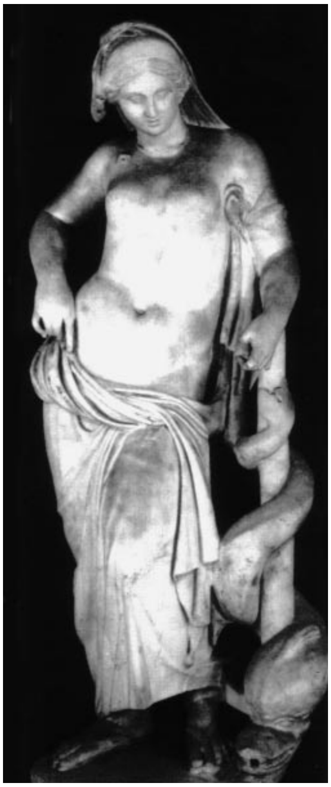


Fig. 4. Aphrodite Pontia Euploia from Liverpool, After LIMC II *1984, no. 599.*

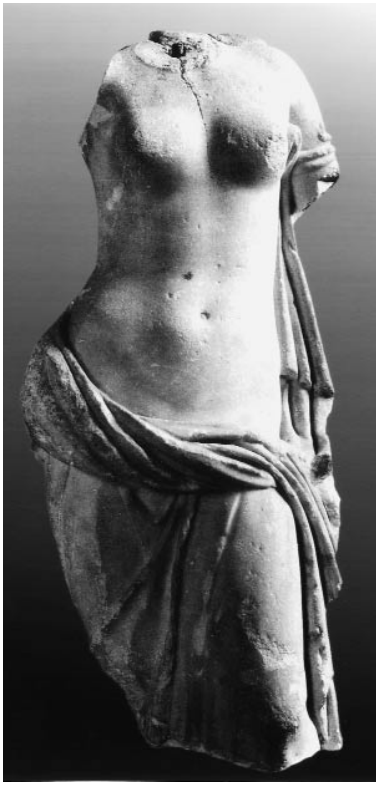


Fig. 5. Aphrodite; Prado Museum Madrid. After Arndt-Amelung 1911, no. 1542.

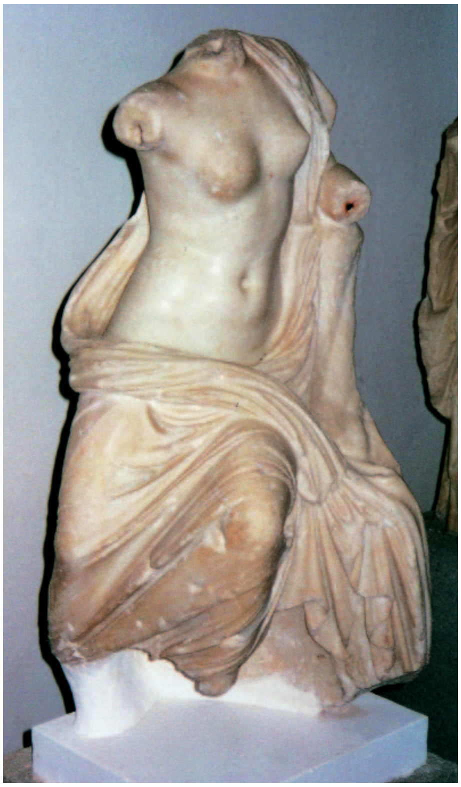


Fig. 6. Aphrodite or nymph sitting on a rock; Rhodes Museum, inv. 13614. Photo author.

1969, 386-396). According to G.S. Merker (1973, 13) there is a resemblance in style between the Delian Aphrodites and the statuettes of the same goddess from Rhodes.

D.M. Brinkerhoff (1978, 116) regards the Aphrodite from Rhodes, now in the Fogg Art Museum, as an illustration of the transition to the neo-classicism of the first century and writes: 'It is partly draped in a manner, which bares the torso in front, but covers the back and lower limbs. The rather mechanical and evenly spaced ridges of the material are interspersed along the outside of the legs with folds arranged in a V on its side. It may be compared with other Rhodian works, a leaning figure whose pose and costume agrees with the Dirce of the Farnese Bull Group.'

M. Bieber (1955, 133) agrees with Klein about a rococo tendency in the works from Rhodes and its vicinity. 'It shows best', she says, 'in semi-draped figures like the Fogg Art Aphrodite, a female torso seated on a rock (see *fig. 6*) and the Dirce from the Farnese Bull Group. The arrangement of the drapery, in long massed folds falling from the right hip over the advanced left leg and hanging down outside the left leg, is similar and dated at about 100 BC.'

G. Gualandi (1976, 58) regards the 'Aphrodite seated on a rock' (*fig. 6*) as a work of the Rhodian artist Tralles.

To summarize, Bieber, Brinkerhoff and Gualandi regard the Fogg Art Aphrodite, the Rhodian female or Aphrodite seated on a rock and the Dirce as comparable. The arrangement of the drapery, the V-shaped folds below the pubic zone and the covering of the left shoulder and part of the left breast also resemble the Beirut statuette. Apart from differences in pose, the seated figures have a larger and deeper navel. H.H. Prittwitz und Gaffron (1988, 25) gives an analysis of the folds of the half-leaning, half-sitting Aphrodites of Rhodes and Priene, and dates them to about 120 BC - a little earlier than Bieber and Brinkerhoff.

The Hellenistic proportions of the torso of our Aphrodite, the points of similarity with the examples of the Pontia-Euploia type, all dated in the 1st century BC, and associations with the sculptural tendencies believed to be current on Rhodes and Delos in the late Hellenistic Period, suggest that the

Beirut statuette dates back to the 1st century BC.

The sensuous curves and the proportions of the bodies of the Aphrodites from Rhodes and Delos are similar to the modelling of the torso of the Aphrodite of Beirut. There is also a resemblance in the rendering of the outline of the left side of the body, in the arrangement of the mantle roll, and some likeness in the draping of the mantle over the left shoulder in the Rhodian figures and our statuette. The position of the arms of the Delian Aphrodite's is similar, as are the folds of the mantle over the legs. However, there are important differences in pose and drapery.

We may conclude that the Aphrodite of Beirut cannot be compared satisfactorily to any known statuette of Aphrodite. In particular the sensuous posture, the emphasised bare *delta inguinalis* and the drapery on the left breast and shoulder remain unparalleled.

Trading connections of Syrian merchants with those of other countries resulted in the exchange of ideas, artistic expertise and *objets d'art* between the Aegean Islands, especially Rhodes and Delos, and the Near East. It is conceivable that the creator of the Aphrodite of Beirut may have come from the Aegean Islands or had been influenced by the craftsmanship and style of those regions.

A remarkable feature of the statuette of Aphrodite is the polished break of the left ankle - the marble seems to have been polished by the touch of innumerable hands. We may assume that the statuette had been placed in a temple or public building and that it had been visited frequently by the inhabitants of ancient Beirut.

APOLLO

The statuette of Apollo was found as a stray find in a disturbed trench of excavation project Bey 036. This trench was excavated along the modern Ring road around the city centre of Beirut. In the fill of the trench, the fragments of the statuette were found in red sand deposited over the bedrock. The remains of a Late Roman mosaic floor were found in a perpendicular trench. This find suggests the presence of a Late Roman building in the area.

Description

Smaller than life-sized, nude torso of a young man (*figs. 7, 8*).
Height: 24 cm, about 11.5 cm wide at the level of the hips.
White coarse-grained marble.
Missing: Head, both arms from below shoulders, both legs from above knees, most of the support. Part of the right thigh had been broken off and was reattached. All breaks are old. Remains of support on outside of left thigh: 3 cm wide, 1 cm long. Recent chips: On left breast, right shoulder blade, hips and buttocks. Large oval chip of about 3.5-cm length on left buttock. On the spine in the small of the back, there is an irregular lump of 2.6 cm long and 1 cm wide, which is chipped on the left side.
Brownish discoloration on left shoulder, breast, stomach and left thigh. Brown residue in socket holes in neck and support.
The centre of the fracture of the neck contains a drill hole of 1 cm wide and 1 cm deep. A drill hole in the surface of the break of support is 0.6 cm wide and 1.8 cm deep. Fine rasp marks all over the back.
The weight was on the left leg with the right foot placed backwards. The left arm was lowered, elbow backwards with the hand resting on the left buttock. The right shoulder is raised and indicates that the right arm or elbow leaned heavily on a support. On the right shoulder two strands of hair or fillets continue the outline of the fracture of the neck.
The torso is elongated and shows a marked s-curve. The outlines of the body are rendered in shallow double curves. A shallow horizontal groove marks the waist rather emphatically. The lines of the shoulders and hips run in opposite

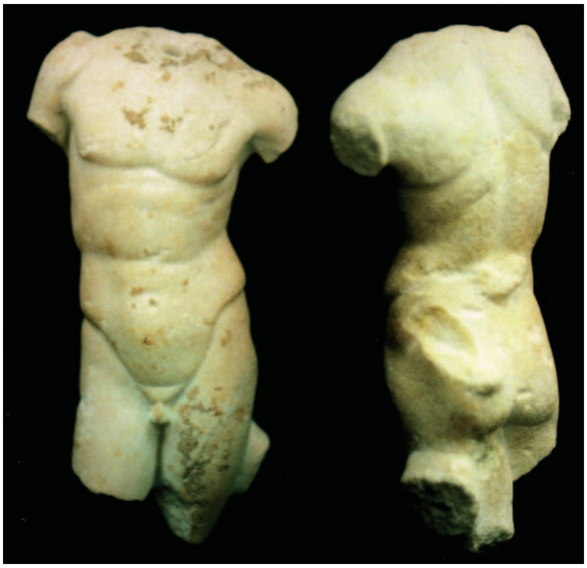


Fig. 7. Apollo. Nat. Museum Beirut.
Fig. 8. Reverse. Photos author.

directions: The shoulder line descends from the proper right to the left, while the hip line runs from the proper left to the right.

The pectoral muscle is rendered in a curve on both sides of the *sternum*. The nipples are vaguely marked, as is the rib cage. On the left side of the linea alba, the *musculus obliquus externus abdominis* is indicated by two curved folds. The waistline is accentuated by the *intersectiones tendinae* and the navel is small and round. The pelvis is sharply tilted and the left hip forms a pronounced outward curve. The *musculus obliquus externus abdominis* with the *ligamentum inguinalis* and the *musculus rectus abdominis* jointly form an elongated v-shaped groove.

The *delta inguinalis* is indicated by a deep horizontal fold, while the genitals are small and underdeveloped. The spine is marked by a curved groove and the contours of the *scapulae* are indicated by curves. Parallel to the contour of the left *scapula*, there is a marked fold in the skin caused by the bending of the body. On the right side of the back, at the level of the waist, both the *musculus obliquus externus abdominis* and the *crista iliaca* are clearly marked. The buttocks are rendered rather flat and nearly on the same level - a rather unnatural rendering in this stance.

Comment

The slender youth stands in a relaxed pose, his weight distributed between the left leg and the right arm. The right leg was bent or possibly crossed in front of the left one. The right arm was placed on an object or support. The left elbow was drawn backwards, the hand resting on the buttock and perhaps holding an object. On the left buttock, a ridge can be seen where the hand had been broken off. In the small of the back, on the spine, a puzzling fragment of a once larger object can be seen; possibly the tail of a satyr or the remains of an object that had been held in the left hand on the buttock. The position of the head is not clear, but the pose of the body and the strands of hair or fillet on the right shoulder suggest that it inclined to the right. The modelling of the body is soft and graceful, and the planes are clearly defined.

In the Louvre Museum, the so-called Narkissos (Linfert 1990, 599-600, no. 123) represents a boy in a very similar, but mirrored position, leaning heavily on a short pillar, his stance a contrapposto (*fig. 9*). His head is strongly inclined to the raised left shoulder with the right hand placed at the back. The statuette, a Roman copy of the 2nd century AD, is regarded as an example of the Polyclitan School (Maderna-Lauter 1990, 328-393), but it became popular in the 4th century BC in the figures of Kephisodotos and Praxiteles (Richter 1954, 37).

While the Louvre boy resembles the Beirut youth, the musculature of the latter is tighter, in addition to which it has two strands on its shoulder and the mysterious protrusions in the small of the back.

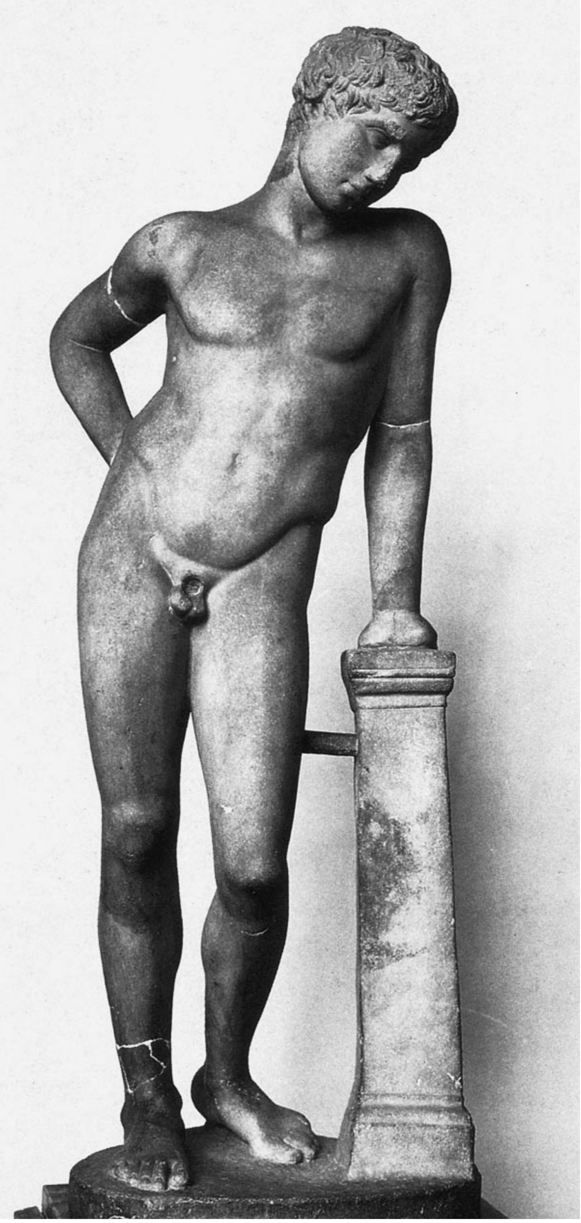


Fig. 9. The so-called Narkissos, Louvre. Linfert 1990, no. 123.

A statuette in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (*figs. 10, 11*), an example of the so-called Narkissos type in mirrored position (like our figure) strongly resembles our youth. The pose, the clearly defined planes of the body, the pronounced pelvic curve and the horizontal groove indicating the *delta inguinalis*, are all similar. The vaguely shown *arcus costae*, the rendering of the *musculus pectoralis major* and the *intersectiones tendinae* in the waist are also comparable. The right shoulder is raised and the left arm had been held backwards. Part of the left hand is preserved on the left buttock and holds a piece of drapery or perhaps a fillet (Richter 1954, 37). The muscles of the neck show that the head had been inclined sharply to the right and close to the raised shoulder. The fractured surface of the outside of the right thigh suggests the presence of a support.

Apart from the resemblance in pose and proportions of the body between the New York and Beirut youths, the position of the left hand is of special interest. However, the body of the New York statuette is more muscular, the strands of hair on the shoulder, the fragment on the spine and the support on the outside of the left thigh are missing.

A statuette, now in the Vatican Museum in Rome, is also comparable (Vorster 1993, no. 46). The pose of the body, the position of the left arm and hand, the rendering of the pronounced pelvic curve, the *delta inguinalis*, the *arcus costae* and the *musculus pectoralis major* are all similar. However, the musculature of the body is more emphatic and the s-curve of the body far less pronounced.

There is a suggestion of a support on the right thigh, but the youth clearly could not have leaned on it very heavily, as his left shoulder is hardly raised. The left hand resting on the buttock seems to have been empty. The fragment of the neck indicates that the head had inclined to the right shoulder; however, there are no signs of strands of hair on it, nor are there any remains of an object on the spine.

Most examples or versions of the so-called Narkissos type are represented with the hair cropped short. Could the two strands of hair or fillet on the right shoulder of the Beirut youth possibly suggest Apollo or a young Dionysus? A coin (*fig. 12*) minted in Antioch, north of Beirut, may be helpful. It is a *denarius* and shows the image of Pescennius Niger (193-194 AD) with the following text on the reverse side: *Apollini Sancto.* Apollo leans in a leisurely way with his right arm resting on a support and his left arm held to the back, his hand resting on his buttock. His right leg crosses in front of the left one and loose strands of hair descend down to his shoulders.

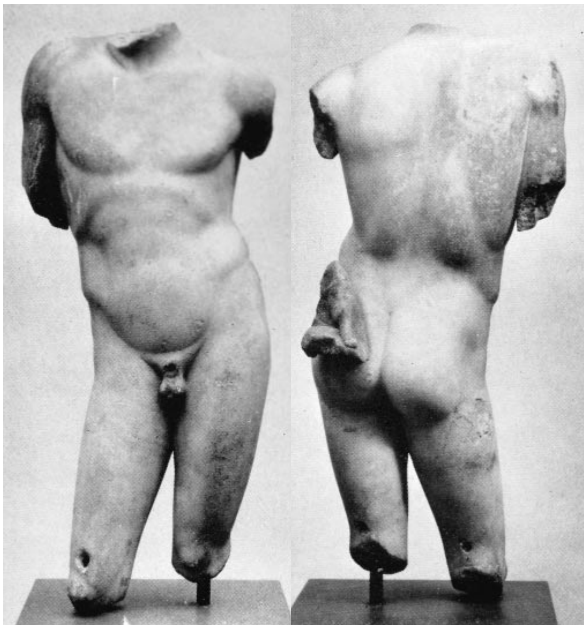


Fig. 10. Statuette of a boy. Metropolitan Museum of Art New York. After Richter 1954, no. 52, pl. XI. Fig. 11. Reverse.

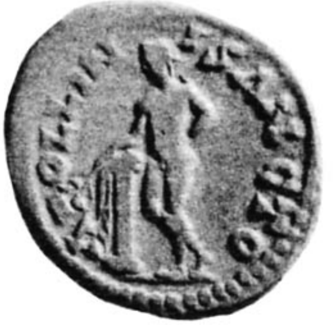


Fig. 12. Denarius from Antioch (193-194). Apollo. After LIMC *II 1984, no. 198.*

A gem in the Lewis Collection of Gemstones in Cambridge (*LIMC* II, pl. 209) shows Apollo in a similar relaxed pose, in a contrapposto stance, holding a twig of laurel in his left hand. Here, too, the right hand is placed on the buttock. Both *denarius* and gemstone show Apollo in a pose comparable to the statuette of Beirut, suggesting that the strands of hair on the shoulders of the Beirut Youth may well refer to Apollo.[2]

A small, bronze Roman figure (*fig. 13*) in the Sotheby's Catalogue (Dec. 1995, no. 101) shows

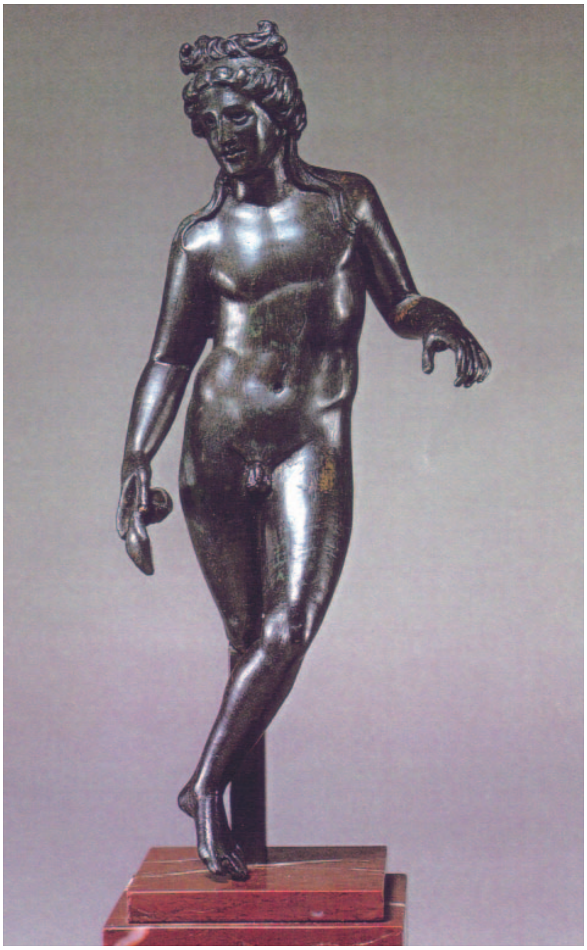


Fig. 13. Bronze figure of Apollo.
After Sotheby's Catalogue 1995, no. 101.

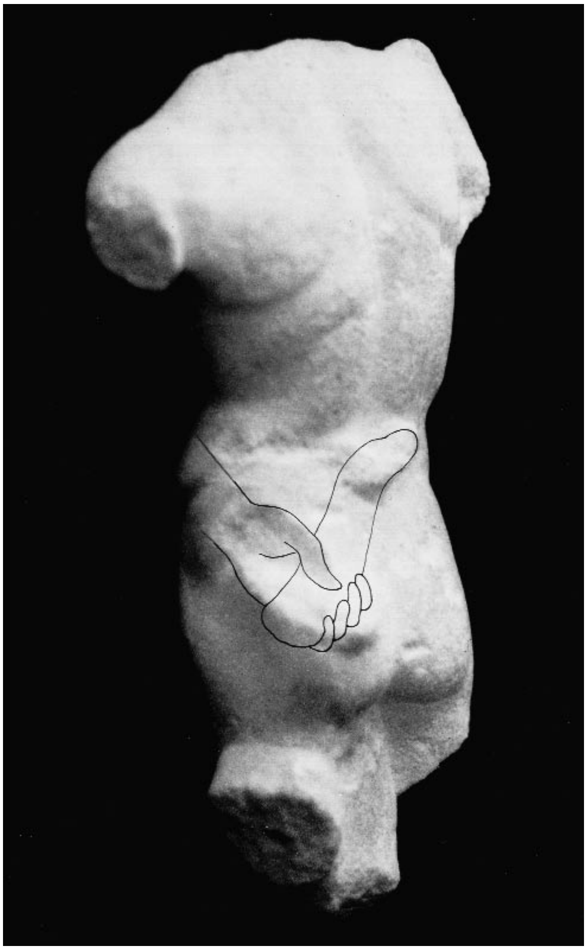


Fig. 14. Apollo. Reconstruction.
Drawing Assa Braakenburg.

Apollo holding a large *plectrum* in his right hand. His hair is arranged in an elaborate coiffure known from the Apollo Belvedere and Capitoline Aphrodite. On the crown, the hair is gathered in a topknot and above the nape of the neck in a rectangular chignon. Long wavy locks escape onto the shoulders. It is possible that the coiffure of our Apollo could have been similar - perhaps both locks of hair or fillet fell to the same shoulder due to the strong inclination of the head in that direction.

A question still remains as to the puzzling object on the spine in the small of the back. Is the statuette a representation of a satyr with a small tail? It seems highly improbable. The fragment is chipped on its left side, and therefore could conceivably have been part of a once larger object. A reconstruction (*fig. 14*) shows that a plectrum, of about the same shape and dimensions as seen in fig. 13, may well continue from the hand on the buttock to the lump on the spine in the small of the back of our Apollo. It could also explain the object on the spine, which could have been part of a large *plectrum* held in the hand on the buttock. In all probability it represents a framework designed to contain a small instrument used to pluck the strings.

The function of the support on the outside of the left thigh is not clear - Apollo leaned against a support with his right arm or elbow. It is conceivable that the second support had been a connection to an object, such as a cithara, which could have been supported on a small trunk or column.

The technique of '*Umdeutung*', used to identify mythological figures by reference to specific attributes of the so-called Narkissos, was very popular in the 2nd century AD (Maderna-Lauter 1990, 357). It would therefore be acceptable to assume that this is a representation of Apollo in this particular pose with his attributes, a *cithara* and a *plectrum*.

To determine the date of the statuette of Beirut, it would seem wise to accept G.M.A. Richter's (1954, 37) conclusion that 'the statuette from New York is a good Roman copy of a Greek work of the later 5th century BC'. The youth in the Vatican is dated by Chr. Vorster (1993, 110) as a classicist creation of the early 2nd AD. The *denarius* was minted in the late 2nd century AD in Antioch and indicates that Apollo, in this pose, was known in the eastern part of the Roman Empire.

In sum, we propose the following. The statuette of Beirut may represent Apollo, depicted in mirrored position in the pose of the so-called Narkissos of Polykleitos type, and should be dated to the 2nd century AD.

DIONYSUS I

In May 1997, a marble head of Dionysus was discovered during excavations east of project Bey 028. The head was found in the fill deposited atop the foundation structures of an Ottoman building. The head was covered with a hard encrustation of orange mortar. The latter suggests that it was reused in the construction of the Ottoman building.

Description

Life-sized head of Dionysus (*fig. 15*), once part of a relief or attached to a statue.
Height: 24 cm, 17 cm wide at the level of the ears.
White, medium fine-grained marble.
Broken off below the neck; the break is old.
Face, including eyes and mouth heavily damaged. Back, nose, mouth, ears and part of hair missing. Left side, from temple to crown cut flat. Top of the head has a triangular shape (*fig. 16*). Cheeks, chin, forehead, parts of hair and wreath preserved. Parts of hair and wreath covering the right ear, cheeks, brows and forehead recently chipped.
Brownish, hard incrustation of mortar on face and hair.

The face has an ovoid outline with rather high cheekbones and a round chin. The mouth seems small. The juncture of the jaw line is clearly marked. The contours of the brows and eyelids are vaguely visible, as are the lachrymal caruncles. The hair is parted in the middle and carried to the sides in wavelike strands intertwined with leaves and berries. A fillet seems to encircle the forehead. The wreath above the right temple shows a hedera leaf and *corimboi*, the berries of the hedera, and there are three hedera leafs on top of the head (*fig. 16*). The right ear was probably covered with a bunch of grapes and a vine leaf. Small circular objects in front of the now missing right ear refer to the grapes.

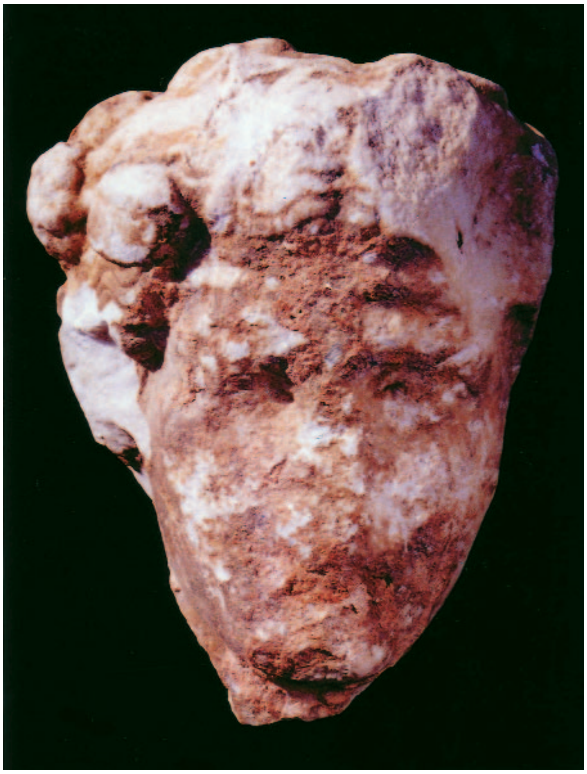


Fig. 15. Head of Dionysus I, Nat. Museum Beirut. Photo H.H. Curvers; B. Stuart.

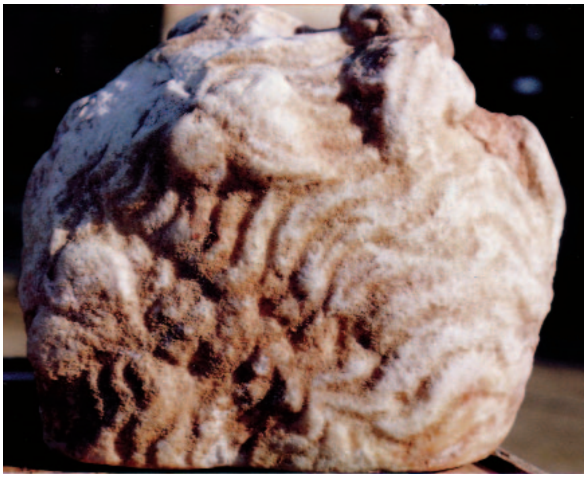


Fig. 16. Head of Dionysus I, top. Nat. Museum Beirut. Photo H.H. Curvers; B. Stuart.

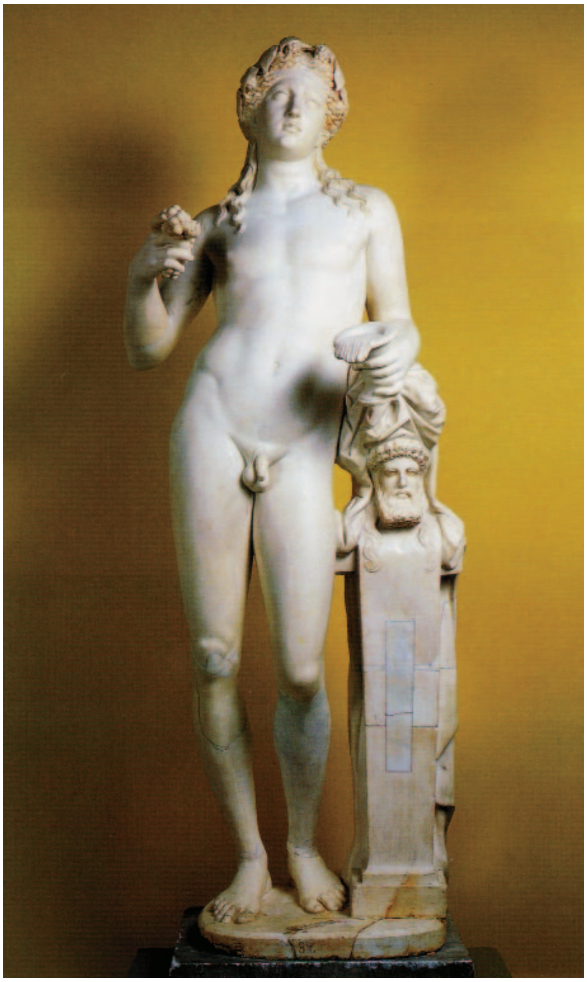


Fig. 17. Dionysus. Prado Museum Madrid. After Guía Museo del Prado *1999, 37.*

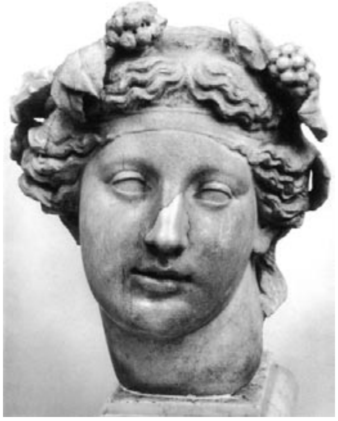


Fig. 18. Dionysus. Chatsworth. After Linfert 1997, Taf. 22.

Comment

The head represents Dionysus: this is clear from features, such as the hair parted in the middle, the wavy strands intertwined with a wreath of hedera and vine-leaves, *corimboi* and grapes. The head shows a well-modelled and sensitive face. It is not clear whether the head had been created as part of a relief or whether it had been broken off from a statue. It seems possible that the back of the head had been reworked to be attached in a corner of a wall.

In the late Classical and Hellenistic periods Dionysus underwent a remarkable restyling from bearded venerability to Apolline youth. The images of Apollo and Dionysus became similar and in both figures the languid air and relaxed posture, with one arm poised above the head, were greatly emphasized by the numerous and varied modelling (Smith 1991, 65). The wreathed head of Dionysus is a type that is familiar from a great number of Greco-Roman adaptations of statues of Apollo originally attributed to Praxiteles in the 4th century BC (Furtwängler 1901, 215; Rizzo 1932, 77; Richter 1954, 70; Pochmarski 1974, 127; Vermeule 1976, 105). The complete statue showed the young Dionysus leaning with his left arm against a herm, or supporting or holding a *thyrsos* while holding a *kantharos* or bunch of grapes in his right hand. In some versions, namely the Apollo Lykeios type, the right arm rests on the head, which was slightly turned to the left (Schröder 1989; Pochmarski 1990). Most versions have a broad fillet encircling the forehead. Variations of this type are on display in the Prado in Madrid (*fig. 17*) and Chatsworth House (*fig. 18*), Great Britain (Rizzo 1932, pl. 15, 16; Pochmarski 1974, 161; Linfert 1997, 30, pl. 22). In both versions the head of Dionysus is inclined to the left and the full, parted lips give the face a somewhat exalted expression. The style of the hair and wreath are comparable to our head, but the face of the Beirut Dionysus is less round and seems to have a different expression.

In the Museum of Fine Art, Boston (Vermeule 1976, no. 160), a larger than life-sized head of Dionysus shows the same characteristics; however, the hair is dressed more loosely and the wreath is more elaborate than in the case of our head. The heavy lidded eyes, the parted lips and the dreamy expression of the head in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto (Vermeule 1981, no. 37), also seen as a version of the type mentioned above, are comparable to our head.

Most of the versions of the different types of statues of Dionysus were created for architectural

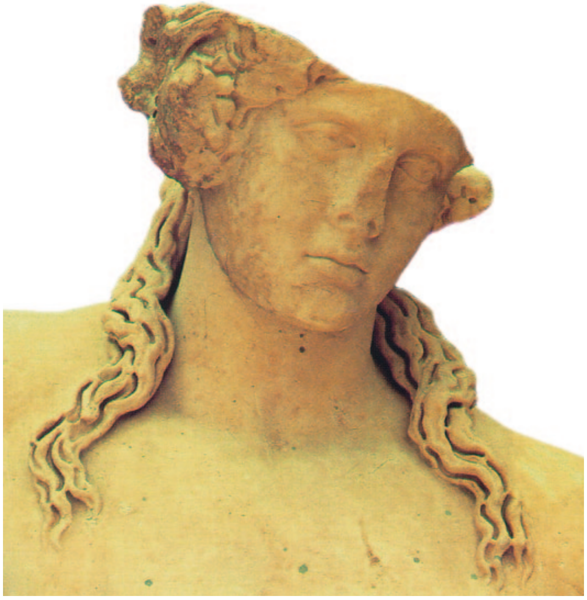


Fig. 19. Dionysus. Ephesus Museum.
After Aurenhammer 1990, no. 41.

settings as part of the decoration scheme of baths, fountains and gardens. H. Manderscheid (1988) compiled an inventory of 560 sculptures found in Roman baths. The majority of the statues, 72 %, represents deities, and nearly one third of this group represents sculptures of Dionysus and his followers.

A larger than life-sized statue of Dionysus (Aurenhammer 1990, no. 41) was found in the fountain of Trajan in Ephesus (*fig. 19*). The head is inclined to the left, the eyes gaze downward and the expression on the face is pensive and dreamy. The style of the wreath, in particular, is similar to our head.

It is not clear exactly how our Dionysus held his head, as not enough of the neck has been preserved to indicate the original posture. His eyes resemble neither the Ephesus or Ontario heads that look downward in a melancholic way, nor the Madrid head that looks up into the blue skies in exaltation; instead it seems to gaze into the distance.

A similar expression is found on the face of Dionysus, which is now in the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem (*LIMC* II, no. 410). The ovoid outline of the face, the full lips, the oval eyes and round chin strongly resemble our head. The rendering of the strands of hair on the temples, the small *corimboi*, the form of the hedera leaves and the vine leaf covering the bunch of grapes on the ears are similar. The Jerusalem head is seen as a popular variation of Praxiteles' Apollo Lykeios showing the god in a leaning posture with one arm resting on his head.

All the above-mentioned variations of the various types of statues and heads of Dionysus are created in approximately the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. Our head shows no drill marks, so it would be acceptable to suggest that the Dionysus head from Beirut is a creation that was influenced by the sculptural tendencies believed to be current in the 2nd century AD.

DIONYSUS II

The small head of Dionysus (*fig. 20*) was discovered in the fill of foundations of Roman and Byzantine buildings. The excavations in Bey 028 yielded the remains of 6-7th century buildings situated along a street, which had been paved with large rectangular slabs and lined on both sides with houses and shops. Halfway down the street, a paved access leads to a large house with mosaic and lime plastered floors. Opposite the entrance, on the other side of the street, the site was disturbed and the small head of Dionysus was found in the fill.

Description

Smaller than life-sized head of a young Dionysus. Height 13 cm, width 10.5 cm at the level of the ears.
White, fine-grained marble with yellowish patina.
Missing: Ears, part of nose, part of the hair.
Damaged: Eyes, mouth, hair and wreath.
Recently chipped: Cheeks, chin and left brow.
Neck broken off; the break is old.
No chisel marks - possible drill marks in the corners of the eyes and mouth. In Antiquity the back of the head is cut flat, and a hole of 1 cm wide and 2.8 cm deep is drilled in the lower part.

The face is symmetrical and has a round outline - broad across the forehead, tapering gradually to the full, round chin. The forehead is short and trapezium shaped. The large, oval eyes are wide-set and an eyelid is carved around the right eye, while the lachrymal caruncle is indicated in the corner.

The orbital bridge curves down to the outer corners of the eyes. The small mouth has full lips that are slightly parted with a smooth, shallow concavity under lower lip. The cheeks are rather fleshy and do not show articulation of the cheekbones. The chin and jaws slope into the neck without a marked outline.

The hair and wreath are summarily rendered.

The hair is parted in the middle, carried sideways in wave-like strands and intertwined with a tendril of ivy. The ivy leaves and *corimboi* are symmetrically arranged in the coiffure with the leaves located above the ears and the berries above the outer corners of the eyes. The left ear is covered with a *corimbos*.

Comments

The head represents Dionysus. The proportions of the chin and cheeks are rather oversized. Originally, the head could have formed part of a relief, a herm or it could have been broken off from a statuette and reworked to be attached to a wall. In view of the overall dimensions of the Dionysus figure, all options are a matter for consideration. The head is 13 cm high, which suggests an overall height of about 80-90 cm in the case of a complete statuette (an appropriate size for a statuette, as well as for a figure on a relief or herm).

Dionysus is depicted in the Classical style of the 5th century BC. His hair is intertwined with hedera leaves and berries. The type of head is familiar from a number of Roman adaptations of statues and statuettes attributed to Polykleitos in the 5th century BC (Ridgway 1984, 83; Maderna-Lauter 1990, 360). The complete figure showed a young Dionysus, comparable to the Prado Dionysus (*fig. 17*), posed with his weight on his right leg, his left knee slightly advanced and bent, and the foot drawn back in a Polykleitan pose. The right arm is held forwards, the hand holding a kantharos. The left arm is bent at the elbow, holding a thyrsos or resting on a support.

The head of the Bacco del Tevere (*fig. 21*), a bronze statuette in the Museo Nazionale Romano in Rome (*LIMC* III, 542, no. 2; P. Zanker in: Helbig III, no. 2485; Aurigemma 1950, 84) is designed in the Severe style and resembles the head of the Beirut Dionysus. The short forehead, the oval, rimmed eyes, the small mouth, the full cheeks and the strong chin are comparable, but the chin of our head is more massive and his lips are parted. The hairstyle of the Bacco del Tevere is elaborately worked and the long, wavy hair is intertwined with a fillet, ivy leaves and berries. The hairdo of our head is badly preserved, but there are similarities in the arrangement of the wreath. The hair is dressed in an identical way, i.e. parted in the middle with wavy strands framing the forehead.

In the Bodrum Museum of Underwater Archaeology in the Crusader castle of Saint Peter, a table

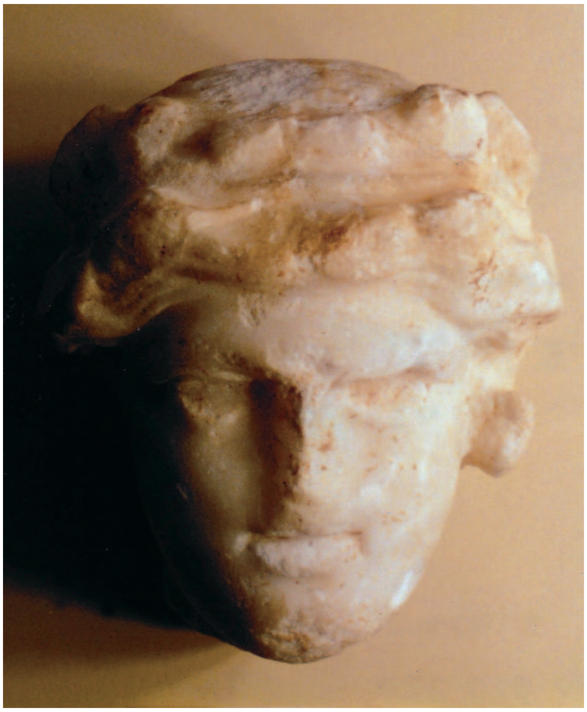


Fig. 20. Head of Dionysus II, Nat. Museum Beirut. Photo H.H. Curvers; B. Stuart.

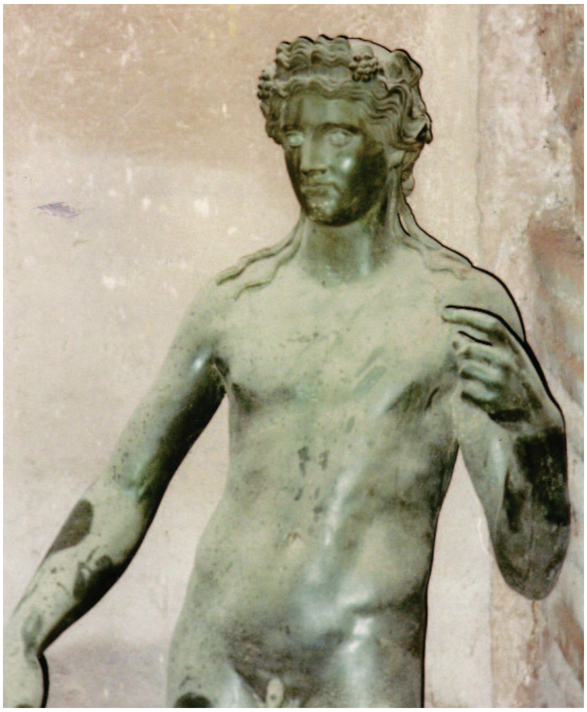
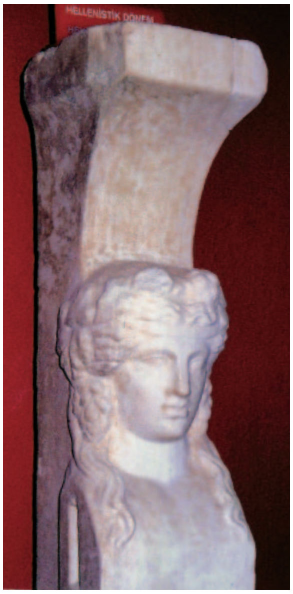


Fig. 21. Bacco del Tevere. Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome. Photo author.



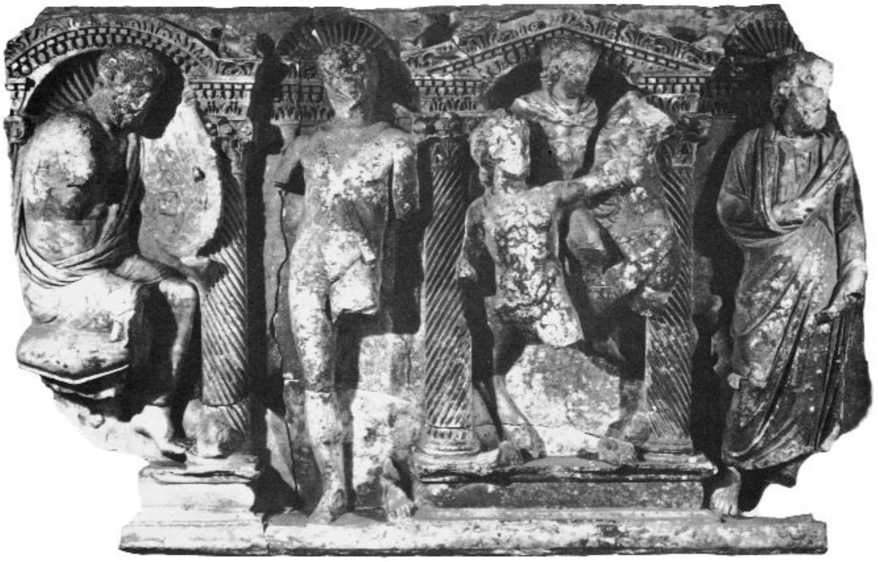


Fig. 22. Table base with herm of Dionysus. Museum of Underwater Archaeology Bodrum. Photo author.
Fig. 23. Icarus sarcophagus. Nat. Museum Beirut. After Jidejean 1993, p. 115.

base decorated with a herm of Dionysus (*fig. 22*) is exhibited in the Tower of the Serpent. The herm 100 cm high, with a head of about 12-13 cm high - the same size as the head from Beirut. The wreath consists of symmetrically arranged berries and grapes and the berries above the eyes and the grapes cover the ears. This arrangement resembles that of the wreath of our head, but the fillet encircles the forehead of the Bodrum head. The overproportioned chin and open mouth of the Beirut head distinguishes it from the other versions. The flat back of the latter version possibly indicates that the head had once formed part of a herm - either a freestanding herm or one attached to a table base.

The head of a small, marble statuette of Dionysus in Cyrene (Brinkerhoff 1970, 31; Paribeni 1959, 116) may also be related to the Beirut one. The young god stands in a leisurely pose in front of a squared pier. He is lost in thought and has a serene smile on his face. Our Dionysus seems to have a similar expression.

If our head once formed part of a relief, it could well have been one of various types of reliefs on sarcophagi. The cities Tyre, Sidon and Beirut ordered marble sarcophagi from Greece and Asia Minor (Boardman 1995, 215). Several sarcophagi found in this region represent the so-called Attic relief type, whose centre of production was Athens. One of these, the Hippolytus sarcophagus in the National Museum in Beirut, is carved in white, fine-grained marble. The nude, standing youths on the relief are depicted in a Classical style and are about 80-85 cm high (Linant de Bellefonds 1985, 24-5).

A fragment of a so-called Asiatic columnar sarcophagus in the National Museum in Beirut (*fig. 23*) shows five mythological figures in architectural niches that are separated by columns (Ferrari 1966, 31). The figures between the columns represent Daedalus, seated and holding a wing in his hands, Icarus, standing, and three other figures. The standing youth is about 85 cm high and his pose (like the youths on the Hippolytus relief) is comparable to the statuettes of Dionysus mentioned above. In Syria the imported sarcophagi were copied by local artists and in most instances they integrated the motives from Athens and Dokimeion in Asia Minor (Koch 1993, 193). Sarcophagi of both types, decorated with dancing maenads and erotes, are found in the necropoleis on the Levantine coast. Giuliano (1962, 51-2) mentions five sarcophagi with Dionysian scenes from Beirut. In my opinion, the suggestion that our head formed part of a figure of a Dionysian scene on a sarcophagus is as plausible as the suggestion that it had been attached to a freestanding statuette of Dionysus or that it had formed part of a herm.

The Bacco del Tevere and the Cyrene Dionysus date back to the late 1st or 2nd century AD. The Bodrum herm is dated at about 150 BC, but it is probably a Roman copy made in the 2nd century AD.

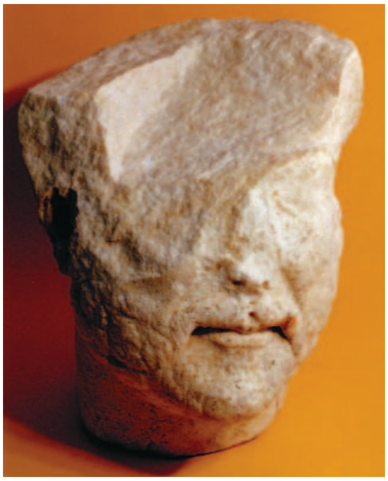
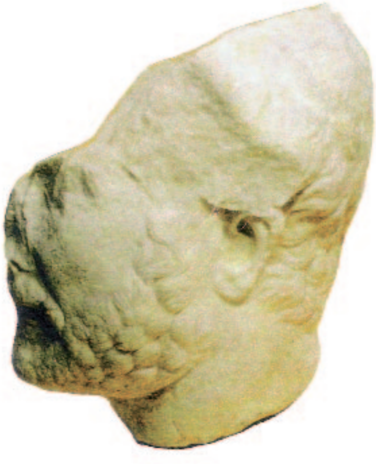
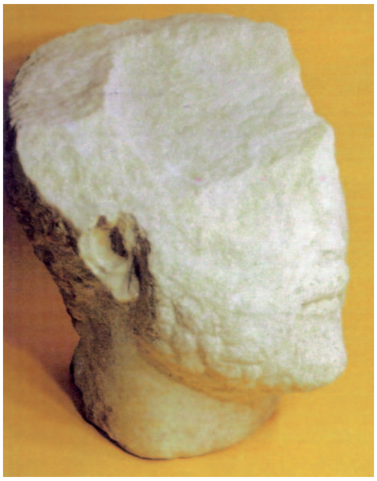




Fig. 24. Head of Hadrian, Nat. Museum Beirut. Photo H.H. Curvers; B. Stuart.
Fig. 25. Head of Hadrian, left side. Fig. 26. Head of Hadrian, right side.

Both types of sarcophagi were imported and copied between 150-250 AD (Koch 1993, 103, 117-118). The Hippolytus sarcophagus was created in about 230 AD (Linant de Bellefonds 1985, 179) and the Icarus sarcophagus in 160-190 AD (Lawrence 1951, 133-5; Ferrari 1966, 25).

In sum, it seems reasonable to suggest that the small head of Dionysus, found in Beirut and displaying a few drill marks, was created in the 2nd century AD and could have either been attached to a statuette or formed part of a herm or the Dionysian relief of a sarcophagus.

HADRIAN

The Roman Emperor Hadrian (117-138 AD) is represented in many portraits made by artist all over the Mediterranean World. A new example (*fig. 24-26*) was discovered in Beirut in 1995. In Bey 028, the head of Hadrian was uncovered among the vestiges of Late Roman and Byzantine buildings north of the Place des Martyrs. Bey 028 revealed the presence of a Late Roman or Byzantine street. In one of the buildings two round tables were found, surrounded by semi-circular stone walls. The find of a bronze balance and a hoard of small coins could lead to the conclusion that the place had functioned as a moneychanger's shop. Halfway down the street, a paved access leads to a large house with mosaic and lime plastered floors. Fragments of mosaic were discovered in two small rooms. Their condition at the time of the find suggest that one or more rooms on the first floor had also been decorated with a mosaic floor. Excavators found the marble head under the debris of a collapsed wall just north of the entrance to this house.

Description

Fragment of a portrait of a middle-aged man.
Height 33 cm, length of face 29 cm, about 24 cm wide at the level of the ears.
Yellowish white and coarse-grained marble.
The head is badly damaged. The upper part of the head is broken off at a diagonal angle from the crown forward to the lower front of the face. Most or all of the breaks seem recent.
Preserved: Most of the ears, the area below the level of the nose, the left cheek and jaw with beard, the lower part of the right jaw with beard and the back of the skull and neck. The nose and eyes are chipped, as are the right temple, the right cheek and the upper rim of the right ear.
Brownish discoloration of hair on the back and bottom of the neck. A red-brown stain is visible on the moustache above the left corner of the mouth.
The neck is cut horizontally - there is a round hole, 2 cm wide and 4 cm deep in the middle to fasten the head to a statue or bust. There are remains of dark brown material in the socket.

A slight swelling of the sternomastoid muscle on the right side of the neck suggests that the larger than life-sized head was tilted slightly to the left. Carved contours of the lid are visible around the damaged left eye. The contours meet at a rather sharp angle at the lachrymal caruncle.

Marked nasolabial furrows flank the finely curved mouth with close-set lips, which is cut

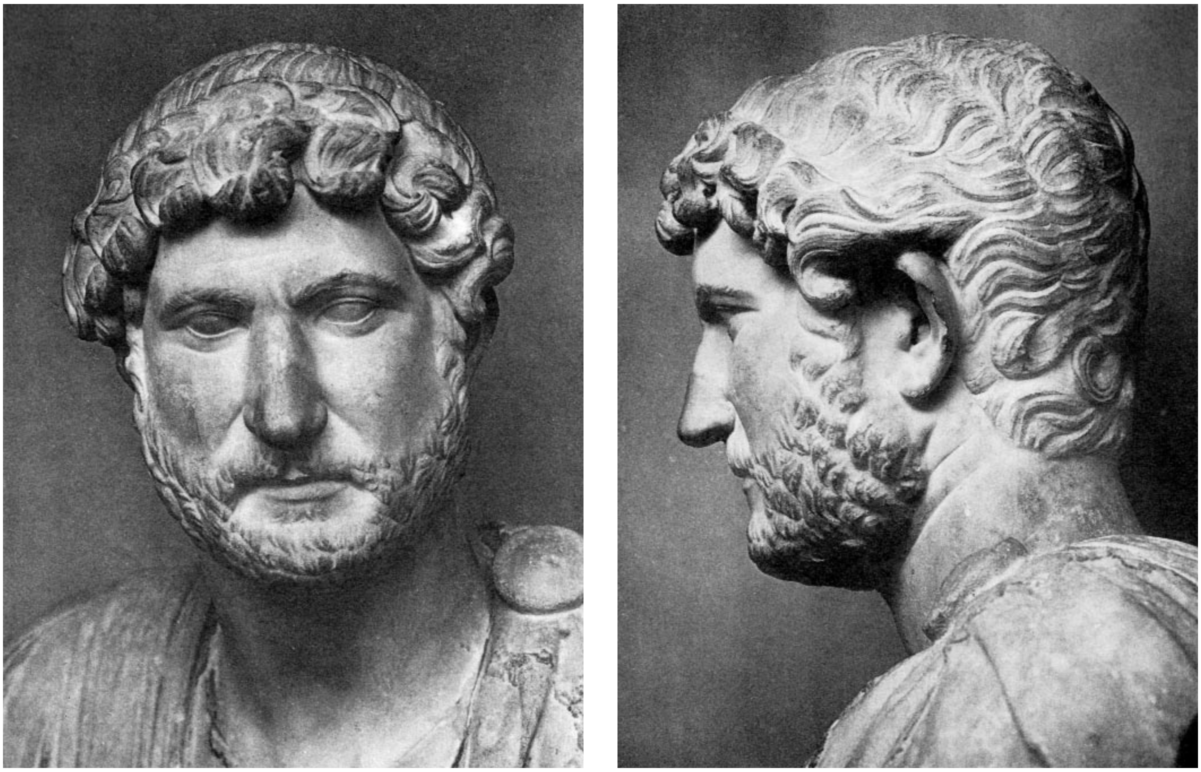


Fig. 27 & 28. Hadrian. Museo Nazionale, Rome. After Wegner 1956, Taf. 10.

deep at the corners. The upper lip is all but hidden by a curly moustache and only a triangle of the *philtrum* is visible. Two drill holes are all that remain of the nostrils (*fig. 24*).

Smooth, shallow concavity under the lower lip and a rather small, triangular chin covered with a thin beard. The juncture of the jaw line and neck is marked by the edge of the curly beard.

S-curved sideburns, only preserved on the left cheek, descend into the short clipped, well-groomed beard. It is composed of series of tufts of hair, with 3-5 individually engraved strands, arranged in vertical rows in the direction of the chin (*fig. 25*).

The delicately carved ears are set well back on the head and show both *helix* and *antihelix*, and a deeply undercut *concha*. The *tragus* and *antitragus* are both vaguely marked. The earlobes are rather elongated, and a diagonal groove runs from the *tragus* to the lower rim of the earlobe (*fig. 26*). The stone has not been cut away at the back of the left ear.

The hair is arranged in series of wavy tufts with 3-5 individually engraved strands. The locks probably fell from the crown of the head to the temples, down to the neck and forwards to the forehead. Longer strands descend as far as the temples, but leave the ears uncovered. At the back of the head the hair is much flatter; it falls in curly tufts behind the ears as well as in the nape of the neck. The rim of a mantle is cut out at the nape of the neck.

Comments

The Beirut head represents a portrait of a man of about 40-45 years old with a cropped beard and moustache. The delicately carved mouth, the ears, the beard and the moustache give this well-modelled head individuality and character. The rendering of the mouth, beard, hair and ears is characteristic of most portraits of Hadrian. The horizontally cut neck with drilled dowel hole is unusual and may indicate that the head, broken off from the original statue, had afterwards been attached to a sockle or bust.

M. Wegner (1956) subdivided the portraits of the Emperor into six different types. One of these types, the so-called ‘Rollockenfrisur’ represented in a portrait (*figs. 27, 28*) now in the Museo Nazionale delle Terme in Rome, is characterised by rolled curls on the forehead and temples. Wegner (1956, 13) lists 15 versions of this type in Rome, Alexandria, Cairo, Athens and Sevilla,

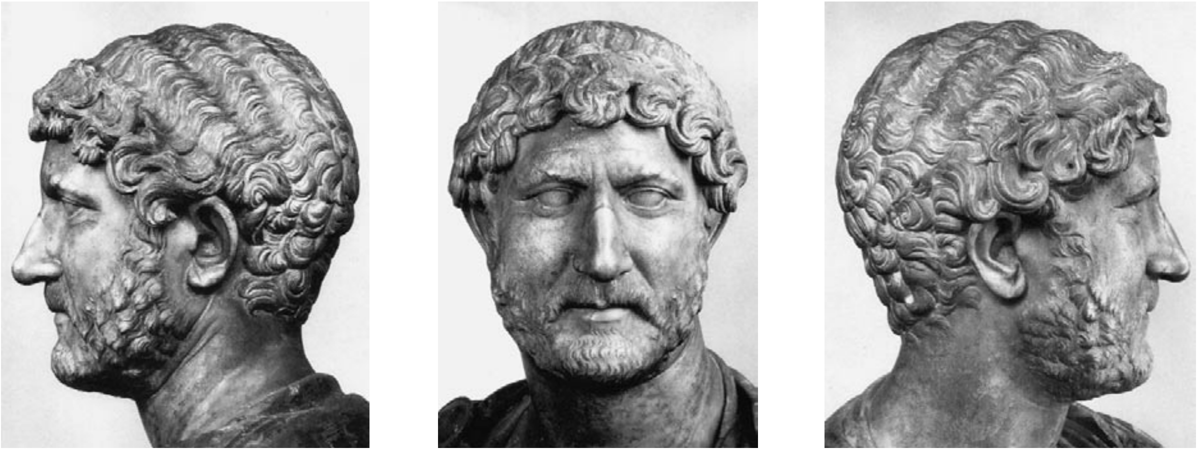


Fig. 29, 30 & 31. Hadrian. Palazzo Braschi, Rome. After Fitschen/Zanker 1985, no. 49, pl. 54.

whereas P. Zanker and K. Fittschen (1985, 49-51) mention 23 replicas.

Portraits of the 'Rollockenfrisur' type represent Hadrian at middle age. They are comparable with the portrait of Beirut. Other types show similarly modelled ears, but less marked nasolabial furrows, a wider mouth with a fuller lower lip and a somewhat different composition of the tufts of hair of the beard.

The Beirut portrait can best be identified by comparison to a copy (*figs. 29-31*) of the '*Rollockenfrisur*' type in Palazzo Braschi in Rome (Fitschen-Zanker 1985, no. 49, pl. 54). The hair falls in the same long, wavy locks, with 3-5 individual engraved strands from the crown to the temples, and with shorter, more curly ones to the ears and the nape of the neck. Both heads turn and tilt slightly to the left, as indicated by the sternomastoid muscles. However, the wrinkles in the neck of the Braschi head are absent in our fragment. The sideburns are rendered in similar s-curves that extend downwards into the curly tufts of the beard. The beard is identically composed of groups of 3-4 tufts of hair arranged in the direction of the chin. From the underside of the lower lip to beneath the chin, the hair of the beard is rendered in comparable s-curves. The chin of the head of Beirut seems to have a more triangular form than other versions of the '*Rollockenfrisur*' type.

In addition to the resemblance in the rendering of the small curved mouth with deep corners, the moustache, the triangular part of the *philtrum*, and the nasolabial furrows, there is also a striking similarity in the modelling of the ears. Both *helix* and *antihelix*, the *concha*, the slightly emphasized *tragus* and *antitragus* and particularly the diagonal groove in the lobes are rendered identically. The grooves in the earlobes are the distinguishing marks of Hadrian's physiognomy, and the grooves are present in most of his portraits (Wegner 1956, 108). A comparison with the portrait in the Museo Nazionale delle Terme (*figs. 27, 28*) yields the same results (as the portrait of Palazzo Braschi). However, compared to the head of the Museo Nazionale delle Terme, our head is carved more carefully and the rendering of the hair and beard more natural.

The absence of drill marks in the design of the hair and of incisions in the pupils of the eyes indicate that most of these portraits had been carved in the early Hadrianic Period. The hair and beard of the Palazzo Braschi head were created with the chisel, and the drill was only used for some of the curls on the forehead and temples. The sculptor of the Beirut head used the drill to engrave the nostrils and the triangular part of the *philtrum*. Extensive damage prevents further interpretation.

SUMMARY

All sculptures discussed in this paper were retrieved from disturbed contexts and/or secondary deposits. Nevertheless, one would like to know more about the religious, representational, decorative or propagandistic function of the statuettes and heads.

Generally the Aphrodite Pontia-Euploia versions functioned in the private contexts of houses and gardens, as well as in the public contexts of sanctuaries, baths, theatres and nymphaea. In Hellenistic and Roman Beirut our Aphrodite may have had a religious and decorative function in the house of a wealthy merchant or in a sanctuary in the monumental building in the zone to the east and west of the crossing between the *cardo maximus* and a *decumanus* (Curvers/Stuart 2002, fig. 5). Lauffray (1944-1945, 22-23) has designated these remains as a temple. Thinking of the polished break of Aphrodite's left ankle, we may assume a location in a sanctuary, where the touch of many hands polished the marble.

Apollo of Beirut was found in Bey 036 not far from the place where Lauffray (1944-1945, 55) discovered a larger-than-life sculpture of Apollo and the architectural remains of a temple or *nymphaeum*. The most likely context of Apollo is a setting related to votive offering.

Both heads of Dionysus were found in a fill of Bey 028 situated to the north of Rue Weygand, the former *decumanus*, where the remains of three Roman baths were uncovered. The life-sized head of Dionysus may have been part of a relief or a statue, in the style of Praxiteles that, like many statues of the type, decorated the interiors of Roman baths. The small head, whether part of a relief, herm or sarcophagus, allows no further discussion of its context.

The heavily damaged head of Hadrian was also discovered in Bey 028, but in the rubble of a wall in a Late Roman street. We may not exclude the possibility that the head belongs to a cuirassed torso (*fig. 32*) found by Lauffray (1944-1945, 76) in the vicinity of the Grand Theatre and the *cardo maximus* south. The torso is on exhibition in the National Museum in Beirut (Inv. F 5124). The curator of the museum allowed me to place the head on the torso for further investigation. To my surprise, the marble head appeared to have the proper colour and structure, as well as the right dimensions. As in the case of the Beirut head and torso, the majority of the Hadrian statues and busts show a ratio of 1:3 of the width of the head at the level of the ears to the width of the shoulders.

In addition to the resemblance in material and size, the iconography of the figures and motives depicted on the cuirass justifies the supposition that the original statue had been created in the period of Emperor Hadrian (Stemmer 1987). An inventory of cuirassed statues and their context shows that statues of Hadrian were erected in a wide variety of locations. Erected in public places, temples, theatres and squares, the cuirassed statues of the emperor had a propagandistic, as well as a religious and decorative function. In centuries following the reign of Emperor Hadrian, the head, separated from the statue and attached to a bust or sockle, may have been re-used in a private context in Beirut.

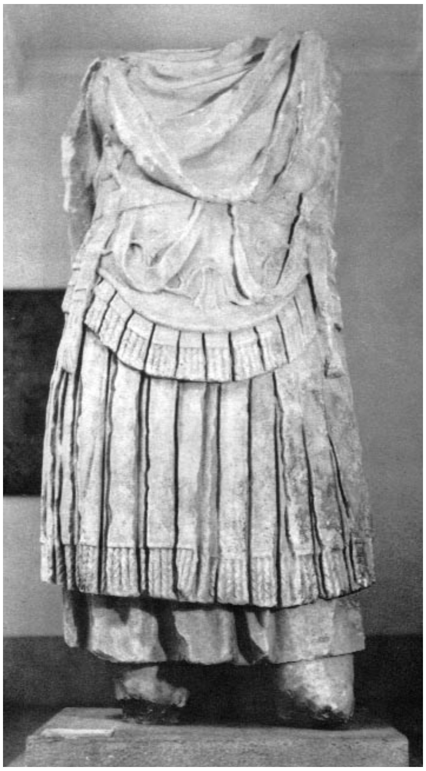


Fig. 32. Cuirassed Torso. Nat. Museum Beirut, inv. 5124. After Jidejean 1993, 114.

NOTES

[1] I am grateful to Dr H.H. Curvers and Barbara Stuart for allowing me to publish articles on the sculptures and to Prof. J.M. Hemelrijk and Prof. E.M. Moormann for their advice. My thanks also to Lisette Kropff for correcting the English text.

[2] Dionysus is also represented with locks of hair on the shoulders, but I know of no representations of the god in this pose - leaning on a support and a hand placed at the back.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arndt, P./W. Amelung 1911, *Antike Skulpturen. Photographische Einzelaufnahmen*, München.
Augé, C./P. Linant de Bellefonds 1986, Dionysos in Peripheria, *LIMC* III, 514-531.
Aurenhammer, M. 1990, *Die Skulpturen von Ephesos. Idealplastik* I, Vienna.
Aurigemma, S. 1950, *Le terme di Diocleziano e il Museo Nazionale Romano*, Roma.
Bieber, M. 1955, *Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York.
Boardman, J. 1992, *Greek Sculpture. The Classical Period*, London.
Boardman, J. 1995, *Greek Sculpture. The Late Classical Period*, London.
Brinkerhoff, D.M. 1970, *A Collection of Sculpture in Classical and Early Christian Antioch*, New York.

Brinkerhoff, D.M. 1978, *Hellenistic Statues of Aphrodite*, New York.

Chehab, M. 1984, Fouilles de Tyr, La Necropole II, *BMusBeyrouth* 34.

Curvers, H.H./B. Stuart, 2002, The BCD Archaeology Project 1996-1999, *BAAL* 3, 13-30.

Delvorrias, A. 1984, Aphrodite, *LIMC* II, 9-51.

Ferrari, U. 1966, *Il commercio dei sarcofagi asiatici*, Roma.

Fittschen, K./P. Zanker, 1985, *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen Kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom* I, Mainz am Rhein.

Gasparri, C. 1986, Dionysos Bacchus, *LIMC* III, 540-566.

Guía Museo del Prado. Escultura Clásica 1999, Madrid.

Jidéjean, N. 1992, *The Story of Libanon*, Beirut.

Jidéjean, N. 1993, *Beyrouth, à travers les âges*, Beirut.

Klein, W. 1921, *Vom antiken Rokoko*, Vienna.

Koch, G. 1993, *Sarkophage der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Darmstadt.

Kunze, Chr. 1998, *Der Farnesische Stier und die Dirke-Gruppe des Apollonios und Tauriskos*, (JdI Erg.H. 30), Berlin.

Lawrence, M. 1951, Additional Asiatic Sarcophagi, *MemAmAc* 20, 133-135.

Lauffray, J. 1944-1945, Forums et Monuments de Béryte, *BMusBeyrouth* 7, 13-80.

Liban l'Autre Rive 1998, *Exposition présentée à l'Institute du Monde Arabe*, Paris.

Linfert, A. 1990, Statue des sogenanntes Narkissos, in H. Beck (ed.), *Polyklet. Der Bildhauer der griechischen Klassik*, Frankfurt am Main, 599-600, no. 123.

Linfert, A. 1997, Kopf eines Dionysos mit Efeukranz, in D. Boschung/H. von Hesberg/A. Linfert, *Die antiken Skulpturen in Chatsworth*, Mainz am Rhein, 30, Taf. 22.

Linant de Bellefonds, P. 1985, *Sarcophages attiques de la necropole de Tyr*, Paris.

Maderna-Lauter, C. 1990, Polyklet in Rom, in H. Beck (ed.), *Polyklet. Der Bildhauer der griechischen Klassik*, Frankfurt am Main, 328-393.

Manderscheid, H. 1988, *Die Skulpturenausstattung der kaiserzeitlichen Thermenanlagen*, Berlin.

Marcadé, J. 1969, *Au Musée de Delos*, Paris.

Mitchell Havelock, J.M. 1996, *The Aphrodite of Knidos and her Successors*, Michigan.

Paribeni, E. 1959, *Catalogo delle sculture di Cirene*, Roma.

Pochmarski, E. 1974, *Das Bild von Dionysos in der Rundplastik der Klassischen Zeit Griechenlands*, Vienna.

Pochmarski, E. 1990, *Dionysische Gruppen: eine typologische Untersuchung zur Geschichte des Stützmotivs*, Vienna.

Prittwitz und Gaffron, H-H. 1988, *Der Wandel der Aphrodite*, Bonn.

Richter, G.M.A. 1954, *Catalogue of Greek Sculptures. The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York*, Oxford.

Ridgway, B.S. 1984, *Roman Copies of Greek Sculpture: The problem of the originals*, New York.

Schröder, S.F. 1989, *Römische Bacchusbilder in der Tradition des Apollo Lykeios*, Rome.

Simon, E. 1984, Apollo in Rom, *LIMC* II, 363-446.

Smith, R.R.R. 1991, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, London.

Stemmer, K. 1987, *Untersuchungen zur Typologie, Chronologie und Ikonographie der Panzerstatuen*, Berlin.

Vermeule, C.C. 1976, *Sculpture in Stone*, Boston.

Vermeule, C.C. 1981, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in America*, Los Angeles.

Vorster, Chr. 1993, *Katalog der Skulpturen. Vatikanische Museen, Museo Gregoriano profano ex Lateranense* II. *Römische Skulpturen* I, Mainz am Rhein.

Wegner, M. 1956, *Das römische Herschersbild* II 3. *Hadrian*, Berlin.

VELDWEG 2
NL-8051 NR HATTEM
d.braakenburg@planet.nl

BABesch 79 (2004)

Private Roman Female Portraits: Reworked or Pieced?

Mark Hirst & Gina Salapata

Abstract

In this article we re-examine in detail a group of private Roman female portraits often considered to have been reworked through the chiselling away of all or part of the coiffure, followed by the addition of new updated portions. Our aim is to expand on Elizabeth Bartman's criticism of the modern theory that Roman women followed fashions in hair so closely that they frequently commissioned the updating of the coiffures on their marble images. We argue instead that the appearance of these supposedly reworked images can better be explained in technical terms, as a result of initial piecing or later repair.

Sculpted Roman portraits depicting imperial and private subjects could be reworked in antiquity for a variety of reasons.[1] The reworking of a preexisting portrait was obviously a practical and much quicker alternative to the carving of a head *ex novo*. However, the central motivation behind the transformation of private images was different from that of imperial portraits. The reworking of the marble images of imperial personages was mainly a result of political causes. Official or *de facto* cases of *damnatio memoriae* in the wake of the fall from grace of a member of the ruling family often resulted in the recarving of that person's images to depict a successor or revered predecessor.[2] Conversely, while a number of images of private Roman citizens were also recut to depict new identities, these portraits were mainly reworked as a result of a lack of money and materials.

Some modern scholars have suggested that reworking also allowed private Roman women to keep their marble portraits up-to-date, a practice driven by imperial fashions.[3] According to this theory, women followed changes in hair fashions so closely, that they often insisted upon the updating of the coiffures on their marble portraits in response to these changing styles. Admittedly, there is some evidence suggesting that the coiffures on the sculpted portraits of private Roman women could occasionally be updated through reworking as fashions changed during their lifetimes. A portrait in Boston, for example, appears to have been originally carved in the late Flavian period with drilled pincurls over the forehead ('beehive' coiffure) and subsequently had the coiffure reworked in the Trajanic era to a triple-tiered, banded crest (*figs. 1-2*).[4] Together with the absence of reworking on the face, the short time lag suggests that the image may indeed have been modified to update the hairstyle of the subject. Still, Elizabeth Bartman has recently suggested another possibility for the traces of the earlier hairstyle: the face had originally remained unfinished with the portrait being a stock workshop piece; it was finished when eventually sold during the Trajanic period, at which stage an updating of the hairstyle would also have been necessary.[5]

A similar explanation could be applied to the portrait of a woman from the mid 3rd c. AD in Rome (*figs. 3-4*).[6] Her hair is parted in the centre and brushed in waves behind the ears. At the neck, it is drawn up into a braided skull plait with rhombic patterning. Underneath the first plait, a second one is clearly visible, reaching towards the front of the head. Because there are no parallels for this unusual doubling of skull plaits, the portrait was almost certainly reworked.[7] Having been originally provided with a short skull plait in the style worn during the post-Severan period by Otacilia Severa, wife of the emperor Philip the Arab, the portrait was then modified through the carving of a second, larger plait of hair, which emerged in the Gallienic period.[8] The apparent short period of time between the original carving of the portrait and its reworking, and the absence of reworking of the face to depict a new subject could speak for another case of an unsold workshop piece rather than imply that the subject remained the same in both phases with the hairstyle updated in response to changing hair fashions. Even if these images did have their coiffures updated as a result of changing fashions, it could be argued that they may have represented another individual in the second phase, for example, a daughter or another female family member. Family

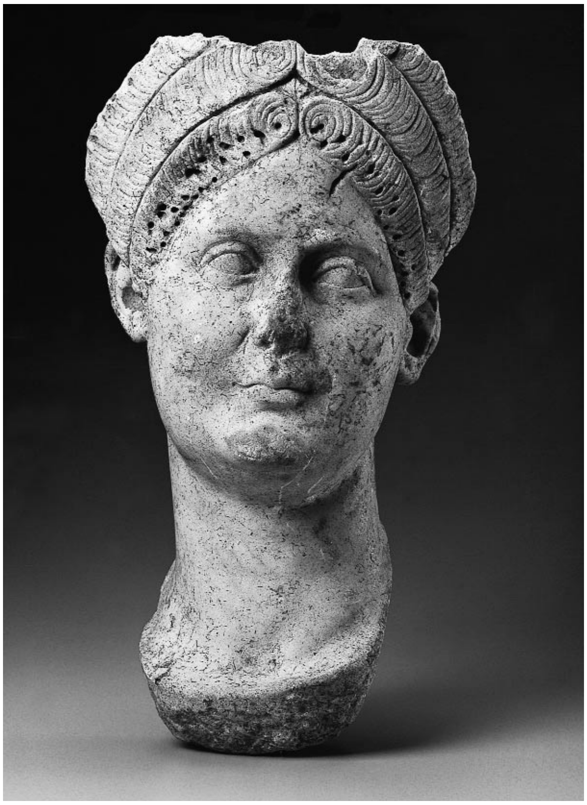


Fig. 1. Reworked head of a woman, front. Originally carved c. AD 96-117; hair reworked c. AD 98-125. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mary S. and Edward J. Holmes Fund (inv. no. 1988.327).

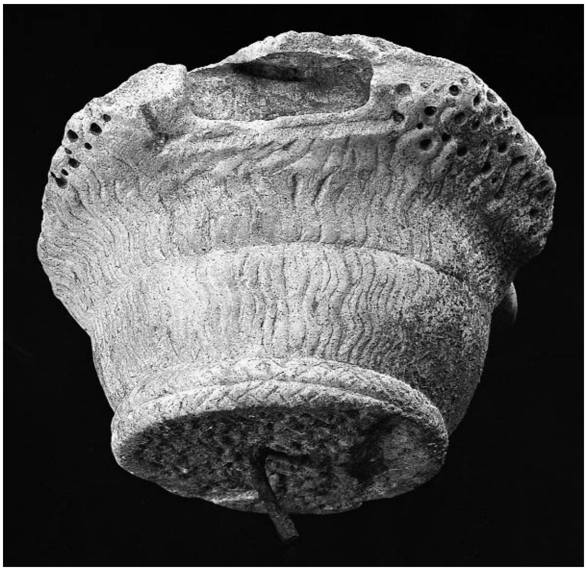


Fig. 2. Top view of head on fig. 1.
Photos © 2003 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

resemblance and greater idealisation of female versus male portraits would have restricted reworking only to the coiffure.[9]

In the case of many other supposedly reworked female portraits, different explanations can be put forward to turn them, at the very least, into doubtful cases of images reworked for the sake of fashion. Bartman has recently sought to discredit the theory that private Roman women followed fashions in hair so closely that they frequently commissioned the updating of the coiffures on their marble images.[10] In her study, which concentrated on a group of private female portraits, predominately Severan in date, with heads that were prepared to receive separately worked, detachable coiffures, she convincingly demonstrated the improbability of the theory that such hairpieces were made separately so that they could be easily removed and replaced when the sitter wanted to update her coiffure in response to changing fashions. In particular, she noted that the exchange of one hairpiece for another would have been hampered by the considerable difference in hair length, relationship of hair to ears, and shape and size of the bun from one hairstyle to the next.[11] An alternative explanation could be that the sculptor, striving for realism, acknowledged the wearing of a wig by his sitter by carving it separately.[12] Perhaps, as Eve D'Ambra has argued, the wig was a status symbol, whereby the honest treatment of the wig as a wig, with the natural hairline showing, expressed the refinement and status of the sitter.[13] In the case of the many bewigged portraits consisting of heads executed in white marble and separately carved coiffures in coloured marble, the sculptor may simply have attempted a flamboyant, striking contrast in colour between hair and face.[14]

In this article we re-examine in detail a group of female images often considered to have been reworked through the chiselling away of all or part of the coiffure and the addition of new updated portions. Our aim is to expand on Bartman's criticism of the modern idea, loaded with biased assumptions about female behaviour, that Roman women frequently commissioned the updating of the coiffures on their marble images. We argue instead that the appearance of these supposedly reworked images can better be explained in technical terms, as a result of initial piecing or later repair. The examination of such portraits is not exhaustive but applies to a representative number of them.[15]

A good example of a doubtful case of a reworked portrait is that of Julia Procula in Ostia

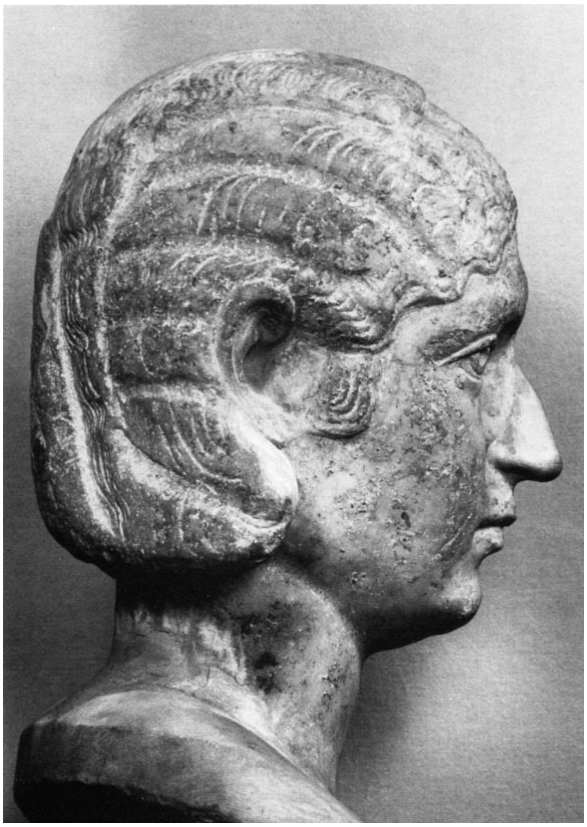


Fig. 3. Reworked head of a woman, right. Originally carved AD 244-249; hair reworked c. AD 253. Museo Capitolino, Rome (inv. no. 339).

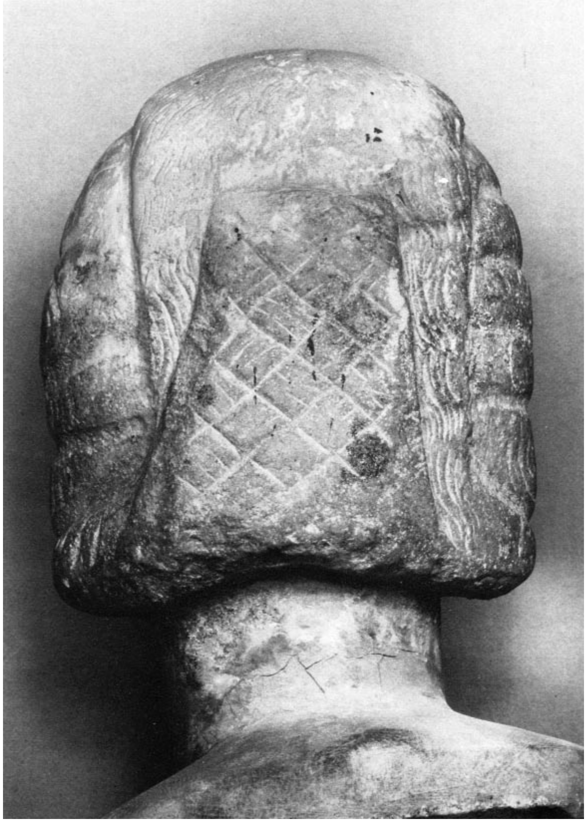


Fig. 4. Back view of head on fig. 3.

(*fig. 5*).[16] The statue, which can be dated to the Trajanic period, was found in an ornate and large tomb in the Isola Sacra, which belonged to three related families.[17] The woman's hair is wrapped in a headscarf (*kekryphalos*) in the Greek fashion. Although it is widely accepted that the first winding was later roughened to receive an attachment,[18] only two scholars have commented on what kind of attachment this might have been: Raissa Calza thought that the roughening of the surface was carried out for the application of an attachment in metal or stucco;[19] and John Herrmann suggested that the head might have been updated with the addition of a fashionable crest of hair.[20] Neither scholar, however, discussed what this addition might have looked like.

Although the addition of a later attachment is clear, it is unlikely that this was done for the purpose of updating the hairstyle. The nature of the statue, a funerary dedication, would have precluded the necessity of modernising the coiffure in response to changing fashions: the subject was

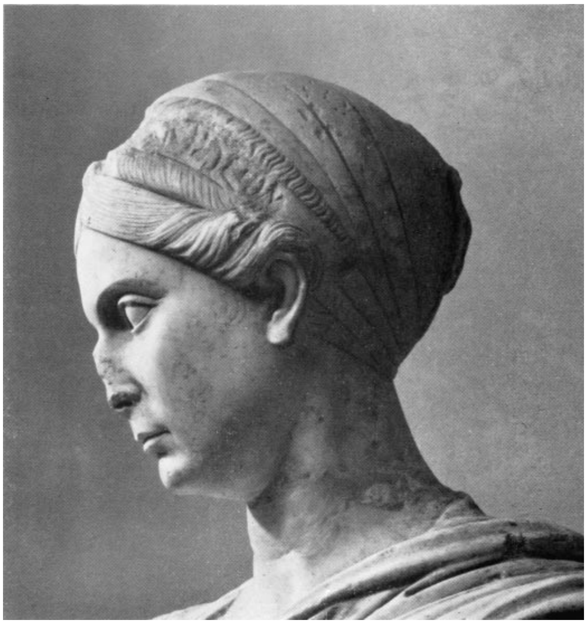


Fig. 5. Statue of Julia Procula, left. Trajanic. Museo Ostiense, Ostia (inv. no. 61, Sala VIII 14).

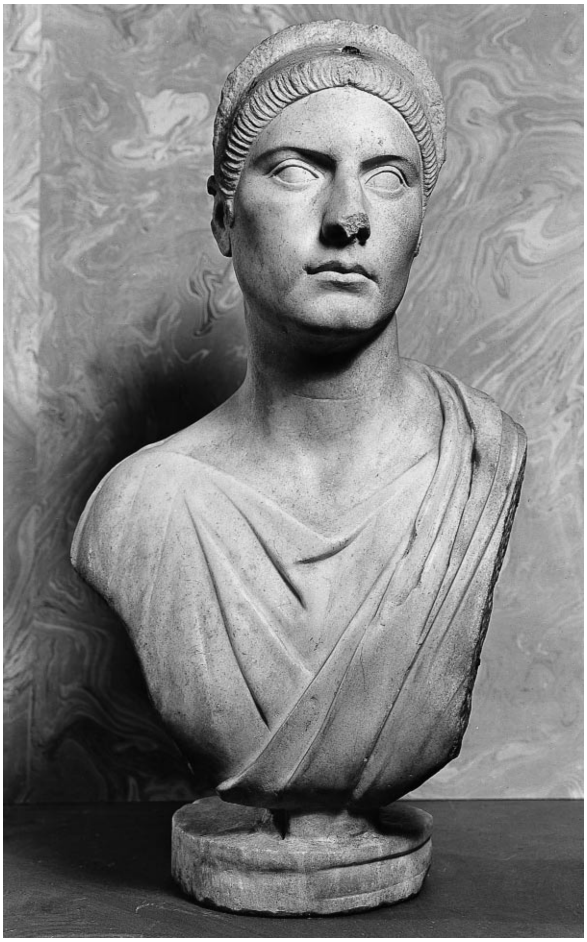


Fig. 6. Bust of a woman, front. Trajanic. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (inv. no. 14.130.7). Photo courtesy of the museum.

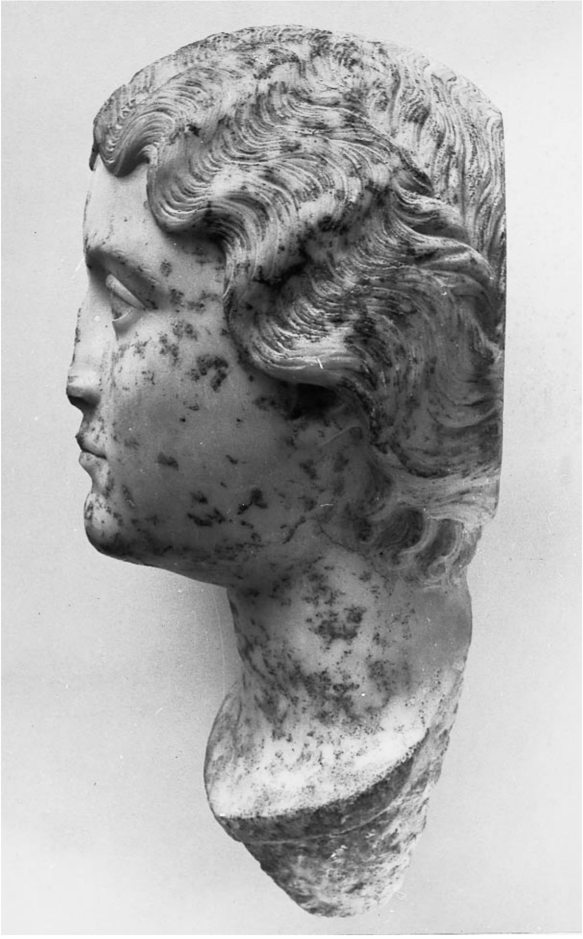


Fig. 7. Head of a woman, left, c. AD 159. Archaeological Museum, Thessaloniki (inv. no. 1054). Photo courtesy of the museum.

dead, and the hairstyle would have been up-to-date at the time of her death. Therefore, there would have been no real sense in changing it later.[21] More importantly, because the hair is wrapped with a cloth, the later addition of a crest of hair would have created an unnatural effect on the image. It seems more probable, therefore, that a crown or diadem was added to the portrait. The combination of a *kekryphalos* and a crown seems indeed to have been a Greek fashion, as shown on South Italian vase paintings from the second half of the 4th c. BC.[22] It is possible that the family wanted something more elaborate for their deceased relative, whereby a crowning metal or stucco attachment was added to achieve this.

Another example of a supposedly reworked image from the Trajanic period is a bust of a woman in New York (*fig. 6*).[23] A now-missing crest of hair was apparently fitted into the deep socket preserved over the forehead and attached by two iron pins. Other areas of the portrait, the left ear and the back and left sides of the bust, were also pieced.[24] The separate attachment of the hair at the front has led to the claim that this section of the hair was a later addition, which updated the hairstyle in response to changing fashions.[25] However, the reworking of the portrait for this purpose seems far from certain. There may have been a technical explanation for the hair attachment, such as the discovery of a flaw in the marble, which would have necessitated the carving of a new piece.[26] Another possibility is that the sculptor may have considered the separate carving and attachment of the projecting hairpiece and ear more convenient than the carving of the image in one piece. This is suggested by several portraits that had the ears carved separately and attached to the head.[27] Since, however, only the left ear was carved separately, and the left side of the bust was clearly pieced, the most likely explanation is that the portrait was repaired in antiquity following damage, a practice frequently attested in both Greek and Roman times.[28]

Additional portraits from the 2nd c. AD whose hairstyles were supposedly modernized through recutting come from the time of Faustina the Younger. The portrait of a woman in the Thessaloniki Archaeological Museum,[29] for example, supposedly had the bun and a small part of the hair cut away to accommodate a replacement (*fig. 7*).[30] At the back of the head is an undowelled plane butting at an almost vertical angle. The joining surface is sharply keyed in the centre for the application of adhesive cement. Rather than having been reworked, it seems likely that the back of the portrait was carved separately from the beginning and attached to the head with glue. Several examples of portraits with no evidence of reworking provide instructive comparisons for this technique. The portrait of a woman from the early Augustan period had the back part of the head, which is covered by a veil, worked separately and attached to the main part of the portrait.[31] Two other heads, of Claudius[32] and a Hadrianic woman,[33] had both the back and top parts carved separately and attached. Finally, the portrait of an Antonine man in Princeton[34] had a section of the crown added to the head as a separate piece, in a very similar technique to the missing section on the back of the head in Thessaloniki. In each case, the sculptor may have carved the image from several pieces of marble because of the lack of an adequately sized block of marble, as a matter of convenience, or even for economy.

Another dubious case of a coiffure having later been reworked is offered by the mid-2nd c. AD portrait of a woman in Aquileia (*figs. 8-10*).[35] The image has a flattened area at the back of the head, where the bun of hair originally was. According to Susan Matheson, the bun and a small part of the back of the head were cut away to accomodate a replacement; the round hole in the centre of this area would have been carved to hold the tenon of the new piece.[36] Three arguments can be brought against this explanation. Firstly, as discussed in the case of the Thessaloniki image, the separate working of the back of a portrait does not necessarily mean that this part of the head was reworked. Secondly, as in the case of the New York image, another area of the Aquileia portrait was separately worked, a fact not commented upon by Matheson. On the top, right side of the image there is a flat, angled surface with a round hole carved in the centre. The hole is surrounded by a number of smaller round key marks, probably to give the attachment of hair a better grip on the marble surface. This technique is identical to that used on the back surface of the portrait. Because of its location and relatively small size, the flat area on the top of the head appears to have been a result of repair or restoration, or, alternatively, could have been carved to accommodate a piece fashioned separately from the beginning. Furthermore, the similar technique used on the two added parts of the Aquileia head implies that both areas were probably worked on at the same time. A third objection to the updating explanation is offered by the similarity in technique of the back of the head in Aquileia to the back of a portrait of Lucilla in the Conservatori Museum in Rome[37] from approximately the same period, which has been recognised as having clearly been pieced. The image of Lucilla has a roughened, flat surface at the back of the head for the attachment of a separately worked bun of hair.[38] Another portrait of Lucilla in Ostia also had the bun of hair worked separately and attached.[39] The bun on this head is preserved, showing what the now missing bun on the image of Lucilla in the Conservatori Museum probably looked like. The similarity in technique of the backs of the head in Aquileia and the two portraits of Lucilla, therefore, casts doubt on the claim that the coiffure on the Aquileia image was updated through reworking, and suggests instead that the head was pieced from the beginning.

A similar case of original piecing can be made for the image of a woman in Istanbul, dated to the mid 2nd c. AD (*figs. 11-14*).[40] In the opinion of those who see it as a reworked image, the bun at the back would have been removed, leaving a rectangular tenon to anchor a new one; and the tops of the ears would have been altered by the addition of marble patches to change the appearance of the subject, in conformity with female images from the late 2nd c. AD. In view, however, of the cases discussed above, the replacement of the bun of hair at the back of the portrait with a newer one seems less likely than the possibility that this part of the hair was carved separately. The tenon and socket technique for the attachment of a bun can be compared to that used on a portrait of the empress Crispina in the University of Missouri in Columbia.[41] This technique could also be used in male portraits. For example, the top part of a head belonging to a portrait of Antinous in Rome[42] was

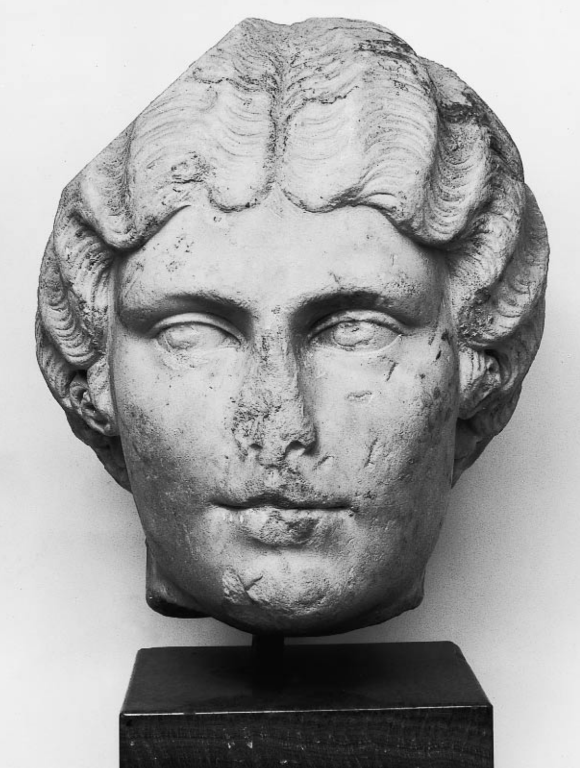


Fig. 8. Head of a woman, front, c. AD 160. Museo Archeologico, Aquileia (inv. no. 401).

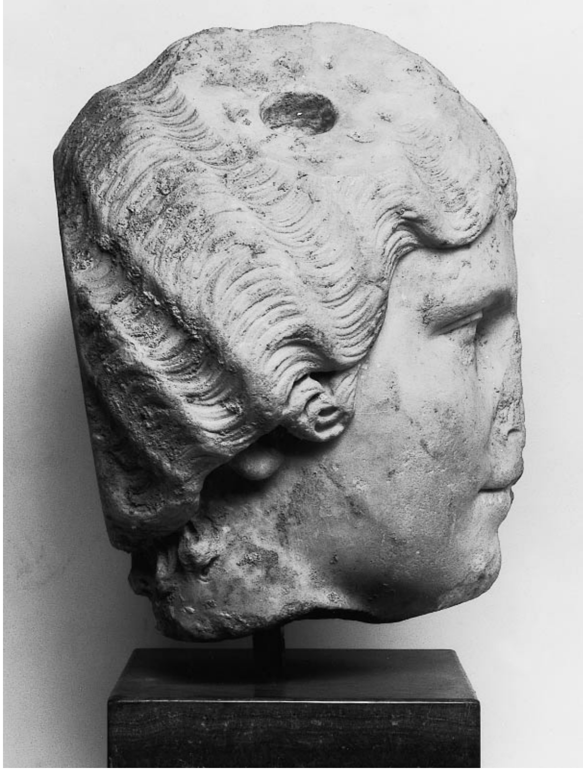


Fig. 10. Right view of head on fig. 8.

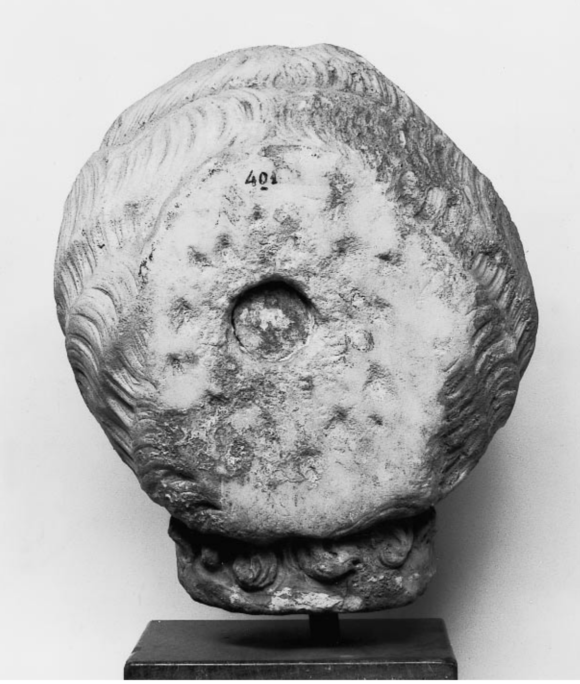


Fig. 9. Back view of head on fig. 8.

Figs. 8-10 photos courtesy of DAI Rom (Schwanke).

On the opposite page:

Fig. 11. Head of a woman, front, mid 150s or early 160s AD. Formerly part of the Bertelé Collection in Rome; now in the Lewis Dubroff Collection in New York (on loan, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York inv. L1994.87).

Fig. 12. Back view of head on fig. 11.

Fig. 13. Left view of head on fig. 11.

Fig. 14. Right view of head on fig. 11.

Figs. 11-14 photos courtesy of DAI Rom (Felbermeyer).

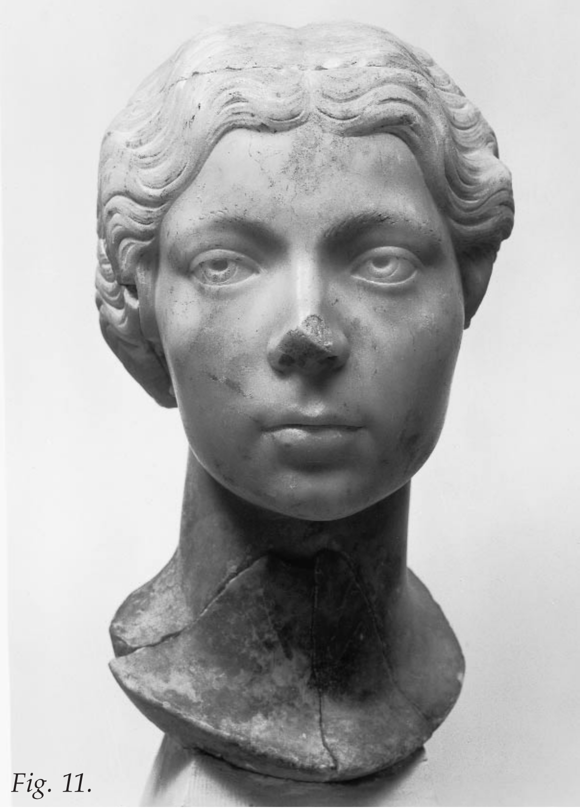


Fig. 11.

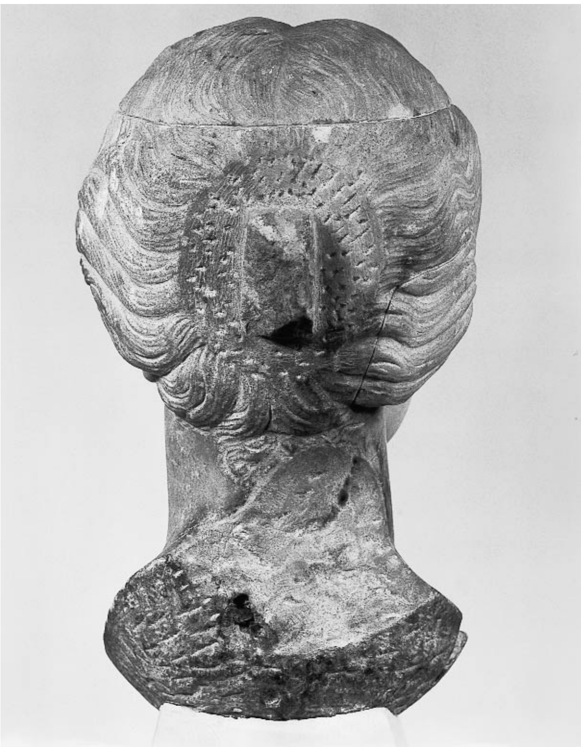


Fig. 12.

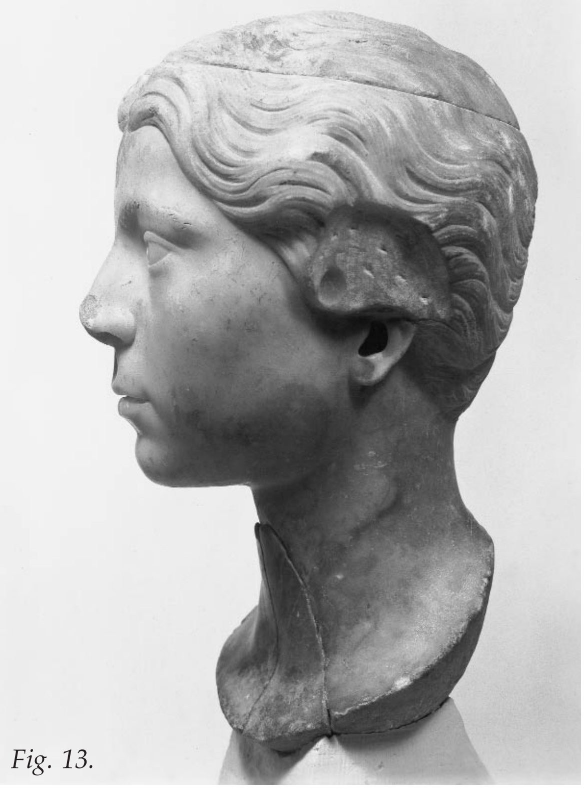


Fig. 13.

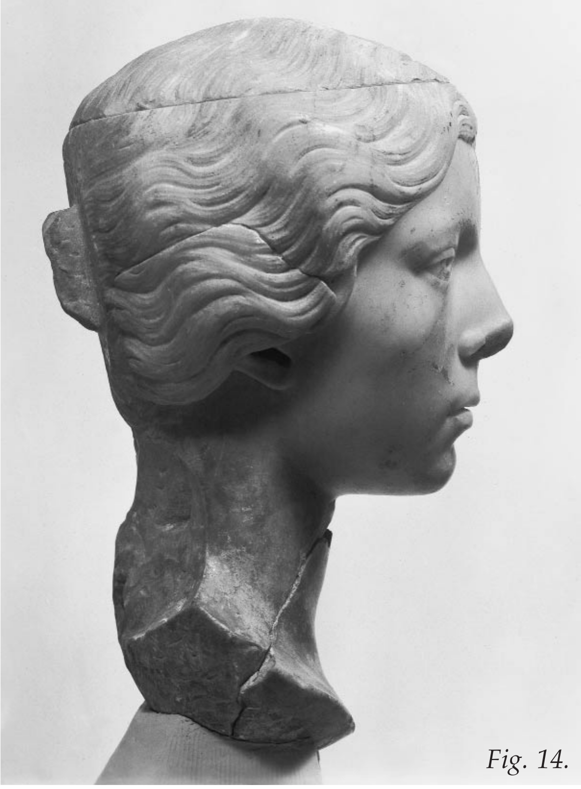


Fig. 14.

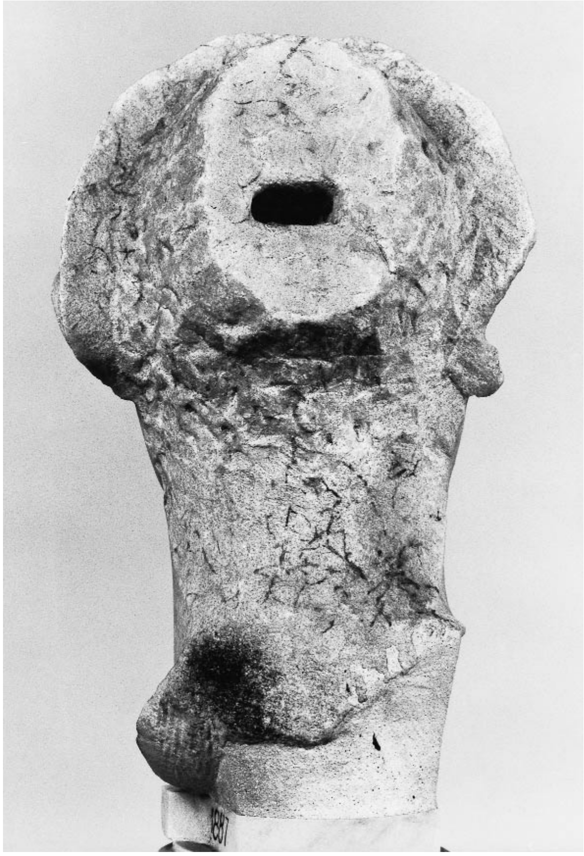


Fig. 15. Head of a woman, back. Early Severan. Museo Chiaramonti, Rome (inv. no. 1887).

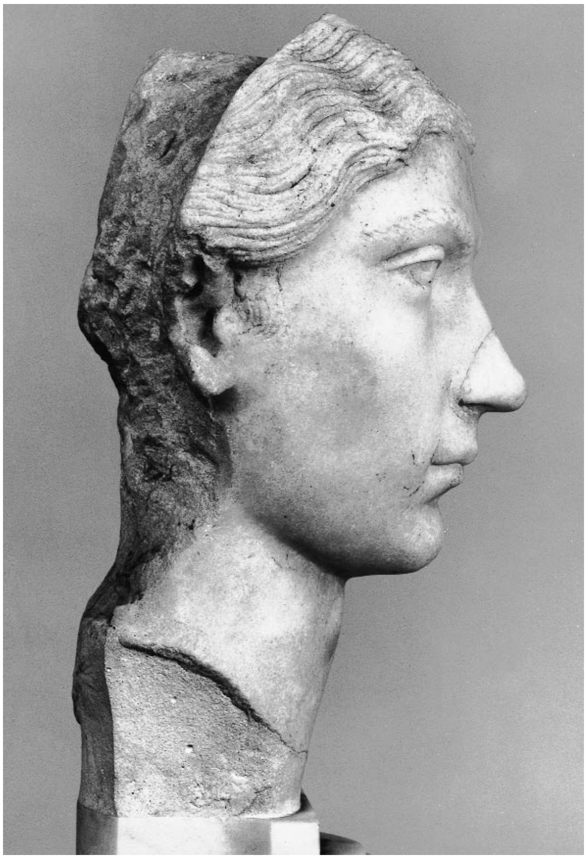


Fig. 16. Right view of head on fig. 15. Photos courtesy of DAI Rom (Anger).

worked separately and attached to the head, as shown by the square hole on the underside made to accommodate a square tenon on the head itself. A portrait of a priest from Aphrodisias[43] exhibits the same technique but in reverse, with the socket on the head and the tenon on the piece. The similarity in technique of these heads and the Istanbul portrait implies that piecing is a much more likely explanation for the appearance of the latter image.

A second point supporting a case of piecing for the Istanbul head is the relatively small adhesion surface of the knot and the short tenon, indicating that the portrait cannot have secondarily acquired a large bun of hair like that worn by the empress Crispina and other women from the late 2nd c. AD, as has been claimed.[44] Rather, it is more likely that the portrait had a middle-sized knot similar to that worn by Faustina the Younger in the 150s and 160s AD.[45] The similarities of the Istanbul head to images of Faustina the Younger extend to the rendering of the eyebrows as long, flatly arched crests with the hairs indicated by short incisions, as seen in a portrait of the empress that has been dated c. AD 162.[46]

Thirdly, the separate carving and attachment of the crown, typical of several Roman portraits,[47] speak for the likelihood that the entire head in Istanbul was pieced from the beginning. Finally, the marble patches over the ears, which are supposedly later additions and made the hair descend lower over the ears, do not really make a considerable difference to the appearance of the portrait, as has been claimed.[48] The manner in which the surviving patch on the right side of the head covers the ear, leaving only a small piece of the lower part exposed, can also be seen on numerous portraits of Faustina the Younger from the 150s.[49] It seems more likely, therefore, that the patches were simply worked separately when the portrait was originally carved, because of the delicate process of carving around this area of the head.[50] On the basis of its similarity to Faustina's portraits, the piecing of the crown, the relatively small size and the technique of attachment of the hair bun, it can be concluded that the Istanbul head was most likely not reworked, but pieced during the time of Faustina the Younger in the mid 150s or early 160s AD.

The technical peculiarities of an early Severan portrait in the Chiaramonti Museum in Rome (*figs. 15-16*), again supposedly modernized, can be explained differently.[51] Matheson has recently argued that the original hair of the portrait, except for the band of waves across the front of the head, was carved away to receive a new coiffure that was attached through the large rectangular hole at the back of the head.[52] A more likely explanation, however, is that the woman wore a (now lost) separately carved mantle which was drawn over the back of the head like a veil. Certainly, the angle of the hair over the middle of the forehead, and especially the rough treatment of the neck very low down, are very similar to veiled portraits of both male and female subjects.[53] Indeed, the veil or mantle covering the back of the head of Roman portraits was sometimes carved separately from the head, as shown, for example, by a portrait of a woman from the Antonine period in Athens.[54] The face and the front of the neck, together with what hair appears from beneath the edge of the mantle, were carved in a separate piece and dowelled into the hollow hood of the mantle behind.[55] It is likely then that also in the case of the Chiaramonti portrait the head was carved separately from the beginning and then inserted into a veiled statue. Such a technique could have arisen from the convenience of having the two parts carved by two different people: one sculptor may have specialized in carving the facial features, while another would have carved the veiled bodies. However, this method may also have been related to other workshop procedures, whereby the veiled bodies were prepared in advance, while the faces were carved to order.

Another head from the Severan period, now in Bonn (*figs. 17-20*),[56] not only supposedly had the coiffure modified through reworking, but also modifications made to other parts.[57] According to Hans R. Goette, the coiffure was significantly altered by reducing the volume of hair that originally covered almost entirely the ears and by recarving the now exposed ears. Such a reworking, Goette claimed, explains why the ears do not project from the side of the head.[58] In his reconstruction of the portrait (*fig. 20*), the solid line slightly above the dotted line on the top of the head represents the original hair mass of the portrait; the dotted line shows the present state of the portrait, following the reworking, and also the type of (now missing) bun of hair provided secondarily. It can be objected, however, that the sleek hairstyle of the Bonn portrait, which adheres very closely to the skull and is tightly combed in fine waves to the back of the head, is very similar to that of other portraits,[59] and thus need not imply a loss of volume as a result of a reworking. Furthermore, the barely projecting ears are also found on other portraits, such as a posthumus image of Faustina the Elder[60] and a portrait of a woman from the late Antonine period.[61] Such a feature, therefore, is not evidence in itself that the head was reworked.

The bun of hair at the back of the portrait is missing. Only an oval cavity with a picked surface and a rectangular hole where the bun was originally attached remain. There is a line on the neck below the attachment surface for the bun. Goette saw the picked surface for the attachment of a separately worked hair bun and the line underneath this area as evidence that the bun was changed and that the portrait secondarily acquired a larger bun, similar to that worn by the empress Crispina.[62] There are several weaknesses in this reconstruction. Firstly, Goette did not justify, in any way, his claim that the portrait secondarily acquired a bun of hair in the style of Crispina.[63] In fact, the angle of the head and the relatively small surface for the attachment of the bun of hair preclude a large Crispina-style bun.[64] This can also be seen in Goette's problematic reconstruction drawing. Clearly, the attachment of a large Crispina-style bun would have resulted in an awkward space between the top section of the bun and the occiput. There are further difficulties with Goette's reconstruction drawing, casting doubt on his claim that the portrait was reworked. At the top of the large bun of hair at the back of the head, the dotted line actually goes *above* the solid line, which implies that marble was *added*, not reduced, contrary to Goette's argument. Goette did not address this discrepancy, which highlights the problems with his claim that the portrait secondarily acquired a large Crispina-style bun of hair. Doubts that the Bonn head was reworked can also be raised as a result of the discrepancies between the current state of the head in Goette's reconstruction and what the actual portrait looks like. Goette claimed that the hair was reduced in volume over the forehead. The dotted line over the forehead leads one to believe that the hair is still projecting over this area. However, in a profile view of the actual portrait no such projection can be seen.

The oval surface for the attachment of a now

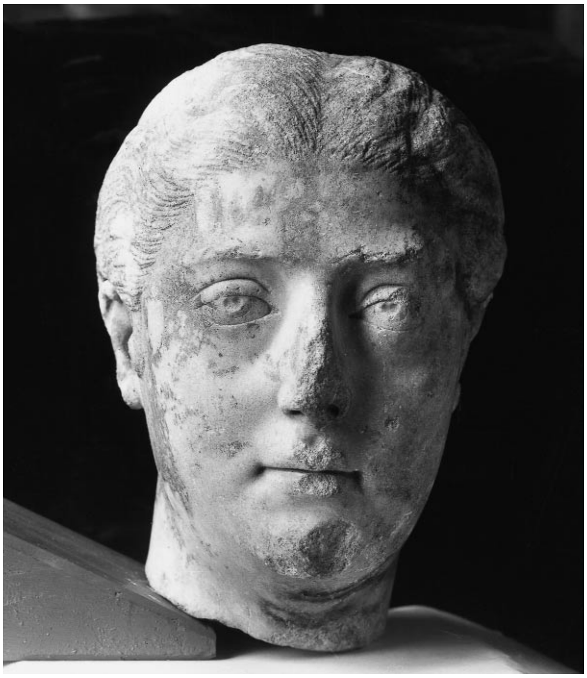


Fig. 17. Head of a woman, front. First quarter of the 3rd century AD. Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn (inv. no. 20335).

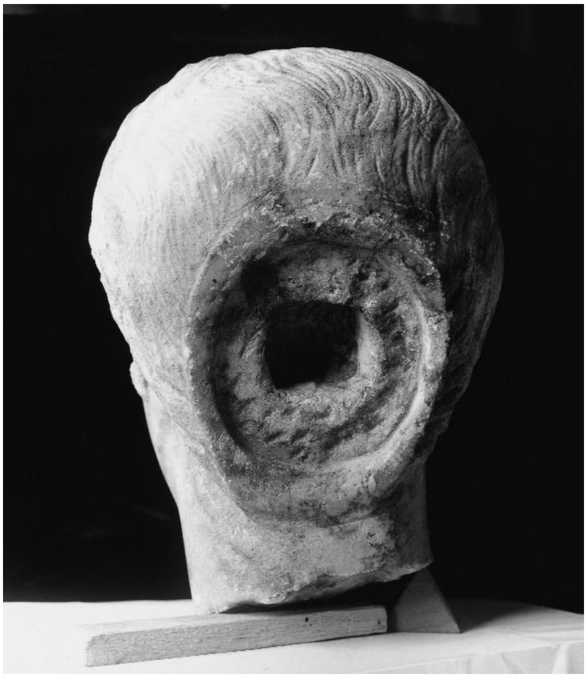


Fig. 18. Back view of head on fig. 17.

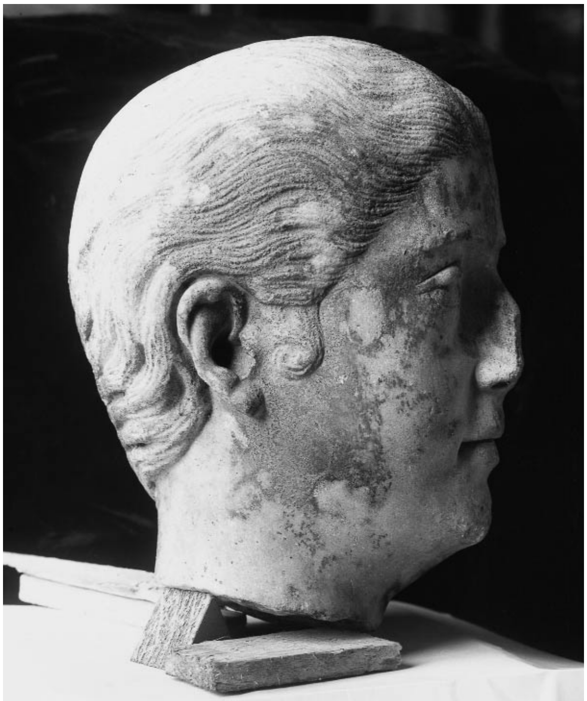


Fig. 19. Right view of head on fig. 17. Photos courtesy of the museum.

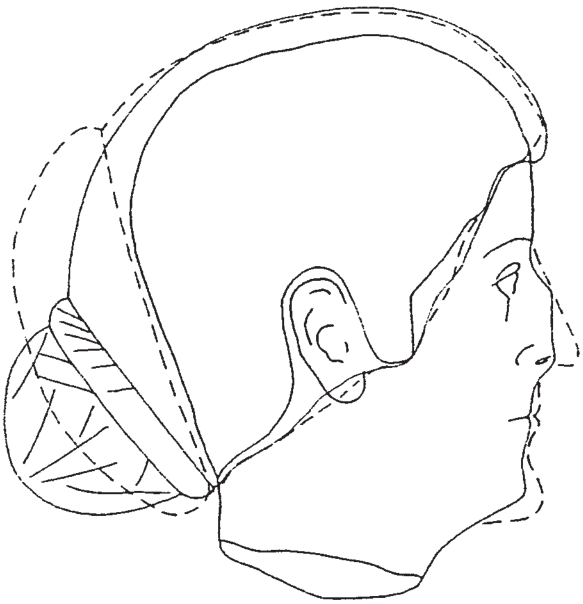


Fig. 20. Reconstruction drawing of head on fig. 17 by Goette. Published by permission of the author.

missing hair bun is not in itself evidence that the portrait was reworked, as Goette claimed. The technique is very similar, for example, to the separately worked and attached crown from a portrait of Antinous, discussed above.[65] One may also compare the Bonn portrait to a head of Athena in the Chiaramonti Museum in Rome,[66] which has a similar picked and roughly circular surface with a hole in the middle for the attachment of a separate piece, in this case a helmet, as can be seen from the remains at the back of the head. The similarity in technique implies that the bun of the Bonn head may also have been carved separately, like other portraits examined above.[67]

Goette also argued that the head in Bonn was reworked because of the form of the relatively bulging eyes, above deep bags. To reduce the volume of the hair, Goette claimed, the sculptor removed marble from the forehead to create a suitable transition to the surface of the face, but left the eyes untouched. This, according to Goette, is why the eyes currently project so far forward.[68] However, projecting eyes and a long lower lid are found also on other portraits that are not reworked,[69] and thus need not imply that these features are the result of a lowering of the plane of the forehead. Goette also argued that the lips on the Bonn portrait were originally much fuller, but that they were made smaller by the reduction of marble in this area; and that marble was removed from the chin to create a smooth transition from the mouth, which caused the jawbone to disappear and the chin to be no longer distinguished from the throat.[70] Once more, there is no reason for either the lips or the chin to have been altered. Goette's reconstruction of the face, with the solid line showing the present appearance of the head, is again inaccurate. From the profile view, one can see that the lips actually have considerable volume, and are comparable in both volume and size to the image of Faustina the Elder in Rome[71] and the portrait of a woman from the tetrarchic period in the Capitoline Museum.[72] It is difficult to imagine that the lips were originally even *fuller* in volume. The small chin, which is barely differentiated from the neck, is also a characteristic of portraits from other periods, such as the above-mentioned image of Faustina the Elder.[73] It seems more likely, then, that the sculptor of the Bonn head was simply trying to capture the plump physiognomy of the sitter.

Through the re-evaluation and reinterpretation of the preceding images, we have sought to reinforce the doubts cast by Bartman on the modern idea of fashionable change, and argue that the appearance of these portraits may be better explained by piecing or other technical reasons besides reworking. By the 2nd c. AD, there was nothing in the area of joining and piecing that was beyond the capabilities of proficient sculptors.[74] Moreover, the production of portraits in the 2nd and early 3rd c. AD was incredibly prolific, with images produced according to different techniques, depending on the availability of marble and the capabilities of individual workshops. Thus, we should expect many explanations for the piecing of marble images. First, this may have been due to technical reasons. Projecting features (such as ears or buns of hair) may have been regarded as easier or more convenient to carve separately before attaching them to the head using dowels or adhesive. Such attachments, especially when restricted to one side, may also have been repairs following a mistake during the carving process or an unexpected discovery of a defect in the marble, or at a later date, following unintentional damage. Piecing may also have been related to economic factors. Shortages in the supply of materials, for example, may have required the practice of making a portrait out of more than one piece of marble, because the sculptor could not have obtained a single block of marble of the right size. It is also possible that sculptors, even during a time of economic well-being and plenty, would simply want to economize on the use of marble: by carving individual parts separately, they could have put to good use scraps of marble left over from larger works or from shapes unsuitable for other purposes. It can be objected, of course, that pieced images would not have been as attractive as portraits that had been carved from one piece of marble. However, it should be kept in mind that imperfections in joins could be covered by paint[75] or masked with plaster.[76]

The Roman technique of making sculpted images out of more than one piece was the continuation of an established tradition. From the Greek Archaic period onwards, sculpture was often pieced together using a variety of glues, adhesives, and dowels.[77] Separately carved hair attachments are found in particular in images of deities.[78] Since these images do not represent real people who may have been concerned with changing hair fashions, it is unlikely that the attachments represent updated coiffures. At the very least, this casts doubt on the claim that the coiffures on most portraits depicting private Roman women with separately carved portions of hair were modernized through reworking. Because of their similarity in technique to the pieced coiffures on sculpted images of deities, these coiffures may also simply represent cases of carving the hair from more than one piece of marble.

It is interesting to note that the total number of female images with so-called reworked coiffures represents only a small fraction of the total number of extant female images. If Roman women were so concerned with keeping up-to-date with changing hair fashions by commissioning the updating of the coiffures on their marble images, one might have expected a much greater number of portraits with some claim to having been reworked in this way.

An impediment to the updating of coiffures on the sculpted portraits of private Roman women would have arisen from the considerable difference in female hairstyles from one period of the empire to the next.[79] In many cases, this would have rendered impractical the updating through reworking of a given coiffure into that of the next style, because of the significant technical difficulties faced by the sculptor. It would have been a difficult task, for example, to rework a coiffure in the style worn by women from the time of Caligula and Claudius into the following style worn by Flavian women.[80] The reworking of a coiffure similar to that worn by Lucilla into the later style worn by Crispina would also have been impractical.[81] Similar difficulties would have been encountered in updating a coiffure worn by women during the mid-3rd c. AD, into a style with a much larger skull-braid that became popular in the late 3rd and into the 4th c. AD.[82]

The commissioning of most portraits for a very specific context and purpose would have, in most cases, precluded any reason for the updating of the marble coiffures belonging to the images of private Roman women. Many private Roman portraits come from a private context, chiefly residences and tombs.[83] Images in funerary contexts were set up in honour of the deceased by the family or members of the household, and served to remind viewers of the appearance and deeds of the deceased.[84] As we have already seen in the case of the statue of Julia Procula in Ostia,[85] there would have been little reason in such a context to rework the hairstyle of the portrait, because the person was dead and the coiffure would have been up-to-date at the time of the subject's death. Private Roman portraits also served a votive function, in temples and sanctuaries, set up by permission of the local religious council.[86] In this context, too, the sanctity of these images and their primary function as votives to the gods would have made the reworking of their coiffures unlikely. Private portraits could also assume an honourary function. Honourary statues of private individuals could be set up in prominent places in the city, such as fora and basilicas, after the approval of the senate or the local city council.[87] The reworking of the coiffures belonging to female images that were displayed in such a public context would also have been unlikely, because problems would have arisen regarding the actual carrying out of the reworking, since the honourific statue was not a private commission.

Several conclusions may be made in the light of this discussion. Persuasive evidence for the reworking of the marble coiffures on sculpted images of private Roman women is very limited. It is doubtful, at the very least, that the images examined here were reworked to bring their coiffures up-to-date. Many other portraits that supposedly received similar alterations to the hair are doubtful cases, because several of the additions, such as hair buns that were allegedly made to update the coiffures, are not preserved. Rather than having been reworked, these images were more likely pieced from the beginning, or in some cases repaired at a later time. Consequently, if the reworking of marble coiffures was not so widely practised, Roman women must not have been as concerned with changing fashions in hair as some scholars have assumed. In any case, it would seem more likely that women who wanted to update the coiffures on their marble portraits and who were wealthy enough to commission a portrait in the first place, would have ordered a new image rather than the reworking of an existing one.

APPENDIX

Further cases of private female portraits with coiffures that were supposedly reworked, but which remain doubtful cases, include:

1. *A head formerly belonging to Frank Brown, now in a private collection in New York:*
   Brilliant 1975; Calza 1977, 56-57, no. 71; Goette 1984, 137, n. 45; Goette 1986, 251, n. 27c; Herrmann 1991, 47; Kleiner and Matheson 1996, 174, n. 8 (under no. 130); Raeder 2000, 198, n. 10f, 199; Ziegler 2000, 62, 65, no. 40.
2. *Athens, National Museum, Egyptian Collection of Dimitriou, inv. 58:*
   Rodenwaldt 1928, 211-213, with earlier literature; West 1941, 47; Hausmann 1959, 174; Blanck 1969, 44-45.
3. *Braunschweig, Anton Ulrich-Museum, inv. AS 16:*
   Andreae 1973, 306; Goette 1986, 736-740, no. 14.
4. *Budapest, Szépuvészeti Múzeum, inv. 4134:*
   Trillmich 1976, 31-32, with earlier literature; Kreikenbom 1992, 107-109; Matheson 2000, 72-73.
5. *Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 790:*
   V. Poulsen 1974, 116, no. 109, with earlier literature; Bergmann 1981, 184; Fittschen 1982, 54, n. 34i; Goette 1984, 136, n. 45; Johansen 1995, 260-261, no. 108;

Matheson 2000, 74; Raeder 2000, 198, n. 10d.

6. *Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, inv. 8120:*
   Rilliet-Maillard 1978, 74-76, no. 24, with earlier literature; Frel, Chamay, and Maier 1982, 288-291; Goette 1984, 138.
7. *Köln-Weiden, Grabkammer:*
   Noelke 1982, 249-250; Goette 1984, 129, n. 30, no. 4, 135-137; Salzmann 1990, 141; Raeder 2000, 199; Ziegler 2000, 62, 65, no. 41.
8. *Munich, Glyptothek, inv. 342:*
   Ohly 1974, 80; Matheson 2000, 73.
9. *Neuchâtel, Musée Cantonal d'Archéologie:*
   Jucker and Willers 1982, 188-189, no. 79, with earlier literature; Meischner 1984, 328; Matheson 2000, 75; Raeder 2000, 198, n. 10e, 202, n. 14b.
10. *New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 13.229.3:*
    Herrmann 1991, 47, with earlier literature.
11. *Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. MA 1195:*
    Herrmann 1991, 46; Kersauson 1996, 112, no. 45, with earlier literature.
12. *Rome, Museo Capitolino, inv. 2709:*
    Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 111, no. 166.
13. *Rome, Museo Nazionale delle Terme, inv. 332:*
    Giuliano 1988, 364-365, no. R275, with earlier literature; Matheson 2000, 75.
14. *Rome, Museo Nazionale delle Terme, inv. 128035:*
    Matheson 2000, 74.
15. *Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, inv. 2689:*
    Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 116, no. 175, with earlier literature; Matheson 2000, 75-76.

NOTES

Elizabeth Bartman, Amanda Claridge, and Eric Varner offered very helpful advice at an earlier stage of this article. An earlier version was presented at the Triennial Conference of the New Zealand Universities Classics Departments held at Victoria University, Wellington (June 2002).

[1] See Born/Stemmer 1996, 101-118; Giuliano 1997; Kinney 1997, 118-119, 134-135, 144; Schäfer 1999; Strocka 2000, 44-63, 104-119, 152-165, 196-214, nos. 4-5, 10, 14, 17-18; Varner 2000; Dahmen 2001, 51-53, 90-91.

[2] See recently, Varner 2000.

[3] E.g., Amelung 1903, 744; F. Poulsen 1916, 47-48; Crawford 1917, 116; Rodenwaldt 1928, 211-213; Rathbone 1938, 69; Blanck 1969, 44-45; Helbig 1963-1972 I, 41, 241, nos. 50, 310; Brilliant 1975; Gazda 1977, 26; Rilliet-Maillard 1978, 74-76, no. 24; Frel 1981, 92, no. 75; Fittschen/Zanker 1983, 111, no. 166; Goette 1984, 128-140; Goette 1986, 736-740, no. 14; Herrmann 1991; Burns 1993; Kleiner/Matheson 1996, 164; Matheson 2000.

[4] Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 1988.327: Liverani 1990-1991, 167, n. 15; Herrmann 1991; Vermeule 1991; Varner 2000, 73, 216-219, no. 57; Bartman 2001, 19-20.

[5] Bartman 2001, 20.

[6] Museo Capitolino, inv. 339: Bergmann 1977, 96, n. 402; Fittschen/Zanker 1983, 113, no. 170; Goette 1986, 738, n. 70; Ziegler 2000, 106-108, no. 103.

[7] Fittschen/Zanker 1983, 113.

[8] Cf., for instance, the head of a woman from the early Gallienic period in the Antalya Museum (no inventory number): Inan/Rosenbaum 1966, 194-196, no. 268a, pl. CXLVII.

[9] We thank Marina Prusac for this suggestion.

[10] Bartman 2001.

[11] Bartman 2001, 19. Schlüter 1971, 46, 48, raised two further objections: firstly, that, if such images were made for the purpose of rapid change in hairstyle, one might ask why so few extant portraits have removable hairpieces and why the confinement of the practice is almost exclusively to the Severan period; and secondly, that for every portrait with a removable wig one would expect to find at least one other wig, which is not the case among extant images.

[12] Strocka 1967, 119, n. 16; Claridge 1988, 152, n. 47; Sande 1991, 81; Baharal 1992, 114; Bartman 2001, 18.

[13] D'Ambra 2000, 103, 110.

[14] Ziegler 2000, 168; Bartman 2001, 19. Bartman notes that such a technique in images with wigs is very similar to that employed in acrolithic statues, where the sculptor's intent was to suggest the sitter's own hair.

[15] For a list of other dubious images in need of a fresh, more critical reinterpretation, see Appendix.

[16] Inv. 61: Calza 1964, 65-66, no. 100; Kruse 1975, 339-340, no. D28, with earlier literature; Wrede 1981, 255, no. 162; Fittschen/Zanker 1983, 56, n. 7 (under no. 74); Pfanner 1989, 246; Herrmann 1991, 46; Lenaghan 1999, 171-173, 494, no. 221.

[17] On the find-spot of the statue, see Lenaghan 1999, 172-173.

[18] For example, Calza 1964, 65; Kruse 1975, 339; Pfanner 1989, 246; Herrmann 1991, 46; Lenaghan 1999, 171-173, 494.

[19] Calza 1964, 65.

[20] Herrmann 1991, 46.

[21] Cf. Fittschen/Zanker 1983, 105. Since, however, Roman women could sometimes commission funerary portraits for themselves prior to their own death (see McDonnell 2002), an update of their marble coiffures could have been tempting.

[22] See, for instance, the head of a woman on a bell-krater in a private collection in Naples: Trendall 1989, 162, fig. 290.

[23] Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 14.130.7: Fittschen/Zanker 1983, 56, n.1, with earlier literature (under no. 72); Herrmann 1991, 47; Freyer-Schauenberg 1999, 171, n. 30; Matheson 2000, 73; Raeder 2000, 200, n. 7e; Bartman 2001, 20, n. 106.

[24] Herrmann 1991, 47.

[25] Herrmann 1991, 47; Matheson 2000, 73; Bartman 2001, 20, n. 106 (with reservations). However, none of the scholars discussed what this addition of hair might have looked like.

[26] Bartman 2001, 20, n. 106.

[27] See, for example, a head of Alexander Severus (Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 329: Giuliano 1979, 360-362, no. R273) and another of Gordian III (Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 326: Giuliano 1988, 310-312, no. 186).

[28] For the restoration and repair of sculpture in the Greek period, see, for example, Frel 1982; Harrison 1990. For the Roman period, see Frel 1984; Hannestad 1994; Freyer-Schauenburg 1999.

[29] Inv. 1054: Rüsch 1969, 130, no. P34; Fittschen 1982, 54, n. 34u; Fittschen/Zanker 1983, 81, n. 1f (under no. 109); Claridge 1990, 148, 150; Matheson 2000, 74. The portrait has been dated to around AD 159, based on its similarity to images of Faustina the Younger from this period; Fittschen 1982, 54, n. 34u. For the portraits of Faustina the Younger, see Fittschen 1982, 44-65.

[30] Matheson 2000, 74.

[31] Izmir, Museum, inv. 534: Inan/Rosenbaum 1966, 112, no. 115, pl. 68, 2-3.

[32] Bern, Private Collection (no inventory number): Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 82-83, no. 29, pl. 24, 3-4.

[33] Sinop, Museum, inv. 3.1.75: Inan/Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 147-148, no. 93, pl. 82, 1-3.

[34] University Art Museum, inv. y1989-26: Padgett 2001, 67-70, no. 16.

[35] Museo Archeologico, inv. 401: Fittschen 1982, 80, n. 44 a3; Fittschen/Zanker 1983, 26, with earlier literature (under no. 26); Matheson 2000, 73-74.

[36] Matheson 2000, 74. Matheson did not speculate, however, on the possible appearance of this 'later variant'.

[37] Inv. 2766: Fittschen/Zanker 1983, 24-25, no. 24, with earlier literature.

[38] Fittschen/Zanker 1983, 24.

[39] Inv. 27: Fittschen 1982, 76, with earlier literature.

[40] Formerly part of the Bertelé Collection in Rome; now in the Lewis Dubroff Collection in New York (on loan, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York inv. L1994.87): Curtius 1957; Brilliant 1975, 136-137; Inan/Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 341-343, no. 342; Meischner 1981, 151; Fittschen 1982, 53, n. 32g; Fittschen/Zanker 1983, 81, n. 1b (under no. 109); Goette 1984, 128, n. 26; Claridge 1990, 161, n. 71; Herrmann 1991, 47; Kleiner/Matheson 1996, 174, n. 8 (under no. 130); Matheson 2000, 74; Raeder 2000, 198, n. 10i, 199; Strocka 2000, 127; Bartman 2001, 20-21. Following the first publication of the head (Curtius 1957), it has sometimes been claimed that the image was reworked: Brilliant 1975, 136-37; Herrmann 1991, 47; Kleiner/Matheson 1996, 174, n.8 (under no. 130); Matheson 2000, 74.

[41] Museum of Art and Archaeology, inv. 74.145: Fittschen 1982, 85, with earlier literature.

[42] Auditorium of Maecenas: Meyer 1991, 51.

[43] Geyre, Museum, inv. (of excavation) 71-152 (head only): Inan/Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 223-224, no. 194, pl. 146, 1-4.

[44] See, for example, Brilliant 1975,136-137.

[45] Cf., for example, a head of Faustina the Younger in the Chiaramonti Museum in Rome, inv. 1676: Fittschen 1982, 51, pl. 20, 1-3.

[46] Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 642: Fittschen 1982, 60, pl. 36, 1-4.

[47] See the examples discussed above (p. 147).

[48] For example, by Brilliant 1975, 136-137.

[49] Cf., for example, the head in the Chiaramonti Museum (above n. 45), and a head in the British Museum, inv. 1468: Fittschen 1982, 52, pl. 22, 1-4.

[50] Several other heads also had the ears, or sections of hair near or over the ears, carved separately. See, for example, two portraits of Alexander Severus and Gordian III in Rome (above, n. 27); a portrait of a woman in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (above, p. 146); and a portrait of Julia Mamaea (Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. 3552: Kersauson 1996, 424-425, no. 196). See also Raeder 2000, 198, n. 10, who lists 13 further examples.

[51] Inv. 1887: Wiggers/Wegner 1971, 128, with earlier literature; Liverani 1989, 94, no. 63.5; Andreae 1994, 98; Matheson 2000, 75.

[52] Matheson 2000, 75. Matheson, however, did not discuss what type of hairstyle the portrait might have secondarily acquired. It is unlikely that the head was furnished with a separately worked wig, because no extant private portraits with detachable wigs have a 'partial' wig, as would have been necessary in this image because of the band of waves across the front of the head. In every known case, the wig represents the entire coiffure.

[53] Cf., for example, a head of Augustus in Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 3182 (Boschung 1993, 148, no. 86, pl. 73) and a head of a woman in Selcuk, Museum, inv. 97 (Inan/Rosenbaum 1966, 122-123, no. 139, pl. 81).

[54] Agora Museum, inv. S 336: Harrison 1953, 44-45, no. 33.

[55] Harrison 1953, 44.

[56] Rheinisches Landesmuseum, inv. 20335 (first quarter of the 3rd c. AD): Goette 1984, 128-140, with earlier literature; Fittschen 1991, 308-309; Raeder 2000, 199.

[57] Goette 1984, 128-140.

[58] Goette 1984, 133.

[59] Cf. the hair on the portrait of an early 1st c. AD woman in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen, inv. 741: Johansen 1994, 180-181, no. 78. See also a head in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome, inv. 1149: Stuart Jones 1926, 68, no. 4, pl. 201. A similar 'tight' hairstyle can also be seen on the portrait of a woman in the Galleria degli Uffizi in Florence, inv. 1914.131: Mansuelli 1961, 107, no. 134, fig. 134.

[60] Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, inv. 2413: Fittschen/Zanker 1983, 16-17, no. 15, pl. 19.

[61] Sofia, National Archaeological Museum: Fittschen 1991, 308-309.

[62] Goette 1984, 132-133. For the sculpted portraits of Crispina, see Fittschen 1982, 82-88. Goette did not discuss what type of hairstyle the Bonn head might originally have had.

[63] Goette 1984, 133, simply stated: 'Am Hinterkopf kann tief im Nacken ein kleiner kegelförmiger Knoten gesessen haben. Jedoch scheint mir die Annahme eines großen flachen Knotens, wie ihn die späten Bildnisse der Crispina zeigen, eher wahrscheinlich.'

[64] Compare the case of the portrait from Istanbul (above, pp. 147-151).

[65] See above, pp. 147-150.

[66] Inv. 1598: Helbig 1963-1972 I, 263, no. 345.

[67] Cf. above, pp. 147-151 the images in Thessaloniki, Aquileia, and Istanbul, each of which had the bun of hair carved separately and attached. The likelihood that the bun on the Bonn head was not secondarily altered means that the line on the neck may have been carved when the sculptor was preparing the attachment surface for the bun. There would have been no need to smooth this line because it would have been obscured by the bun, or perhaps because the portrait was displayed against a wall or in a niche.

[68] Goette 1984, 133-134.

[69] Cf., for example, the treatment of the eyes on the head of a woman from the tetrarchic period in the Capitoline Museum in Rome, inv. 1063: Fittschen/Zanker 1983, 117, no. 177, pl. 206.

[70] Goette 1984, 134.

[71] Above, n. 60.

[72] Above, n. 69.

[73] Above, n. 60.

[74] On the development and technique of piecing and joining in antiquity, see Claridge 1988 and 1990.

[75] Inan/Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 341-342.

[76] Kleiner/Matheson 1996, 174.

[77] Adam 1966, 53, 66, 80-81, 99; Salzmann 1990, 166. For the piecing of Greek Archaic and Hellenistic statuary, see Dickins 1912, 37-39; Merker 1973, 8-9; Waywell 1978, 63-65.

[78] See, for example, Boardman 1995, 72, fig. 57; 166, fig. 192.2; Finocchi 1997.

[79] The development of Roman female hairstyles is documented, for example, by Wessel (1946-1947), Furnée

van Zwet (1956), Jedding-Gesterling/Brutscher (1988, 38-45), Mannsperger (1998), Ziegler (2000) and Croom (2002, 98-105).

[80] The hair rendered in corkscrew curls over the forehead and temples on female images from the Claudian period was much less projecting and voluminous than the hair over the forehead and temples on female images from the Flavian period. Thus, the reworking of a coiffure in the former style into a coiffure in the latter style would have been unlikely because of an insufficient amount of marble.

[81] Portraits in the style of Lucilla have a small bun of hair at the back of the head. Clearly, this style could not have easily been reworked into a coiffure similar to that worn by Crispina, whose images have a much larger bun. See the discussion of the portrait in Bonn (above, pp. 151-153) for the problems inherent in replacing a small hair bun with a larger one. Also, because of an inadequate volume of marble, the uncovered ears on a Lucilla-style portrait could not have easily been reworked into ears covered with hair, as seen on the portraits of Crispina.

[82] The mid-3rd c. AD image would not have provided enough marble for the transformation of the coiffure into the larger skull-braid style, which has a much more projecting mass of hair on top of the head and behind each ear.

[83] Fejfer 1999, 140.

[84] Fejfer 1999, 140.

[85] Above, pp. 144-146.

[86] Fejfer 1999, 140.

[87] Fejfer 1999, 142.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adam, S. 1966, *The Technique of Greek Sculpture in the Archaic and Classical Period*, London.

Amelung, W. 1903-1908, *Die Skulpturen des Vaticanischen Museums*, Berlin.

Andreae, B. 1973, *The Art of Rome*, Paris.

Andreae, B. 1994, *Bildkatalog der Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums. Museo Chiaramonti*, Berlin.

Baharal, D. 1992, The Portraits of Julia Domna from the Years 193-211 A.D. and the Dynastic Propaganda of L. Septimius Severus, *Latomus* 51, 110-118.

Bartman, E. 2001, Hair and the Artifice of Roman Female Adornment, *AJA* 105, 1-25.

Bergmann, M. 1977, *Studien zum römischen Porträt des 3. Jahrhunderts n.Chr.*, Bonn.

Bergmann, M. 1981, Review of Poulsen, Les portraits romains II, in *Gnomon* 53, 176-190.

Blanck, H. 1969, *Wiederverwendung alter Statuen als Ehrendenkmäler bei Griechen und Römern*, Rome.

Boardman, J. 1995, *Greek Sculpture: The Late Classical Period, and Sculpture in Colonies and Overseas. A Handbook*, London.

Born, H./K. Stemmer 1996, *Damnatio Memoriae: das Berliner Nero-Porträt*, Mainz.

Boschung, D. 1993, *Die Bildnisse des Augustus*, Berlin.

Brilliant, R. 1975, One Head, Three Problems, *RM* 82, 135-142.

Burns, M. 1994, Roman Marble Coiffures and Imperial Fashion, *AJA* 98, 285.

Calza, R. 1964, *Scavi di Ostia* 5.1: *ritratti greci e romani fino al circa 160 D.C.*, Rome.

Calza, R. 1977, *Scavi di Ostia* 9.2: *ritratti romani dal 160 circa alla metà del III secolo D.C.*, Rome.

Claridge, A. 1988, Roman Statuary and the Supply of Statuary Marble, in J.C. Fant (ed.), *Ancient Marble Quarrying and Trade: Papers from a Colloquium Held at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, San Antonio, Texas, December 1986* (BAR S453), Oxford, 139-152.

Claridge, A. 1990, Ancient Techniques of Making Joins in Marble Statuary, in M. True/J. Podany (eds), *Art Historical and Scientific Perspectives on Ancient Sculpture: Papers Delivered at a Symposium Organised by the Depts. of Antiquities and Antiquities Conservation and Held at the J. Paul Getty Museum, April 28-30, 1988*, Malibu, 135-162.

Crawford, J. 1917, *Capita Desecta* and Marble Coiffures, *MemAmAc* 1, 103-119.

Croom, A. 2002, *Roman Clothing and Fashion*, Stroud.

Curtius, L. 1957, Mädchenporträt vom Ende des 2. Jahrhunderts n.Chr., *RM* 64, 1-7.

Dahmen, K. 2001, *Untersuchungen zu Form und Funktion kleinformatiger Porträts der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Münster.

D'Ambra, E. 2000, Nudity and Adornment in Female Portrait Sculpture of the Second Century AD, in D. Kleiner/S. Matheson (eds), *I Claudia* II: *Women in Roman Art and Society*, Austin, 101-114.

Dickins, G. 1912, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum* I: *Archaic Sculpture*, Cambridge.

Fejfer, J. 1999, What is a Private Roman Portrait?, in H. von Steuben (ed.), *Antike Porträts: Zum Gedächtnis von Helga von Heintze*, Möhnesee, 137-148.

Finocchi, P. 1997, L'Afrodite del Mercato di Leptis Magna, *ArchCl* 49, 211-222.

Fittschen, K. 1982, *Die Bildnistypen der Faustina Minor und die Fecunditas Augustae*, Göttingen.

Fittschen, K. 1991, Zur Datierung des Mädchenbildnisses vom Palatin und einiger anderer Kinderporträts der mittleren Kaiserzeit, *JdI* 106, 297-309.

Fittschen, K./P. Zanker 1983, *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom* 3: *Kaiserinnen- und Prinzessinnenbildnisse Frauenporträts*, Mainz.

Frel, J. 1981, *Roman Portraits in the Getty Museum*, Los Angeles.

Frel, J. 1982, Ancient Repairs of Archaic Sculpture, *AAA* 15, 202-214.

Frel, J. 1984, Ancient Repairs to Classical Sculptures at Malibu, *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 12, 73-92.

Frel, J./J. Chamay,/J.L. Maier 1982, *Le monde des Césars: portraits romains*, Geneva.

Freyer-Schauenburg, B. 1999, Prinz oder Bürger? Zu einem antik restaurierten Bildniskopf in Kiel, in H. von Steuben (ed.), *Antike Porträts: Zum Gedächtnis von Helga von Heintze*, Möhnesee, 167-176.

Furnée van Zwet, L. 1956, Fashion in Women's Hair Dress in the First Century of the Roman Empire, *BABesch* 31, 1-22.

Gazda, E. (ed.) 1977, *Roman Portraiture: Ancient and Modern Revivals*, Michigan.

Giuliano, A. (ed.) 1979, *Museo Nazionale Romano* 1.1, Rome.

Giuliano, A. (ed.) 1988, *Museo Nazionale Romano* 1.9.2, Rome.

Giuliano, A. 1997, Augustus-Constantinus, in J. Bouzek/I. Ondrejova (eds), *Roman Portraits: Artistic and Literary. Acts of the Third International Conference on Roman Portraits held in Prague and in the Bechyne Castle from 25 to 29 September 1989*, Mainz, 29-31.

Goette, H.R. 1984, Zwei frühseverische Bildnisse in Bonn, *BJb* 184, 117-140.

Goette, H.R. 1986, Antike Skulpturen im Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, *AA*, 711-744.

Hannestad, N. 1994, *Tradition in Late Antique Sculpture: Conservation, Modernisation, Production*, Aarhus.

Harrison, E. 1953, *The Athenian Agora* I: *Portrait Sculpture*, Princeton.

Harrison, E. 1990, Repair, Reuse and Reworking of Ancient Greek Sculpture, in M. True/J. Podany (eds), *Art Historical and Scientific Perspectives on Ancient Sculpture: Papers Delivered at a Symposium Organised by the Depts. of Antiquities and Antiquities Conservation and Held at the J. Paul Getty Museum, April 28-30, 1988*, Malibu, 163-184.

Hausmann, U. 1959, Bildnisse zweier junger Römerinnen in Fiesole, *JdI* 74, 164-202.

Helbig, W. 1963-1972, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom* (fourth edition), Tübingen.

Herrmann, J. 1991, Rearranged Hair: A Portrait of a Roman Woman in Boston and Some Recarved Portraits of Earlier Imperial Times, *Journal of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston 3, 35-50.

Inan, J./E. Rosenbaum 1966, *Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor*, London.

Inan, J./E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, *Römische und frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik aus der Türkei: Neue Funde*, Mainz.

Jedding-Gesterling M./G. Brutscher (eds) 1988, *Die Frisur: eine Kulturgeschichte der Haarmode von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, Munich.

Johansen, F. 1994, *Roman Portraits* I: *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, Copenhagen.

Jucker, H./D. Willers (eds) 1982, *Gesichter: griechische und römische Bildnisse aus Schweizer Besitz*, Bern.

Kersauson, K. 1996, *Catalogue des portraits romains* 2: *De l'année de la guerre civile (68-69 aprés J.-C.) à la fin de l'Empire*, Paris.

Kinney, D. 1997, Spolia: Damnatio and Renovatio Memoriae, *MemAmAc* 42, 117-148.

Kleiner, D./S. Matheson (eds) 1996, *I, Claudia: Women in Ancient Rome*, New Haven.

Kreikenbom, D. 1992, *Griechische und römische Kolossalporträts bis zum späten ersten Jahrhunderts nach Christus*, Berlin.

Kruse, H.J. 1975, *Römische weibliche Gewandstatuen des zweiten Jahrhunderts n.Chr.*, Göttingen.

Lenaghan, J. 1999, *Portrait Statues of Women in the Roman World*, Diss. New York University.

Liverani, P. 1989, *Museo Chiaramonti: guide cataloghi Musei Vaticani*, Rome.

Mannsperger, M. 1998, *Frisurenkunst und Kunstfrisur*, Bonn.

Mansuelli, G. 1961, *Galleria degli Uffizi: le sculture* II, Rome.

Matheson, S. 2000, The Private Sector: Reworked Portraits Outside the Imperial Circle, in E. Varner (ed.), *From Caligula to Constantine: Tyranny and Transformation in Roman Portraiture* (Exhibition Catalogue, Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University), Atlanta, 70-80.

McDonnell, K.J. 2002, *Viva Fecit*: Women, Patronage, and Funerary Monuments, *AJA* 106, 290-291.

Meischner, J. 1981, Fragen zur römischen Porträtgeschichte, *BJb* 181, 143-167.

Meischner, J. 1984, Privatporträts aus den Regierungsjahren des Elagabal und Alexander Severus (218-235), *JdI* 99, 319-351.

Merker, G.S. 1973, *The Hellenistic Sculpture of Rhodes*, Göteborg.

Meyer, H. 1991, *Antinoos*, Munich.

Noelke, P. 1982, Zu den Porträts der römischen Grabkammer von Köln-Weiden, *WissZBerl* 31, 249-252.

Ohly, D. 1974, *The Munich Glyptothek: Greek and Roman Sculpture*, Munich.

Padgett, M. (ed.) 2001, *Roman Sculpture in the Art Museum, Princeton University*, Princeton.

Pfanner, M. 1989, Über das Herstellen von Porträts: Ein Beitrag zu Rationalisierungsmassnahmen und Produktionsmechanismen von Massenware im späten Hellenismus und in der römischen Kaiserzeit, *JdI* 104, 157-257.

Poulsen, F. 1916, Two Roman Portrait Busts in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, *JRS* 6, 47-55.

Poulsen, V. 1974, *Les portraits romains* II, Copenhagen.

Raeder, J. 2000, *Die antiken Skulpturen in Petworth House*, Mainz.

Rathbone, P.T. 1938, Three Roman Portrait Heads, *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 17, 68-70.

Rilliet-Maillard, I. 1978, *Les portraits romains du musée d'art et d'histoire*, Geneva.

Rodenwaldt, G. 1928, Zwei römische Porträtköpfe aus Alexandrien, in *Antike Plastik: Walther Amelung zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, Berlin, 206-213.

Rüsch, A. 1969, Das kaiserzeitliche Porträt in Makedonien, *JdI* 84, 59-196.

Salzmann, D. 1990, *Antike Porträts im Römisch-Germanischen Museum Köln*, Köln.

Sande, S. 1991, *Greek and Roman Portraits in Norwegian Collections*, Rome.

Schäfer, T. 1999, Felicior Augusto, Melior Traiano: Zum Bildnis des Konstantin in New York, in H. von Steuben (ed.), *Antike Porträts: Zum Gedächtnis von Helga von Heintze*, Möhnesee, 295-302.

Schlüter, R. 1971, *Die Bildnisse der Kaiserin Iulia Domna*, Diss. University of Münster.

Strocka, V.M. 1967, Aphroditekopf in Brescia, *JdI* 82, 110-116.

Strocka, V.M. (ed.) 2000, *Römische Bildnisse: Porträts der Berliner Antikensammlung in Freiburg*, Munich.

Stuart Jones, H. 1926, *A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures Preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome: The Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori*, Rome.

Trendall, A.D. 1989, *Red Figure Vases of South Italy and Sicily*, London.

Trillmich, W. 1976, *Das Torlonia-Mädchen: zu Herkunft und Entstehung des kaiserzeitlichen Frauenporträts*, Göttingen.

Varner, E. (ed.) 2000, *From Caligula to Constantine: Tyranny and Transformation in Roman Portraiture* (Exhibition Catalogue, Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University), Atlanta.

Vermeule, C. 1989, Matidia the Elder, a Pivotal Woman of the Height of Roman Imperial Power, in *Festschrift für Jale Inan*, Istanbul, 71-76.

Waywell, G.B. 1978, *The Free-standing Sculptures of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus in the British Museum*, London.

Wessel, K. 1946-1947, Römische Frauenfrisuren von der severischen bis zur konstantinischen Zeit, *AA* 61, 62-76.

West, R. 1941, *Römische Porträt-Plastik*, Rome.

Wiggers, H.B./M. Wegner 1971, *Caracalla, Geta, Plautilla: Macrinus bis Balbinus*, Berlin.

Wrede, H. 1981, *Consecratio in formam deorum: vergöttlichte Privatpersonen in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Mainz.

Ziegler, D. 2000, *Frauenfrisuren der römischen Antike: Abbild und Realität*, Berlin.

CLASSICAL STUDIES PROGRAMME
SCHOOL OF HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY AND POLITICS
MASSEY UNIVERSITY
PRIVATE BAG 11 222
PALMERSTON NORTH, NEW ZEALAND
g.salapata@massey.ac.nz

BABesch 79 (2004)

Hercules, Omphale, and Octavian's 'Counter-Propaganda'*

Olivier Hekster

Abstract

This article pays close attention to one aspect of the famous battle of images between Mark Antony and Octavian in the build-up to Actium. It challenges the common assumption that the figures of Hercules and Omphale were purposefully portrayed as Octavian 'anti-propaganda', against Mark Antony and Cleopatra, displaying the triumvir as emasculated by the Egyptian Queen. The link between Hercules and Antony was tenuous, especially in his later career, and there is little evidence that the mythological scene had propagandistic connotations. With this in mind, it seems that a political reading of the images is stretching the evidence too far.

The battle for supremacy over the Roman Empire between Octavian and Antony was as much a battle of words and images as it was one of men and ships. In these primary aspects of the war, Antony made himself vulnerable to Octavian's 'propaganda' by his 'eastern' attitude and attire. This has been expertly analysed, notably by Paul Zanker. Octavian emphasised his own preference for the west, going to great length to demonstrate the dichotomy between his own *Romanitas* and Antony's 'foreign' inclinations.[1] In the lengthy speech at the outset of the battle of Actium, Dio (50.24-30) records Octavian as explicitly mentioning how his men should not be afraid of a man who 'abandoned all his ancestors' habits of life, has emulated all alien and barbarian customs ... and finally has taken for himself the title of Osiris or Dionysos ...' (νῦν πάντα μὲν τὰ πάτρια τοῦ βίου ἤθη ἐκλελοιπότα, πάντα δὲ τὰ ἀλλότρια καὶ βαρβαρικὰ ἐξηλωκότα ... καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον καὶ ἑαυτὸν Ὄσιριν καὶ Διόνυσον ἐπικεκληκότα) (50.25.3-4). 'Let no one', Octavian continues, 'count him a Roman, but rather an Egyptian, nor call him Antony, but rather Serapeion' (Μήτ' οὖν Ῥωμαῖον εἶναί τις αὐτὸν νομιζέτω, ἀλλά τινα Αἰγύπτιον, μήτ' Ἀντώνιον ὀνομαζέτω, ἀλλά τινα Σαραπίωνα) (50.27.1).

According to various modern authors, this 'anti-propaganda' did not stop at comments on Antony's general attitude towards the east, or at putting emphasis on his bacchic behaviour. In the battle of images, Antony's use of Hercules as divine ancestor, too, was transformed, quite cleverly, to be of use to the later *princeps*. On this view, Octavian started to mention Hercules repeatedly sometime before Actium. But the Hercules who figured in this early-Augustan imagery was not the great warrior - nor the saviour who through his great deeds had saved mankind. Instead, Octavian put forward imagery of Hercules enslaved by Omphale; the captured divinity in women's clothing.[2] If this was indeed an image that Octavian, or those surrounding him, consciously put forward to discredit Antony, one cannot help but admire the brilliance of it. Just as the Lydian queen Omphale had emasculated the powerful Hercules, the Egyptian queen Cleopatra governed the Roman warrior, who had turned into her slave. The concept fitted other counter-images perfectly. The real danger, in this description, came from the east, thus diffusing the awkwardness of promoting civil war. The evidence for this 'counterpropaganda', however, is not as strong as is sometimes supposed. It presupposes a strong association between Antony and Hercules, through which references to Hercules would make people think instantly of Antony. It also assumes that literary and artistic references to Omphale and Hercules should be read and seen in a propagandistic context, outside of any socio-cultural framework, even if they fit a clear literary pattern. Neither of these assumptions is unproblematic.

HERCULES AND ANTONY; A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP?

The relation between Mark Antony and Hercules is attested in ancient sources, though the evidence is not as overwhelming as one might think. Plutarch states that Antony 'adopted' himself into the Herculean bloodline by emphasising his mythical ancestor Anton, one of Hercules' many sons.[3] Antony apparently even groomed himself in a way reminiscent of Herculean imagery:

Προσῆν δὲ καὶ μορφῆς ἐλευθέριον ἀξίωμα, καὶ

> πώγων τις οὐκ ἀγγενὴς καὶ πλάτος μετρώπου καὶ γρυπότης μικτῆρος ἐδόκει τοῖς γραφομένοις καὶ πλαττομένοις Ἡρακλέους προσώποις ἐμφερὲς ἔχειν το ἀρρενωπτόν. ἦν δὲ καὶ λόγος παλαιὸς Ἡρακλείδας εἶναι τοὺς Ἀντωνίους, ἀπ' Ἄντωνος, παιδὸς Ἡρακλέους, γεγονότας καὶ τοῦτον ᾤετο τὸν λόγον τῇ τε μορφῇ τοῦ σώματος, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, καὶ τῇ στολῇ βεβαιοῦν. (The finely formed beard, broad brow, and aquiline nose lent him a powerful, masculine look which reminded people of paintings and statues of Hercules. Moreover, there was an ancient tradition that the Antonii were Heracleidae, being descendants of Anton, a son of Heracles. And this tradition Antonius thought that he confirmed, both by the shape of his body, as has been said, and his attire) (Plut., *Vit. Ant.* 4.1-3).

Appian also makes this Herculean link a focal point in Octavian's speech of 44 BC, which is heavy with sarcasm:

> '[You] would have doubtlessly been adopted by him, if he had known that you would accept kinship with the family of Aeneas in exchange for that of Hercules' (εἰ ᾔδει σε δεξόμενον Αἰνεάδην ἀντὶ Ἡρακλείδουν γενέσθαι·) (App., *B. Civ.* 3.16).

Antony replied in similar style, retorting that he was happy that Octavian agreed that being a relative of Hercules was enough to make any man content. But these speeches are likely to have been Appian's inventions - not necessarily a good base for factual evidence.[4] The use of Hercules, or Anton, as ancestor of the Antonii seems to be confirmed through coinage. A set of *aurei* from 42 BC by the moneyer Livineius Regulus is especially important. The obverses of the coins show the heads of Antony, Lepidus, and Octavian, whilst the reverses depict their mythological ancestors. These are, respectively, Hercules (or Anton) (*fig. 1*), the Vestal Aemilia, and Aeneas carrying Anchises.[5] Other coins too connect Antony to Hercules, though it seems dubious, at least, to interpret reverses that show a lion as having unambiguously Herculean connotations.[6] These coins seem unproblematic compared to some of the further evidence. Stephan Ritter brings in a Ciceronian letter from the beginning of 43 BC, which apparently mentions 'Hercules Antonianus', a statue of Hercules raised by Antony.[7] But 'Antonianus' is a restoration from 'Hercules Antianus', which, as Ullrich Huttner rightly points out, could equally well (if not better) indicate a statue of the Hercules from Antium.[8] A Pompeian ringstone, signed by the famous stonecutter Solon, shows a Hercules-figure whose features have been said to be Antony's (*fig. 2*).[9] The small size of the image, however, makes such a positive identification extremely doubtful.

Other evidence is by no means more straightforward. The torso of a headless cuirassed statue from the 1st century BC has also been brought in to illustrate Antony's preference for Hercules (*fig. 3*). This torso was found in Iria on Naxos, and was supposed by the excavators, Lambrinoudakis and Gruben, originally to have had Antony's head.[10] Their argument was that the depictions on the cuirass fitted Antony's ideology perfectly well. Not only does the cuirass show Hercules fighting the Nemean lion, Dionysos, who later became so important for Antony, is also depicted, with *kantharos* and *thyrsos*-wand, accompanied by panthers. Though far from conclusive, this first part of the excavators' theory is interesting enough. Yet Hercules and Dionysos are not the only images on the cuirass. The punishment of Dirke figures prominently as well. Though at first sight there appears to be no place for this myth in Mark Antony's imagery, the excavators found a way round this.

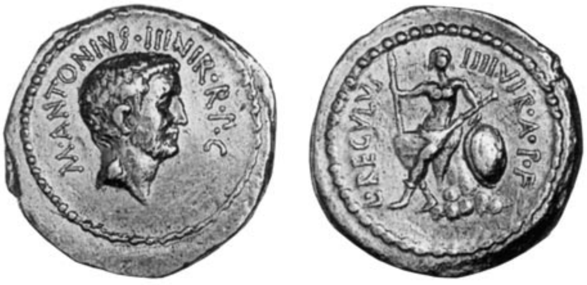


Fig. 1. 42 BC Aureus by Livineius Regulus. British Museum inv. RR 4255. Courtesy, British Museum.

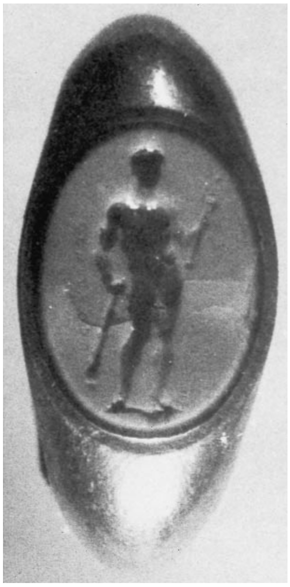


Fig. 2. Pompeian ringstone. Napoli, Museo Nazionale inv. 25218. Courtesy, Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici, Napoli.

They argued that as the original Dirke-group was brought to Rome from Rhodes, and as Antony restored the power of Rhodes after the battle of Philippi - giving them amongst other places Naxos to rule - the depiction of the punishment of Dirke should recall Antony's power in the east, and the importance he attached to Rhodos.[11]

Such an explanation is far too complicated for viewers actually to have understood the message, and the meaning of the image must remain open to interpretation. Nor does a further argument that the excavators put forward for identifying the statue as Antony seem entirely convincing. They argued that the faces of both the deities that are depicted on the cuirass are damaged, which might have been because they originally bore Antony's features. This would cohere with indications of reworkings on the statue itself, and on a nearby inscription, which might have been part of the pedestal.[12] Neither the original faces of Hercules and Dionysos nor the original inscription can, however, be properly restored. To use this torso as evidence for an important role of Hercules in Antony's ideological programme is therefore circular. It is only because the images cohere so well with the programme that is being reconstructed that the torso is said to have been Antony's in the first place.

Only slightly less problematic is a type of image, which is found on an early-imperial cameo (*fig. 4*), an Antonine *ostothekos* from Asia Minor, and a late-imperial bronze medallion. Depicted on all of them are *trophaea*, at which a semi-nude female figure, clearly identified as Venus, probably functioning as Venus Genetrix, puts down a spear.[13] Opposite her stands a young hero, clad only in a mantle, which he carries over his left shoulder. He is laying down a club. The presence of the club makes an identification with Hercules feasible, but Hans Peter Laubscher argued that the posture of the figure is that of Hermes - specifically that of the Hermes Andros-Farnese - and that this Hermes-posture was not coincidental. He maintains that the heroic young figure must have been Octavian, who was often alluded to as Mercury, because the scene from which the different images are derived is quite obviously not a standard mythological one, and the Venus Genetrix makes clear allusions to the Julio-Claudian family. The club that the figure puts down then comes to symbolise Octavian's victory over the 'Herculean' Mark Antony.[14]

The suggestion is interesting but not convincing. Connections between Octavian and Mercury are mainly poetical, and need not at all imply a 'real'

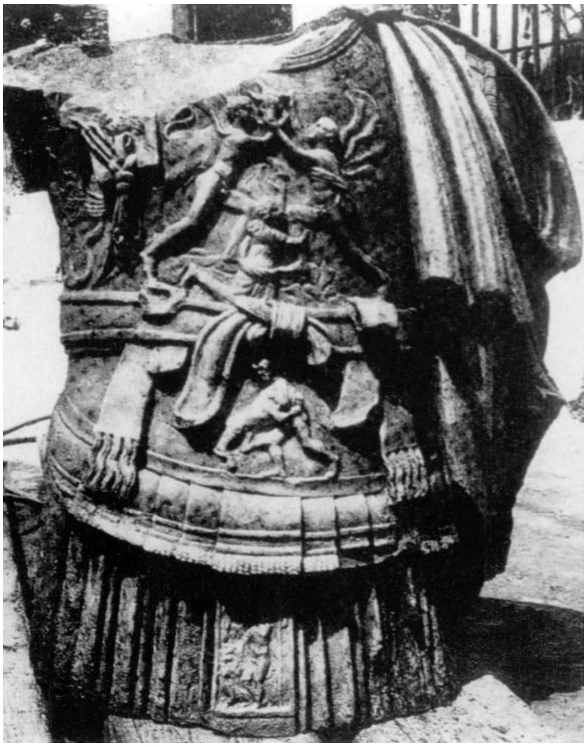


Fig. 3. Cuirassed statue, Iria (Naxos). Naxos, Archaeological Museum inv. 8761. From AA 1987, *607 fig. 47.*

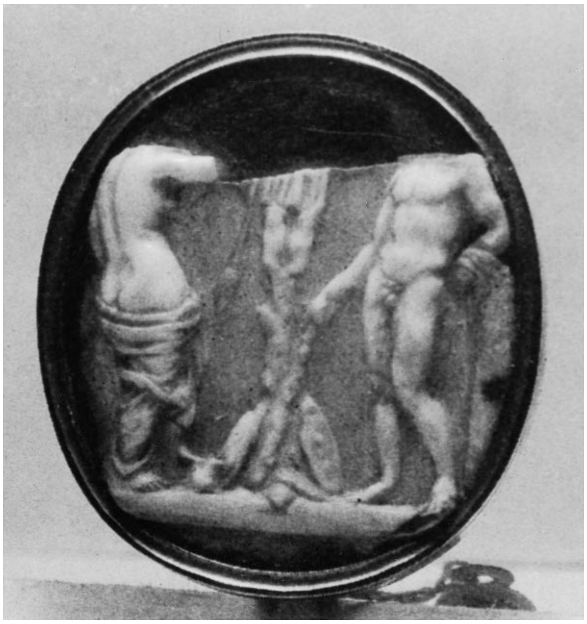


Fig. 4. Early-imperial cameo. Paris, Musée du Louvre. Photo Service photographique de la réunion des Musées nationaux BJ 1866.

image of the protagonist ‘as’ the divinity. Whether a Mercurial pose without any further divine attributes would make people recognise the divinity - let alone Octavian as ‘represented’ by Mercury - is open to serious debate. Furthermore, W.-R. Megow has recently suggested that the depiction of the hero was typologically connected to Polykleitos’ Herakles, making it likely that the depicted hero, too, must be perceived as Hercules.[15] Finally, at the time of Octavian’s final victory over Antony, the latter had taken on a different divine role; that of a new Dionysus.[16] It is doubtful whether a club would be the most obvious way to refer to Antony at the time. When it is uncertain whether a depiction properly calls to mind the vanquished, and dubious whether one would instantly recognise the victor, it is dangerous to use it as historical evidence.[17]

The coins of Regulus and the passages of Plutarch and Appian may imply that in the late 40’s BC, just about the period that Antony got involved with Cleopatra, Antony was stressing his mythical ancestor Hercules. That is not the same as actual identification with the deity. Such an identification Antony appears to have reserved for Dionysus. Indeed, it seems that following the tripartite division of the empire amongst the triumvirs in 42 BC, he found the deity Dionysus a very suitable paradigm. Plutarch mentions, when talking about Antony’s entry in Ephesus in 41 BC, that:

> The city was filled with ivy and thyrsoi, with the music of the flute, syrinx, and lyre. All welcomed him as Dionysus, bringer of joy, gentle and kind (Plut., *Vit. Ant*. 24.3).

Eventually the Roman general even came to be referred to as the ‘new Dionysus’, which is attested by an Athenian inscription of 39 BC and strengthened by provincial coins.[18] Velleius Paterculus describes how in 34 BC:

> ...*ante novum se Liberum Patrem appellari iussisset, cum redimitus hederis crocotaque velatus aurea et thyrsum tenens cothurnisque succinctus curru velut Liber Pater vectus esset Alexandriae* ([Antony] had previously given orders that he should be called the new Liber Pater, and indeed in a procession at Alexandria he had impersonated Liber Pater, his head bound with ivy wreath, his person enveloped in the saffron robe of gold, holding in his hand the thyrsos, wearing the buskins, and riding in the bacchic chariot) (Vell. Pat. 2.82.4).

Two years later, Cassius Dio tells us, Antony had himself depicted on statues and paintings as Dionysus accompanied by Cleopatra as Selene.[19] From Antony’s infatuation with Cleopatra onwards, then, Dionysus rather than Hercules became Antony’s model. Links between Hercules and Antony were henceforth conspicuously absent. This should make us careful in assuming that Herculean references were aimed at Antony.

HERCULES AND OMPHALE AS ‘PROPAGANDA’ IN LITERATURE AND ART

Those supporting the idea of the Omphale myth as an Augustan tool, use a passage in Plutarch’s *Life of Antony* as one of the more important pieces of evidence:

> Ἀντώνιον δέ, ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς ὁρῶμεν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τὴν Ὀμφάλην ὑφαιροῦσαν τὸ ῥόπαλον καὶ τὴν λεοντῆν ἀποδύουσαν, οὕτω πολλάκις Κλεοπάτρα παροπλίσασα (Antony on the contrary, just like Heracles in paintings of Omphale taking his club and donning his lion-skin, was altogether disarmed by Cleopatra) (Plut., *Comp. Demetr. Ant*. 3.3).

This passage allegedly describes Augustan imagery. The images that Plutarch mentions are argued to form part of the programme of anti-propaganda by which Plutarch was influenced.[20] That assumption implies that Plutarch responded to contemporary sources. This indeed has been claimed by Ilse Becker. She maintains that: ‘Der Vergleich Kleopatra-Omphale bei Plutarch geht also auf die zeitgenössischen Quellen zurück’; a claim that is repeated even more strongly by Stefan Ritter.[21] Becker’s argument, however, is not wholly convincing. She bases herself on the parallels between the passage by Plutarch and a line in Propertius (3.11.17), which also compares Cleopatra and Omphale. She comments how Aspasia had been similarly equated to Omphale by Plutarch because of her influence over Pericles (*Vit. Per*. 24.9). But rather than inferring that this may therefore be some kind of Plutarchian *topos*, unrelated to Propertius’ poem - that whenever Plutarch wrote about a man with Herculean claims, his wife or lover was easily transformed into Omphale - Becker concludes the opposite: this is no invention by Plutarch, but a reaction to contemporary sources. Yet Propertius also draws parallels between Cleopatra and the other ‘overbearing’ mythological women, Medea (line 9) and Penthesileia (line 14). Cleopatra is thus portrayed as belonging to the group of ‘women out of place’, rather than being specifically connected to Omphale alone. The other women are absent from Plutarch’s text.

Nor does Propertius’ poem feature elsewhere in Plutarch’s work. Of course, both authors could have gone back independently to a common source, formed by Octavian's attacks on Antony, for inspiration for the Cleopatra-Omphale linkage. Then again, references that connected Cleopatra to Omphale are conspicuously absent in the works of other historians. Dio's Octavian, in his great pre-Actium speech, mentions a whole array of deities, and places emphasis on the dangers of the east, and on Antony' servitude to a woman. He is completely silent on the subject of Omphale, nor does not he mention Hercules.[22] Similarly, the Augustan 'anti-propaganda' seems to have eluded Appian and Velleius Paterculus.[23] So why would one want to see Plutarch's statement as evidence for such image-forming? Of course there are inherent risks in arguing this point *ex silentio* - yet to presume without proper evidence is at least as dangerous.

Plutarch furthermore has his reasons to depict Cleopatra (and Antony) quite negatively. In his *Life of Antony*, which is often particularly moralistic, the origins of the battle of Actium are described through placing emphasis on the dichotomy between Octavia and Cleopatra, the one a good Roman matron, the other an evil eastern queen.[24] The influence of the life of Demetrios is also of importance, with 'the necessity of making Antonius' eroticism correspond to that of Demetrios' perhaps a factor in embellishing the overt sexuality in the relation between Antony and Cleopatra.[25] The Omphale-comparison could be one of the embellishments. The relation between Hercules and the Lydian queen had strong erotic connotations. This is clear from a late 1st-century BC carnelian, now in Vienna. It shows Omphale, lying naked on the lion-skin, with Hercules sitting (and staring) between her out-spread legs (*fig. 5*).[26] A papyrus from the 1st century AD even places Omphale in the role of a brothel-keeper.[27] Comparing Antony with the enslaved Hercules also nicely brought the comparison to a mythical level. It is surely of some importance that the representation of Antony's effeminate Hercules follows on a passage which explains how Demetrios could leave aside his bacchic activities when going off to war, to turn into 'a minister of unhallowed Ares'.[28]

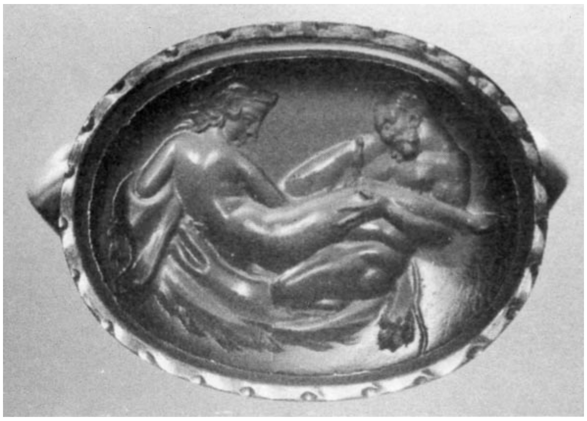


Fig. 5. 1st-century BC Carnelian. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum inv. IX B 1364. Museum photo III 10.272.

Plutarch's comparison need not have been influenced by earlier 'propaganda'. Antony's infatuation with Cleopatra was well-known, even without Octavian's interference, and the importance of the queen was well-advertised.[29] The popularity of the Omphale-saga, in art as much as in other respects of Roman life, was equally great. Plutarch was doubtless aware of private images of Omphale and Hercules - images that reflected the world of otium rather than the world of politics.[30] The connotations of the Omphale-episode were not necessarily negative. Rather than emphasising the amoral and effeminate behaviour of Hercules, his relationship with Omphale was seen in a positive light as the epitome of extreme passion and vitality.[31] There was no absolute distinction between these positive and negative aspects. Ovid stresses Hercules' abasement in his 9th letter of the *Heroides*, the fictional love-letters by famous women, when Deianeira complains: 'You are victor over the beast, but she over you'.[32] Still, in his *Ars Amatoria* (2.217-221) Hercules' effeminate behaviour is brought forward as a positive example for others to follow.

In art, the distinction is not clear-cut either. Kampen believes that there was a development in the way the Omphale-myth was interpreted; negatively in the 1st century AD, with a transition in the second century towards a more positive view. Her evidence, however, is not conclusive. She mentions how in the first century most of the visual representations show an 'abased Hercules and a coy or aloof Omphale', yet the examples brought forward show the couple looking each other in the eye.[33] More clearly, two images from the 1st centuries BC and AD do not show any form of degradation, but rather depict the protagonists' faces, looking at each other in love, on the verge of a kiss. Zanker rightly stresses how different connotations can be simultaneously expressed.[34] That means that they are extremely difficult to use in supporting the claim of an Augustan anti-propaganda, which Plutarch is claimed to have reproduced.

Indeed, the image used to support the idea of a centrally-promoted connection between Omphale and Cleopatra is not decisive. It is transmitted through a number of clay impressions and bowl sections of the high-quality pottery of Perennius, and is said to have originated on a lost Arretine silver bowl of the early Augustan period (*fig. 6*).[35] The scene depicted shows Hercules sitting in woman's clothing in a chariot drawn by centaurs, looking back. He is followed by two girls carrying a parasol and fan. Omphale sits in a different chariot, wearing the lion skin and carrying the club. A girl hands her an oversize drinking cup.[36] Hercules and Omphale have been unequivocally identified with Antony and Cleopatra.[37] Even more minor details in the image have been interpreted as political statements. Thus the 'enormous drinking cup' which is handed to Omphale, 'is aimed directly at Cleopatra, who was ridiculed by Octavian and his circle for her bibulousness'.[38] Of course, that is a possibility. But one should not forget that, at least on the *terra sigilata* that survives, the features of the mythological figures are not recognisably those of Mark Antony and Cleopatra.[39] Nor is bacchic imagery wholly unsuitable for drinking bowls. The scene itself is reminiscent of depictions of Hercules in a chariot drawn by centaurs - depictions that often show Bacchus accompanying Hercules, and can show the latter holding the *kantharos*.[40] Though the choice for a 'centaur-scene' may still have been a (very indirect) slur on Cleopatra's drinking habits, the fact that the queen is handed a drinking cup follows rather naturally from the reversal of attributes that is inherent in the Omphale-saga.

Without any direct evidence that the figures on display refer to Mark Antony and Cleopatra, and without any evidence that the design originated from Augustus or the circle surrounding him, it becomes hazardous to use the motif on the pottery as evidence for a grand Augustan programme. The fact that, especially for the period after joining with Cleopatra, there is little evidence for the connection between Antony and Hercules and that this relation was never one of actual identification in the first place, should make one even more careful in proclaiming the Omphale-episode as yet another illustration of the battle of images. Hercules and Omphale were a favourite motif in art and literature of the late Republic and early Empire. The interpretation of the episode could be many-faceted. It should not be simply seen as political, unless there are undeniable references to politics of the time. There are no unambiguous images showing Antony-Hercules and/or Cleo-

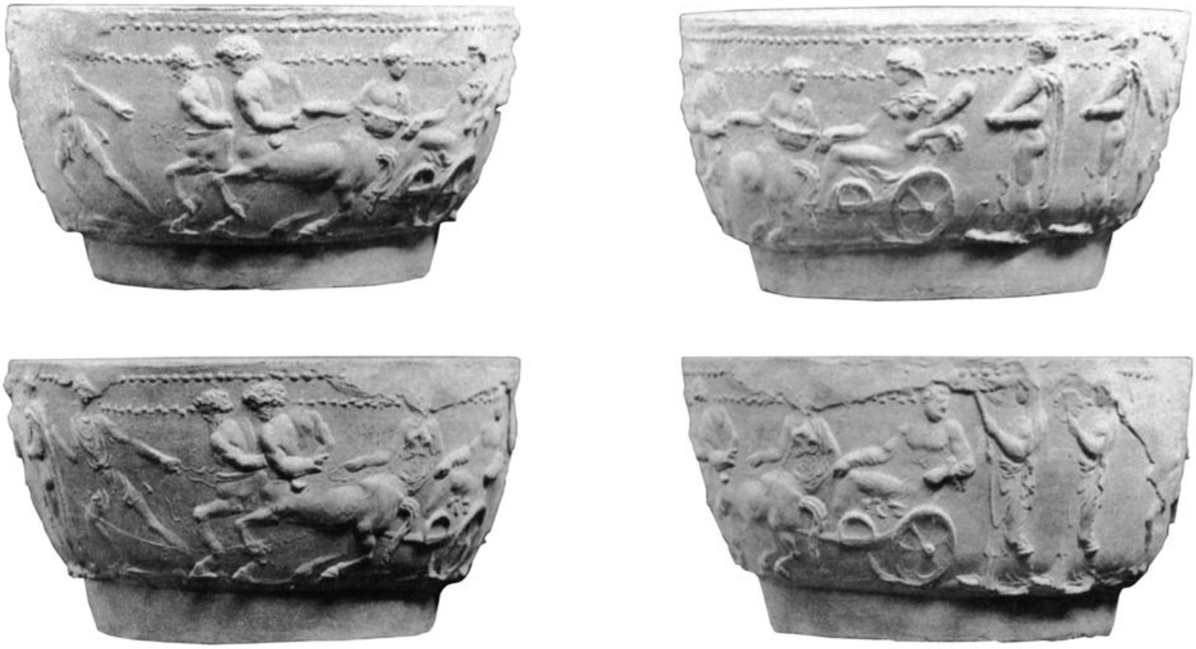


Fig. 6. Impressions of a lost Arretine silver bowl? Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Reproduced with permission © 2003 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. All Rights Reserved.

patra-Omphale. References to Omphale and Hercules in literature need no earlier 'propaganda' to explain their existence. It is also very doubtful whether the link between Hercules and Antony was sufficiently strong to make references to Hercules reflect on Antony. All in all, it seems that the role of Omphale and Hercules in the battle of images is a myth - in all senses of the word.

NOTES

---

[*] My gratitude, as so often, goes to Fergus Millar for commenting on an earlier draft of this article. Criticism by Jaś Elsner and Stephan Mols on some of the ideas that I put forward has strengthened the argument enormously. It goes without saying that all remaining errors and inconsistencies are my own.

[1] P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor 1988), 50, 52-3, 57-65 ('Antony betrayed by his own image'), with references.

[2] S. Ritter, *Hercules in der römischen Kunst von den Anfängen bis Augustus* (Heidelberg 1995), 81-85, 87; Zanker, *Power of Images*, 55-56; H. P. Laubscher, 'Motive der augusteischen Bildpropaganda', *JdI* 89 (1974), 242-259; 248-250; N. Kampen, 'Omphale and the Instability of Gender', in eadem (ed.), *Sexuality in Ancient Art. Near East, Egypt, Greece, and Italy* (Cambridge 1996), 233-246; 235; I. Becker, *Das Bild der Kleopatra in der griechischen und lateinischen Literatur* (Berlin 1966), 55 n. 3. On the Omphale myth in Rome: F. Wulff Alonso, 'L'Histoire d'Omphalè et d'Héraklès', in C. Jourdain-Annequin/C. Bonnet (eds.), *II^{e} rencontre héracléenne. Héraclès les femmes et le feminin* (Bruxelles-Rome 1996), 103-120; J. Boardman, 'Omphale', *LIMC* 7.1, 45-52; 45-46.

[3] Plut., *Vit. Ant.* 4.1-3, 60.3; U. Huttner, 'Marcus Antonius und Herakles', in Ch. Schubert/K. Brodersen (eds.), *Rom und der Griechische Osten. Festschrift für Hatto H. Schmitt zum 65. Geburtstag* (Stuttgart 1995), 103-112 ; 104, n.7; W. Derichs, *Herakles. Vorbild des Herrschers in der Antike* (PhD-Köln 1950), 37-8; T.P. Wiseman, 'Legendary genealogies in Late-Republican Rome', *G&R* 21 (1974) 153-164; 157.

[4] App., *B. Civ.* 3.19. G.K. Galinsky, *The Herakles Theme. The adaptations of the hero in literature from Homer to the 20th century* (Oxford 1972), 141 completely misses the protagonists' irony when he states: 'Appian (*B.C.* 3.16) writes that Caesar reluctantly gave up his plan to adopt Antonius because Antonius was unwilling to exchange kinship with Herakles for the Julian descent from Aeneas'. On Appian's speeches: A.M. Gowing, *The Triumphal Narratives of Appian and Cassius Dio* (Ann Arbor 1992), 65-70. Cf. E. Gabba, *Appiano e la storia delle guerre civili* (Florence 1956), 155-159.

[5] British Museum inv. RR 4255. Crawford, *RRC*, no. 494.2a (= Sydenham, *CRR*, nos. 1103-a); *LIMC* 4, 'Herakles', no. 994; Zanker, *Power of Images*, 45 fig. 34 a-b; D.R. Sear, *The History and Coinage of the Roman Imperators 49-27 BC* (London 1998), 95 no. 143; Huttner, 'Marcus Antonius und Herakles', 105-106. There is discussion on whether the figure depicted is either Anton or Hercules. For a short synthesis and further references, Ritter, *Hercules in der römischen Kunst*, 74-75 nn. 147-152, Taf. 5.7a-b.

[6] Crawford, *RRC*, I, nos. 494.37-8 Pl. 60 (= Sydenham, *CRR*, nos. 1139-40); Ritter, *Hercules in der römischen Kunst*, 75, Taf 5.8-9. Reverses with lions: Sear, *History and Coinage of the Roman Imperators*, 83 no. 122, 85 no. 126, and for a lion holding a sword: 168 no. 266 (= Crawford, *RRC*, I, no. 533.1).

[7] Cic., *Epist.* frg. 4.7 (= Non. 437 L); Ritter, *Hercules in der römischen Kunst*, 71; O. Weippert, *Alexander-Imitatio und römische Politik in republikanischer Zeit* (Augsburg 1972), 198 n.1 with references; R. Schilling, 'Der römische Hercules und die Religionsreform des Augustus', in G. Binder (ed.), *Saeculum Augustum* II. *Religion und Literatur* (Darmstadt 1988), 108-142; 118-119.

[8] Cf. Plin., *HN* 3.81 for the use of 'Antianus' as an adjective from Antium; Huttner, 'Marcus Antonius und Herakles', 109. Huttner also propones a possible link to the gens Antia (109 n. 57).

[9] Napoli, Museo Nazionale, inv. 25218; Ritter, *Hercules in der römischen Kunst*, 79-80; Palagia, 'Imitation of Hercules', 144; Zanker, *Power of Images*, 45 fig. 35; M.-L. Vollenweider, *Die Steinschneidekunst und ihre Künstler in spätrepublikanischer und augusteischer Zeit* (Baden-Baden 1966), 47-55; Laubscher, 'Motive der augusteischen Bildpropaganda', 251-252.

[10] Naxos, Arch. Mus. Inv. 8761; V. Lambrinoudakis/G. Gruben, 'Das neuentdeckte Heiligtum von Iria auf Naxos. Zur Baugeschichte des 2. Tempels', *AA* (1987), 604-614; 608-614, Abb. 47-49; Ritter, *Hercules in der römischen Kunst*, 77-78; fig. 6.1.

[11] V. Lambrinoudakis, 'Neues zur Ikonogafie des Dirke', in H.U. Cain et.al. (eds.), *Festschrift für Nikolaus Himmelmann* (Mainz am Rhein 1989), 341-350; 343-347.

[12] Lambrinoudakis, 'Neues zur Ikonografie der Dirke', 341; Lambrinoudakis/Gruben, 'Das Neuentdeckte Heiligtum von Iria', 610.

[13] Laubscher, 'Motive der augusteischen Bildpropaganda', 241 n.1, 244 nn. 8-9, 246 n. 14, Abb. 3-6.

[14] Ibidem, 247 n. 20, 248, 250: 'der ins Mythische transportierte ... allgemeine Triumph über Marc Anton'.

[15] W.-R. Megow, 'Zu einigen Kameen späthellenistischer und frühaugusteischer Zeit', *JdI* 100 (1985), 445-496; 484-485.

[16] See further *infra*.

[17] Though the suggestion of Huttner, 'Marcus Antonius und Herakles', 106, that it depicts a joint victory monument of the two triumvirs for the battle of Philippi in BC 42 has some appeal, and would complement Livineius Regulus' *aurei* well, still has some appeal.

[18] *IG* II2, 1043, 22-4. Cf. Dio, 48.39.2: Διόνυσος νέος. In the same period (39/8 BC) Ephesian *cistophoroi* depict Antony with bacchic attributes; Sydenham, *CRR*, nos. 1197-8 Pl. 29; Sear, *History and Coinage of the Roman Imperators*, 165 nos. 262-263; W. Trillmich, 'Münzpropaganda', in *Kaiser Augustus und die verlorene Republik* (Berlin 1988), 474-528; 481, 503, nos. 311-312.

[19] Dio, 50.5.3. These lines also mention Antony and Cleopatra presenting themselves as Osiris and Isis.

[20] Ritter, *Hercules in der römischen Kunst*, 81-85; Zanker, *Power of Images*, 55-56; Weippert, *Alexander-Imitatio*, 198-199; Kampen, 'Omphale and the Instability of Gender', in eadem (ed.), *Sexuality in Ancient Art. Near East, Egypt, Greece, and Italy* (Cambridge 1996), 233-246; 235.

[21] Becker, *Das Bild der Kleopatra in der griechischen und lateinischen Literatur* (Berlin 1966), 55 n. 3; Ritter, *Hercules in der römischen Kunst*, 81: 'mit Sicherheit auf zeitgenössische Quellen zurückgreifend'. The only support for the 'certainty' is the above-quoted statement by Becker. Plutarch did use some contemporary material for his life of Antony, and the first half of the work

shows obvious influences from Cic. *Phil*. II (not mentioned by Ritter), but for the second half of the work there is not such a clear source. Possibly Plutarch drew on material transmitted orally; C. B. R. Pelling, 'Plutarch's Method of Work in the Roman Lives', in B. Scardigli, *Essays on Plutarch's Lives* (Oxford 1995), 265-312; 297, 300.

[22] Dio, 50.24.3; 50.24.7: γυναικὶ ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς δουλεύοντες; 50.25.1-4; 50.27.1-5. Cf. Dio, 49.34.1; 50.5.1. Whether Dio did or did not use original Octavianic (propagandistic) sources is disputed. F. Millar, *A Study of Cassius Dio* (Oxford 1964), 85-92 argues for multiple sources, but also stresses Dio's own contribution. For an explicit comment on the speeches: M. Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate. An Historical Commentary on Cassius Dio's* Roman History. *Book 49-52 (36-29 B.C.)* (Atlanta 1988), 84: 'Dio drew the contents of these two speeches skilfully (whether directly or indirectly) from the polemical literature of the 40s and 30s'. If one assumes that Dio followed Octavian's propaganda directly, the absence of Omphale is all the more noticeable.

[23] On the importance Appian places on Cleopatra's negative influence on Antony in general, see O. Hekster/ T. Kaizer, 'Mark Antony and the raid on Palmyra: reflections on Appian, *Bella Civilia* 5.9', *Latomus* (forthcoming).

[24] C.B.R. Pelling, 'Plutarch's Adaptation of his Source-Material', in Scardigli, *Essays on Plutarch's Lives*, 125-54; 148. Pelling (148 n. 61) notes that this dichotomy 'seems to be Plutarch's own elaboration'.

[25] F.E. Brenk, 'Plutarch's life 'Markos Antonios': A Literary and Cultural Study', *ANRW* II.33.6 (1992) 4347-4469; 4381.

[26] Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, IX B1364; *LIMC* 7 'Omphale', no. 34. Cf. also a carnelian from the same period with a similar composition, showing actual copulation; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, IX B1365, *LIMC* 4 'Herakles', no. 1558.

[27] *P. Oxy*. 53, 3700; V.N. Jarcho, 'Zu dem neuen Mimosfragment (P. Oxy. 53, 3700)', *ZPE* 70 (1987), 32-34; 33-34.

[28] Plut., *Comp. Demetr. Ant*. 3.2-3. Cf. also Athenaeus 6. 253d-f. This hymn on Demetrios, transmitted by Plutarch's near-contemporary Athenaeus, gives an indication on the familiarity of the Roman public with Demetrios' divine associations. Hercules and Omphale were often seen in bacchic connotations, even taking on specific bacchic iconography; Kampen, 'Omphale and the Instability of Gender', 242. This makes Plutarch's mythical comparison between Demetrios, who can step out of his orgiastic revels, and Antony, who cannot, more striking.

[29] Dio, 49.41.1; Wallmann, *Triumviri Rei Publicae Constituendae*, 252. Famously, Cleopatra is described as the 'Queen of Kings' (CLEOPATRAE REGINAE REGUM) on a coin-type of Mark Antony; Crawford, *RRC*, I, no. 543.1.

[30] Ritter, *Hercules in der römischen Kunst*, 177. It is striking that Ritter shows meticulously how one should not try to interpret images of Omphale and Hercules in the Augustan period from a purely political point of view (171-181), but still monolithically emphasises such a political view (81-85). Only in one footnote (85 n. 255) in the 'political' passage does he refer to his own arguments against a political interpretation of much of the evidence. Ritter in fact promotes a more polyform interpretation of the Omphale-myth in his later 'Ercole e Onfale nell'arte romana dell'eta tardo-repubblicana e augustea', in Jourdain-Annequin/Bonnet, *II^e^ rencontre héracléenne*, 89-102; 102.

[31] P. Zanker, 'Eine römische Matrone als Omphale', *RM* 106 (1999) 119-131; 123-124.

[32] Ov., *Her*. 9.114: *tuque feri victor es, illa tui*. Cf. Ov., *Her*. 9.53-118.

[33] Kampen, 'Omphale and the Instability of Gender', 235-237, 237 fig. 98 (= Naples, Mus. Naz. 6406 (299) [*LIMC* 7, 'Omphale', no. 23]).

[34] Naples, Mus. Naz. 9004 (*LIMC* 7, 'Omphale', no. 14); Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus. IX B1560 (*LIMC* 7, 'Omphale', no. 16); Zanker, 'Eine römische Matrone', 124.

[35] Zanker, *Power of Images*, 59. But see Ritter, 'Ercole e Onfale nell'arte romana', 99-100, who argues that the hypothesis of an exact prototype cannot be proved.

[36] Boston, MFA, Inv. 98.870; Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Inv. 106292. There is also an example of pottery by Tigranus showing the scene; Paris, Louvre, Inv. 436; Ritter, *Hercules in der römischen Kunst*, 173 nn. 331-334. The different images show slight variation as to the secondary figures, such as cup- and spear-bearers, but the composition of the depiction remains essentially the same. Ritter (173 n. 331) also uses as evidence a mould from New York, Metropolitan Museum, Inv. 19192.21, but cf. Boardman, 'Omphale', *LIMC* 7, 49 no. 36.

[37] This equation originates with A. Oxé, 'Römisch-italische Beziehungen der früharretinischen Reliefgefäße', *BJb* 138 (1933) 81-102; 94-96, Taf. 14.2c-d, and is followed (amongst others) by Zanker, *Power of Images*, 59-60 fig. 45a-b; Kampen, 'Omphale and the Instability of Gender', 235, 236 fig. 97 a-b; J.-P. Morel, 'Das Handwerk in augusteischer Zeit', in *Kaiser Augustus und die verlorene Republik*, 81-92; 87, Abb. 29-30.

[38] Zanker, *Power of Images*, 59-60.

[39] Ritter, 'Ercole e Onfale nell'arte romana', 99 nn. 45-6 for references and discussion.

[40] *LIMC* 4, 'Herakles', no. 1430. Cf. *LIMC* 4, 'Herakles', no. 1431 (= *LIMC* 3, 'Dionysos/Bacchus', no. 246). Both images derive from the 3rd century AD. A mosaic from roughly the same period also shows Omphale with a drinking cup; Madrid, Arch. Mus. 2/1943; *LIMC* 7, 'Omphale', no 39 (= *LIMC* 5, 'Herakles', no. 1741).

MERTON COLLEGE
OXFORD OX1 4JD
UK

BABesch 79 (2004)

Shells and Scales
A Female Sabazios-worshipper from Cologne in Nijmegen

D.C. Steures

Abstract

A woman's grave found in the late Roman cemetery of the inner city of Nijmegen in 1957, and dated by 55 coins to the years 317-320 AD, contained in the place of the vanished right arm among other objects a miniature pair of scales and several North Sea shells. The scales are interpreted as an attribute of Sabazios worship in its Cologne variant; the shells as a passport to the happy part of the underworld: a common whelk showing that she had been initiated on various levels, and cockles in order to prove that she had 'clammed up' to the uninitiated about the rites.

Now that the author's work on the late Roman cemeteries of Nijmegen is all but finished - the find catalogue and typology have been written* -, even the most mysterious grave seems to yield up its secrets. It was excavated in 1957 under the direction of H. Brunsting in the *Lange Nieuwstraat* as grave 88 and was a female inhumation, as appears from the personal ornaments it contained. The grave will receive a different number in the definitive publication. It has already attracted attention because of the series of 55 coins found in it, which date the grave to AD 317-320. The coin series has been published twice: by Zadoks-Josephus Jitta in 1961, and by Gorecki in 1975 (with some different determinations) as part of a wide-ranging study of coins in graves. The reader should refer to those studies: the coins will not be treated in detail in the present article, but a general impression is given at the end. The not-too-rich 'normal' grave goods are enumerated in the description of the grave at the end of this article. All finds are shown in drawings there. Here, we concentrate on a series of small objects that are unique in Nijmegen but have parallels in Cologne and Krefeld. As some of these objects have never been treated in scholarly literature ancient or modern, parts of the article are speculative.

In the place of the vanished right upper or lower arm were found, apart from the personal ornaments and the coin series, a miniature bronze pair of scales, remains of a leather purse, a boar's tusk, and a series of North Sea shells: a common whelk (a large sea snail), a Pullet carpet-shell and seven cockles. What do we know about these objects from the literature?

BOAR'S TUSK

Böhme enumerates a number of boar's tusks from graves between the river Elbe and the Loire as well as in England without interpreting them.[1] He does remark that boar's tusk amulets probably had the same meaning as boar's tusks on helmets. The same criticism can be made of Arends 1978, who studied a number of amulet categories in the Alamannic area between AD 450 and 700. His only conclusions are: boar's tusks figure in medium to poor graves in the 6th and 7th centuries, as frequently in male as in female graves, and more often in pockets of the clothing than as pendants.[2] Three other authors do interpret boar insignia. Beck opens the first chapter of his monograph *Das Ebersignum im Germanischen* by remarking that boar insignia are related to weapons both in literary tradition and in pre- and protohistoric finds; that, however, belts, buckles and fibulae refer to the chthonic-vegetative aspect of the boar insignia.[3] However, he ignores boar's tusk *amulets* to the point of not even mentioning the word *Amulett* in his index. Pauli points in the same two directions, by stating that boar's tusks in Celtic weapon graves refer to power and prowess, and by adding that their more general meaning appears from their presence in children's and women's graves.[4] That meaning might be growth and fertility. Fingerlin 1981 shows that lunate amulets made from two boar's tusks belong to horse gear of Germanic tribes in both Early and Late Roman Imperial times. The same use has been found in the cases of a Roman and a modern amulet;[5] this use of the amulets has been related to their lunate form with its associations of growth (waxing moon) and fertility (menstruation). Growth and fertility symbols often are also symbols of life after death.

MINIATURE BRONZE PAIR OF SCALES

Miniature bronze pair of scales: arm 6.5 cm with central suspension eye, and two eyes in disks of 0.8 cm at the ends; upper side of arm serrated on one side; the scales, d 2.1, each have three holes, in one of which a small leather thong; remains of a leather purse and a thread on the underside of one of the pans.

The shortness of the arm of the pair of scales excludes the possibility that it is a precision balance: the longer the arm, the more precise the balance. Steuer (1987, 424) describes the Roman pairs of scales, of which our example is a rude miniature, as follows:

> 'Oftmals weisen die Balken auf einer Armhälfte, selten auf beiden, eine skalenartige Einteilung durch Kerben oder Bohrungen auf, die zum Verschieben eines zusätzlichen Differentialgewichtes gedacht is. Eichmöglichkeit und Koppelung der gleicharmigen Waage mit den Vorteilen der Schnellwaage werden die Ursache für diese zusätzliche Ausrüstung sein. (...) Aus der ganzen Zeitspanne der Römischen Kaiserzeit werden Waagen in Kastellen und Siedlungen gefunden. Als Grabbeigabe sind sie äußerst selten und gehören dann in die spätrömische Zeit.'

The imitation of the serration excludes the possibility that this miniature pair of scales is meant as a coin balance, even though a series of fifty-five coins from periods with different denominations is present in the same grave. Steuer (1987, 425) writes about the group to which our miniature pair of scales belongs, as follows:

> 'In der Gegend von Köln und Bonn konzentriert, mit wenigen Parallellen aus anderen Gebieten, so in Südengland [and now also in Nijmegen] findet sich aber als Grabbeigabe während des 3. und 4. Jahrhunderts eine Art Miniaturwaage. Sie kommt meist zusammen vor mit Miniaturausführungen von Tieren und Werkzeugen. Diese Waagen und Werkzeuge als Grabbeigaben sind mit dem Mithras-Kult in Zusammenhang gebracht worden.'

These groups of so-called Mithraic symbols from rich female inhumations in Cologne and Bonn comprise three kinds of objects; in the classification of Manning (1966, 50): 1. miniature agricultural tools; 2. animals (lizards, crested snakes, toads or frogs, once a tortoise, once a pair of oxen); 3. 'symbols' (oxen's yokes, ladders, pairs of scales, keys). Cumont had already pointed out in 1896 that these miniatures have nothing to do with Mithras: only the snake and the ladder belong to his iconography.[6] Lehner (1915, 51) agreed. Still, the name 'Mithraic symbols' (in parentheses) has stuck.[7]

Steuer (1987, 425-6) continues about the miniature pairs of scales:

> 'Sie gehören als Grabbeigabe ausschließlich zu Frauengräbern, so daß u.U. auch die wenigen Frauengräber mit regulären Feinwaagen in diesem Zusammenhang gesehen werden müssen. Bei den Miniaturwaagen handelt es sich um bewußt nachgeahmte Feinwaagen, da bei einigen von Ihnen auch die Kerbenleiste für das verschiebbare Tariergewicht vergröbert mit abgeformt ist. Auffällig ist zudem, daß die Gräber mit Miniaturgerät, darunter die Waage, meist auch Münzen erhalten. (...) Die Deutung dieses lokalen, auf die Kölner Gegend beschränkten Kultbrauches ist offen und hilft vorerst für die Bewertung der Münzwaagen nicht weiter.'

Manning (1966, 53), who publishes the only group known then of these miniatures with alleged provenance outside Cologne and environs ('a tumulus in Sussex'), interprets these miniatures as objects from the cult of Sabazios, on the basis of comparison with symbols on a bronze Sabazios hand in London.[8] Sabazios is a Thraco-Phrygian god, known since the 5th century BC, but whose mystery cult became popular in Roman Imperial times. His cult is mainly known from bronze hands with many symbols on them. Agricultural tools are all but absent from the Sabazios hands.[9] Manning's interpretation of the agricultural tools is based on two passages in Diodorus Siculus, 4.4.1 and 3.64.2. Sabazios is called a second Dionysos there, he has yoked oxen for the first time, and he has invented many useful agricultural tools. Manning attributes the symbolic meaning of soul scales to the miniature pairs of scales. In this, he is in agreement with Lane 1989, 33, who discusses the pair of scales as a Sabazios symbol:

> 'Another frequent symbol, occurring on 27 hands and three plaques, is the pair of scales. Here it would seem that the obvious interpretation is that of weighing the worshipper's merits, or conversely his sins. Perhaps a large and obvious pair of scales was kept in every Sabazius-sanctuary and used at some point in the ritual.'

The authors of the corpus of Sabazios monuments[10] do neither know Manning's article nor

	Scales	+ toad	+ lizard	+ snake	+ ladder	+ tool(s)
Sabazios hands	27	18	16	20	2	-
Cologne miniatures	16	3	10	4	14	12

Table 1. Combinations of pairs of scales with representations of animals, ladders and agricultural tools (including yokes for oxen).

the Cologne miniatures. But a statistical base for Manning's interpretation can be given with the help of the index to the corpus of the Sabazios hands.[11] There are 96 Sabazios hands in the corpus; 27 of these have on their backs a representation of a pair of scales and of animals. Table 1 gives the combination of representations of pairs of scales with those of animals on Sabazios-hands, in comparison with combinations of miniature pairs of scales with miniature animals, ladders and agricultural tools in the Cologne female inhumations.[12]

Linfert-Reich (1974, 170) discusses the groups of Cologne miniatures as if they consisted of agricultural tools only (and reptiles mentioned in passing). She suggests that they were meant for working the Elysian fields in the hereafter, and ends with the sweeping statement:

> 'Spekulationen mit dem Mithras- oder Sabazioskult, oder gar unbekannten Kölnischen Sekten brauchen also für unsere Geräte nicht bemüht zu werden.'

My conclusion is: Linfert-Reich manipulates the material and she is wrong; if anything, Elysium has always been a paradise where work was out of the question, whatever the changes in the ideas on the hereafter. Manning is right in suggesting a connection between the Cologne groups of miniature scales, ladders, agricultural tools and animals and the Sabazios cult. That Sabazios was worshipped in Cologne appears from the find of a Sabazios hand there.[13] It seems to be obvious to think of a Cologne variant of the Sabazios cult, because agricultural tools are otherwise lacking on the Sabazios hands. It seems to be exaggerated to call it a sect, because everything in it can be tracked down to the iconography of and literature on Sabazios. I subscribe to the interpretation put forward independently by Manning and Lane: the Nijmegen miniature pair of scales is to be interpreted as an instrument to weigh the soul of the deceased lady and comes from the Cologne variant of the Sabazios cult.

After the above had been written, Mr L. Swinkels, keeper of *Museum Het Valkhof*, where the finds are, drew my attention to Verhoeven/ Ector 1984. They publish two miniatures, a balance arm and a yoke, from Veldhoven (some 60 km southwest of Nijmegen), reach similar conclusions and also speak of a local Cologne variant of the Sabazios cult. They suggest a link between the date around 270-280 for many Cologne miniature groups and the court of the Gallic emperor Postumus at Cologne (258/9-260).

This relation seems improbable, for the following reasons. The balances are also found in graves of the first half of the fourth century (see Table 2 in the chapter on North Sea shells below). From Verhoeven's own Table on p. 147 it appears that the largest and most famous group of miniatures, from Rodenkirchen, dates from the time of Gratian, 367-383. Moreover, at least two of the graves with pairs of scales have been associated with large *villae rusticae* outside Cologne, not with an urban elite.[14] The miniature agricultural tools are better understandable in the context of a *villa rustica* than in that of an urban court elite. But above all: nothing in Postumus' propaganda *par excellence*, the coins, points in the direction of Sabazios, whereas he honours many other gods, amongst whom a god with a mystery cult, Serapis.[15]

NORTH SEA SHELLS

Pullet carpet-shell (*Venerupis pullastra Montagu*, 1803), 1 fragment of right valve; cockle (*Cardium edule Linnaeus*, 1758), 6 fr of left valve, 5 fr of right valve, 3 fr undeterminable; 1 common whelk, incomplete (*Buccinum undatum Linnaeus*, 1758; German *Wellhornschnecke*).

The common whelk, the largest shell (4-10 cm) to be found on the North Sea shore, has been found in four or five female inhumations from Cologne to Nijmegen from the second half of the third century and the first half of the fourth. It is always accompanied by a coin series, in three cases by a miniature pair of scales, in one case by other miniatures, and in three cases by bivalve shells: see Table 2. The Cologne and Krefeld graves are richly provided with grave goods.

The positions in the graves where the shells were found are as follows. In Cologne, Von Werthstraße grave 6: together with coin series under the remains of a textile handbag near the right hand.

Place	Grave	Literature	Cw	Sh	Cs	Dates	Sc	Mi
Cologne	Von Werthstr 6	Fremersdorf 1931	1	6	38	87-337	no	no
Cologne	Lindenthal 2	Noelke 1984	1	-	23	224-282	yes	yes
Cologne	Severinstr 2	Doppelfeld 1959	1?	-	9	268-337	no	no
Krefeld	533	Pirling 1966, 70	1	5	17	161-311	yes	no
Nijmegen	L Nieuwstr 88	This article	1	>7	55	10 BC-320	yes	no

Table 2: Roman female inhumations with common whelk (Cw), shells (Sh), coin series (Cs: number and dates of earliest and latest coins), in some cases with miniature pair of scales (Sc) and miniature agricultural tools and animals (Mi).

In Cologne-Lindenthal grave 2: just like the coin series not indicated on the otherwise precise grave plan on p. 379 Abb. 2; 'die im Sarg entdeckte einzelne Wellhornschnecke' (p. 413). Cologne, Severinstraße grave 2: no data; simply indicated as *Schneckenhaus*. Krefeld, grave 533: the whelk[16] was lying in the middle of the grave; the other five shells under which a Jacob's shell (*Pecten maximum* or *Jacobaeum*) in the middle of the grave, next to the cremation remains. Nijmegen, Lange Nieuwstraat grave 88: with bone hairpins, boar's tusk, miniature pair of scales, necklace and coin series on the right upper or lower arm.

Though the whelk and the molluscs with whose shells it is found in the female graves are edible and as such discussed in many cookery-books and lists of mollusc merchants, it is not found as food on a plate in these graves. The position in a handbag near the right hand in Cologne, Von Werthstraße grave 6, and in Nijmegen on the right arm suggests that the shells were empty when they were put into the graves and that they were very important to the deceased ladies. The only practical use whelk shells ever had for man is their function of signal horn, the predecessor (on the North Sea) of the fog-horn. This practical use is excluded here as the whelks still have their apex and therefore no mouthpiece to blow on.[17] In view of their appearing together with miniature pairs of scales and coin series a symbolic meaning seems to be the most probable. Three studies on amulets, one general and two archaeological, give no specific clues for North Sea shells.[18]

As the miniature pair of scales in the same Nijmegen grave has above been interpreted as a soul balance from the mystery cult of Sabazios in its Cologne variant, a symbolic interpretation of the whelk and the bivalve shells in the same sphere seems to be the most attractive. The aim of mystery cults was to approach the divine as near as possible via different levels of initiation.[19] Every horn-shaped snail shell with its clear whorls one on top of the other can be used as a symbol for these levels of initiation, and most of all the largest one to be found in this region: the common whelk. In the same vein it is written on the website of the *Jabikspaad* (a Frisian connection to the pilgrim's route to Santiago de Compostela, with a common whelk as logo):

> 'In the kabbalah (the Jewish secret doctrine) the horn-shaped shell is the image of the different levels in reality that are connected in the fashion of a snail shell. This symbolism can be applied to the pilgrim as follows: the lowest whorl is the bodily level. (...) The middle whorl is the moral level. (...) The topmost whorl is the spiritual level. (...)' (Translation D.St.)

And the bivalve shells? Mystery cults knew the obligation for the initiates to keep silent to the uninitiated.[20] I suggest that the bivalve shells are a symbol of this clamming up. As all the molluscs concerned are edible and Sabazios-worshippers held ritual dinners,[21] it seems to be obvious that these molluscs were eaten at the initiation dinner.

Mystery cults offered their initiates the prospect of a happy hereafter, to the exclusion of the non-initiated.[22] In Aristophanes' *Frogs* vs 454-6 a choir of initiates in the underworld sings: 'for us alone, who have been initiated, the sun, the holy light shines.' People who believe in this provide their deceased loved ones with a proof of initiation in order to guarantee their happiness in the hereafter. Both from Dionysiac and Orphic mystery contexts we know of graves containing gold tablets with inscribed texts that were to serve as initiation certificate, and as such as a passport giving entry to the realm of the happy few in the underworld.[23] Applied to the graves in Cologne, Krefeld and Nijmegen: the position of the shells together with a coin series near the right hand or arm, and in Krefeld next to the cremation remains, suggests that each lady believed she needed the shells in her hand-luggage on the journey to the underworld, I suggest, as a passport that proved her initiation.

COINS

The coins, also in the lady's hand-luggage, were meant for a long journey or for another purpose not yet understood. Consultation with coin specialist dr J.P.A. van der Vin of *Het Koninklijk Penningkabinet* in Leiden led to his following comment:

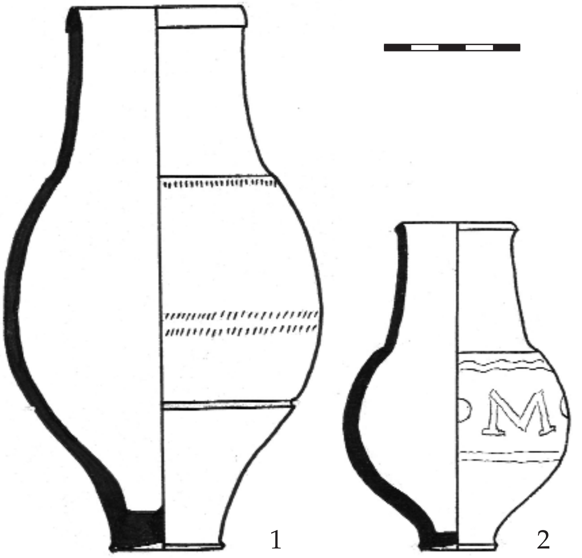
> 'As for the coin series, no specific characteristics can be deduced that would refer to the Sabazios-cult. The composition in Nijmegen is spread over a rather long period, but the earliest three coins all come from mass emissions, so that it cannot be a surprise that such coins were still (or again!) available after three centuries to be given in the grave as valuables. The other coin series in Krefeld and Cologne do not show special characteristics either: they were taken from the recent coin production that was in full circulation, supplemented with some older material that was probably for that reason considered valuable and therefore given in the graves. All in all, not a reference to an eastern cult, but indeed a specimen of the coin material available at the moment of inhumation. As for the Nijmegen grave, the years 318-319 are fully justified for the date for the inhumation, as changes in circulation were fast in those years, so a date later than 320 is extremely improbable.' (Translation D.St.)

CONCLUSION

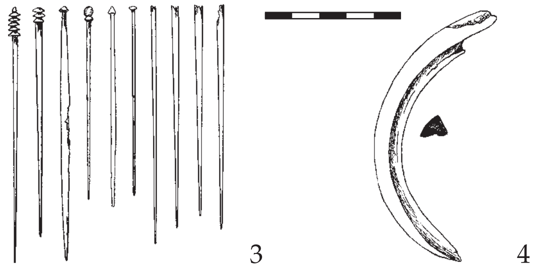
The miniature pair of scales is to be interpreted as a soul balance from the mystery cult of Sabazios in its Cologne variant. I suggest that the shells were put in the grave as a memento of the initiation dinner and as a passport giving access to happiness in the hereafter; the whelk as a symbol of the different levels of initiation the deceased has passed through, the bivalve shells as proof that she kept silent to the uninitiated about the contents of the cult. As both scales and shells have parallels mainly in Cologne, I assume that the lady in the Nijmegen grave was a Sabazios-worshipper from Cologne, and that the same holds for the Krefeld lady. As opposed to the rich graves of her fellow worshippers in Cologne and Krefeld, the Nijmegen grave is not conspicuously richly furnished. The boar's tusk, without a parallel in this context, is to be interpreted as a growth and fertility symbol, and probably as a symbol of life after death.[24]

DESCRIPTION OF THE GRAVE

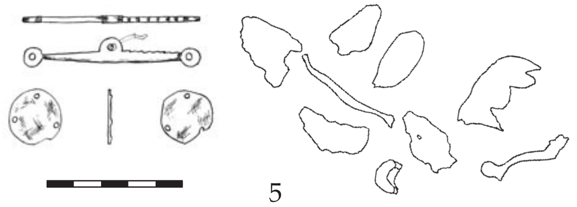
Lange Nieuwstraat grave 88. Grave 220x105 cm, coffin traces 185x40. H 26.13 above sea level. SE-NW. Remains of skull (molar+fragment). Nails. Nr 1 stood to the right of the legs, nr 2 to the left. Nos 3-8 were found upon the upper or lower right arm. At the height of the navel (in a hand?) a coin was found (not known which one!).



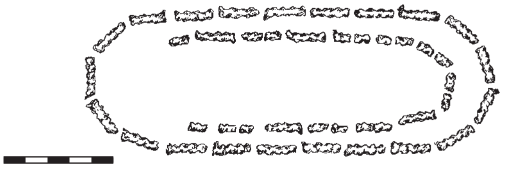
1) Dark colour coated beaker, h 20. Type Symonds 61 with groove and carved decoration. *2)* Dark colour coated beaker with white painted decoration, h 12.2, motto D•A•M•I• (branch). Type Künzl 1.4.1.



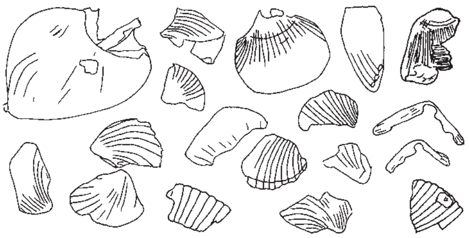
3) Ten bone needles, six of which with head; the head of four was broken off or had perished; three of the heads are conical, one is disk-shaped, one has a globe on a conus, and two with five serrations plus a globe (when they were drawn, a piece was already broken off from one of the latter two; they are similar in the original notes). The longest needle measures 9.5 cm. *4)* Boar's tusk, 9.5 cm, measured in a straight line from tip to break.


5

5) Miniature bronze pair of scales: arm 6.5 cm with central suspension eye, and two eyes in disks of 0.8 cm at the ends; upper side of arm serrated on one side; the scales, d 2.1, each have three holes, in one of which a small leather thong; remains of a leather purse.


6

6) Necklace of opaque glass: ±23 beads ±1.7 cm long and segmented in 5-6 segments, ±24 shorter ones; two long and two shorter ones (halves?) are white; ±7 are greenish, the rest is dark without a colour being visible. For the rest, the necklace consists of eight simple beads, six of which white; two are broken.


7

7) North Sea shells: Pullet carpet-shell (*Venerupis pullastra Montagu*, 1803), 1 fragment of right valve; common cockle (*Cardium edule Linnaeus*, 1758), 6 fr left valve, 5 fr right valve, 3 fr undeterminable; one common whelk (*Buccinum undatum Linnaeus*, 1758).

8) Fifty-five coins (one silver, the rest bronze: one from 10-3 BC, three from the first century, two from the beginning of the second, four from the last quarter of the third, fourty-five from the fourth century, nineteen of which from the years 313-317 and one from 317-320 (Zadoks-Josephus Jitta 1961; Gorecki 1975, 399-401.)

NOTES

* D.C. Steures, *The late Roman Cemeteries of Nijmegen*. In preparation.

[1] Böhme 1974, 116-117.

[2] Arends 1978, 149, 152, 153, 163, respectively.

[3] Beck 1965, 4.

[4] Pauli 1975, 129.

[5] Hansmann/Kriss-Rettenbeck 1977, 133, 245-246, Figs. 522 and 542.

[6] Cumont 1896, II 525-526.

[7] Haberey 1949 calls them *sogenannte Mithrassymbole* in his title; Linfert-Reich 1974.

[8] = Vermaseren 1983, no 75.

[9] Apart from a pruning knife and a shovel: Vermaseren 1983, nos 3, 15, 69?, 72.

[10] Lane 1980; Vermaseren 1983; Lane 1985; Lane 1989.

[11] Vermaseren 1983.

[12] The latter on the basis of the table in Manning 1966, 56; stray finds in the Cologne Niessen Collection have not been counted; loose balance arms and pans have been counted as one pair of scales per grave.

[13] Vermaseren 1983, no 50.

[14] Cologne-Lindenthal: title of Noelke 1984; Rodenkirchen: Haberey 1949, 102.

[15] RIC V II, 328-368, esp. 331.

[16] The whelk is clearly recognisable as such in Pirling 1966, Tafel 48,26, but it is incorrectly called *Mittelmeerschnecke (Turitella?)* on p. 70. The Turitella is the slimmest of all horn-shaped snail shells, with a very small angle between the sides, whereas the whelk has a much wider angle and looks sturdier and more rounded.

[17] Cologne-Von Werthstraße grave 6: Fremersdorf 1931, 171 Abb. 2; Cologne-Lindenthal grave 2: Noelke 1984, 385, Abb. 7; Krefeld grave 533: Pirling 1966, Tafel 48,26.

[18] Hansmann/Kriss-Rettenbeck 1977, 136 see links between (snail) shell amulets and genitals, the orbits of heavenly bodies and the healing power of water and salt. Pauli 1975, 128 discusses sea shells and land snail shells as amulets in mid-European Iron Age graves; the only sea shells he mentions, however, are cowri shells (*Cypraea*) from the Red Sea. Arends 1978 discusses cowri shells in Alamannic graves.

[19] Kloft 1999, 8.

[20] Kloft 1999, 7. The usual etymology of *mystery* given by Kloft, from μύω = *to close the eyes*, is wrong. If anything, mysteries *opened* the eyes of the initiates, the highest level of initiation in Eleusis being ἐποπτεία = *watching*. The associated verb is μυέω = *to initiate*.

[21] Kloft 1999, 38 and figure on p. 39.

[22] Kloft 1999, 30.

[23] Kloft 1999, 30-31; Maddoli 1996, 497-8.

[24] Prof. E.N. Lane kindly commented upon a draft of this article and corrected the English. Any remaining flaws are mine.

REFERENCES

Arends, U. 1978, *Ausgewählte Gegenstände des Frühmittelalters mit Amulettcharakter*, Diss. Heidelberg.

Beck, H. 1965, *Das Ebersignum im Germanischen. Ein Beitrag zur germanischen Tier-Symbolik* (Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte der germanischen Völker, Neue Folge 16 (140)) Berlin.

Böhme, H.W. 1974, *Germanische Grabfunde des 4. bis 5. Jahrhunderts zwischen unterer Elbe und Loire. Studien zur*

Chronologie und Bevölkerungsgeschichte (Münchner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 19), München.

Cumont, F. 1896, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, Bruxelles.

Doppelfeld, O. 1959, Der Muschelpokal von Köln, *BJ* 159, 152-166.

Fingerlin, G. 1981, Eberzahnhänger aus Dangstetten, *Fundberichte Baden-Württemberg* 6, 417-432.

Fremersdorf, F. 1931, Kastenbeschlag mit christlicher Darstellung aus Köln, *Germania* 15, 169-175.

Gorecki, J. 1975, Studien zur Sitte der Münzbeigabe in römerzeitlichen Körpergrabern zwischen Rhein, Mosel und Somme, *BRGK* 56, 179-467.

Haberey, W. 1949, Gravierte Glasschale und sogenannte Mithrassymbole aus einem spätrömischen Grabe von Rodenkirchen bei Köln, *BJ* 149, 94-104.

Hansmann, L./L. Kriss-Rettenbeck, 1977, *Amulett und Talisman. Erscheinungsform und Geschichte*, München.

Kloft, H. 1999, *Mysterienkulte der Antike. Götter, Menschen, Rituale*, München.

Künzl, S. 1997, *Die Trierer Spruchbecherkeramik* (Trierer Zeitschrift, Beiheft 21), Trier.

Lane, E.N. 1980, Towards a Definition of the Iconography of Sabazius, *Numen* 27, 9-33.

Lane, E.N. 1985, *Corpus Cultus Iovis Sabazii* II. *The other Monuments and Literary Evidence*, Leiden.

Lane, E.N. 1989, *Corpus Cultus Iovis Sabazii* III. *Conclusions*, Leiden.

Lehner, H. 1915, *Führer durch das Provinzialmuseum Bonn* I. *Die antike Abteilung*, Bonn.

Linfert-Reich, D. 1974, Spielzeug der Seligen. *Kölner Römer Illustrierte* 1, 170.

Maddoli, G. 1996, Cults and Religious Doctrines of the Western Greeks, in G. Pugliese Carratelli (ed.), *The Western Greeks*, Venice, 481-498.

Manning, W.H. 1966, A Group of Bronze Models from Sussex in the British Museum, *AntJ* 46, 50-59.

Noelke, P. 1984, Reiche Gräber von einem römischen Gutshof in Köln, *Germania* 62, 373-423.

Pauli, L. 1975, *Keltischer Volksglaube: Amulette und Sonderbestattungen am Dürnberg bei Hallein und im eisenzeitlichen Mitteleuropa* (Münchner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 28), München.

Pirling, R. 1966, *Das römisch-fränkische Gräberfeld von Krefeld-Gellep* (Germanische Denkmäler der Völkerwanderungszeit, Serie B: Die fränkischen Altertümer des Rheinlandes, Band 2), Berlin.

Steuer, H. 1987, Gewichtsgeldwirtschaften im frühgeschichtlichen Europa: Feinwaagen und Gewichte als Quellen zur Währungsgeschichte. Untersuchungen zu Handel und Verkehr der vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Zeit in Mittel- und Nordeuropa IV. Der Handel der Karolinger- und Wikingerzeit. *Abh. Akad. Wiss. Göttingen, Phil. Hist. Klasse*, Dritte Folge nr. 156, 405-527.

Symonds, R. 1992, *Rhenish Wares. Fine Dark Coloured Pottery from Gaul and Germany* (Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Monograph 23), Oxford.

Verhoeven, A./F. Ector 1984, Sabazius in Noord-Brabant?, *Brabants Heem* 36, 138-149.

Vermaseren, M.J. 1983, *Corpus Cultus Iovis Sabazii* I. *The Hands*, Leiden.

Zadoks-Josephus Jitta, A.N. 1961, Nijmegen 1957, *Jaarboek voor Munt- en Penningkunde* 48, 95-7.

ALETTA JACOBSLAAN 104
NL-2314 GB LEIDEN
desteures@hotmail.com

Pertinax oder Didius Julianus? Einige Überlegungen zur Kaiserikonographie von 193 n. Chr.

Richard de Kind

Abstract

In this article the iconography of the Roman emperors Pertinax and Didius Julianus (193 AD) is studied, starting from a portrait in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden. On the basis of coin portraits and ancient descriptions of the emperors, it is possible to divide the existing portraits of Pertinax into two different types: one dating from the period before his accession to the throne (two examples, including a bust found in the villa of Lullingstone) and one posthumous type (at least four examples). Of Didius Julianus only one portrait type is known, represented by two examples, including the head in Leiden.

Jos de Waele zum Gedächtnis

Von der Sammlung römischer Porträts im Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden gilt das mit der Inventarnummer H*2 versehene Stück seit der Studie von M. Gjødesen (1972)[1] als ein Porträt des Kaisers Pertinax, der im Jahre 193 nur drei Monate regiert hat. Unter dieser Bezeichnung erscheint der Kopf 1977 auch im achten Beitrage der 'Studien zu den Porträts des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.' von Helga von Heintze, in dem diese die Kaiser aus den Krisenjahren 193 bis 197 behandelt.[2] Beim Studium des Leidener Kopfes stellte sich heraus, daß die dort vorgeschlagene Ikonographie von Pertinax anfechtbar ist und daß die von Didius Julianus auf große Schwierigkeiten stößt.[3] In dieser Untersuchung sollen deshalb einige Bemerkungen zur Kaiserikonographie von 193 n. Chr. an zentraler Stelle stehen.

LEIDEN, RMO INV. H*2

Der oben genannte Kopf (*Abb. 1-2*) stammt aus Thysdrus, dem heutigen El Djem in Tunesien.[4] Der Kopf ist aus feinkörnigem weißem Marmor gearbeitet. Es sind im ganzen Gesicht kleinere Beschädigungen zu sehen, während die Nase und die Partie des rechten Auges ganz verschwunden sind; dagegen ist die Haarpartie fast ganz unbeschädigt erhalten. Der Ausschnitt des Halses verläuft sehr regelmäßig, doch ist an der rechten Rückseite eine Ecke scharf abgebrochen; diese Beschädigung ist wohl bei der Ausgrabung entstanden. Der fast runde Halsausschnitt deutet daraufhin, daß der Kopf in ein Standbild eingelassen war. Der mehr als lebensgroße,[5] leicht nach links gewendete Kopf stellt einen älteren Mann mit vollem Haar und Bart, sowie mit einem ausdrucksvollen Mund und gefurchter Stirn dar. Die Furchen der Stirn sind in charakteristischer Weise wiedergegeben: über der Nasenwurzel befinden sich zwei tiefe, senkrechte Falten, auf die über die ganze Breite der Stirn drei senkrechte, parallele Furchen treffen. Diesen horizontalen Linien stehen gebogene Furchen über beiden Augen diagonal gegenüber. Die Augenbrauen werden betont durch die tief in den Höhlen liegenden Augen. Da beide Augenbrauen beschädigt sind, ist es schwierig festzustellen, ob sie plastisch aufgefaßt waren. Höchstwahrscheinlich waren sie durch Einritzungen angedeutet, aber ob dies auf einer modellierten Masse geschehen war oder auf der Oberfläche, bleibt nicht deutlich.

Die Augen sind klein, wobei die Iris und die Pupille kaum sichtbar sind. Das untere Lid liegt weit über dem Augapfel, wodurch der Eindruck hervorgerufen wird, die Augen seien halb geschlossen oder zugekniffen. Die Wangen sind verschieden aufgefaßt. Die rechte Wange wird durch eine diagonale Hautfalte geteilt, die vom Tränensack zum Barte verläuft, während die Nasolabialfalte parallel hierzu verläuft. Diese Trennung ist in der linken Wange weniger deutlich vorhanden. Die ziemlich tiefe Nasolabialfalte sorgt hier für die Rundung der Wange. Der Mund hat in der totalen Bartpartie einen auffallenden Platz erhalten. Die Oberlippe wird ganz von einem - im Verhältnis zum Barte - leichten Schnurrbart beschattet. Dadurch, daß die Unterlippe weit zurückliegt und der Mund ein wenig geöffnet ist, entsteht ein ekstatisch verzweifelter Ausdruck, der - zusammen mit den bereits erwähnten Stirnfalten - dem Kopf eine pathetische Ausstrahlung verleiht. Eine - im Profil gesehene - wellenförmig nach unten verlaufende Linie bildet die Verbindung zwischen Mund und Bart. Der hängende Teil des Bartes ist kaum plastisch aufgefaßt: die Locken liegen auf einem massiven Block und sind nicht aus dem Untergrund herausgearbeitet. Der Rest des Bartes ist ebenfalls grob ausgearbeitet. Durch einige starke Linien sind einzelne Teile hervorgehoben, die durch etwas weniger grobe Einritzungen durchschnitten werden, so daß dadurch etwa der Eindruck eines gelockten Bartes entsteht.

Die Haarpartie ist noch schematischer ausgeführt. Die Locken haben die Form von Flocken, die an der Stirnseite und an den Schläfen etwas mehr Relief haben als auf dem Schädel selbst. An den Schläfen sind die Haare nach vorn gekämmt, und zwar so, daß sie an der rechten Seite fast den Augenwinkel berühren. Hier verläuft der Übergang vom Bartansatz zur 'Geheimratsecke' viel eckiger als an der linken Seite und der Haaransatz liegt etwas weniger weit nach hinten. Über der Stirn liegen einige Locken, deren mittlere etwas zurückweichen. In die schematische Darstellung passen auch die Ohren, die linear ausgearbeitet sind und dadurch mühelos in den Umriß des Hauptes übergehen. Dieser Umriß wird von einer halbrunden Form des oberen Hauptes und einer mehr spitz zulaufenden Form unten gebildet.

REPLIK: VATIKAN, SALA DEI BUSTI 707

Das Porträt ist ursprünglich - im Katalog von L.J.F. Janssen aus dem Jahre 1843 - als 'Lucius Verus' bezeichnet worden; diese Identifizierung kann aber außer Betracht bleiben wegen der evidenten Abweichungen von gesicherten Porträts dieses Kaisers.[6] Obwohl auch die Deutung als Epikur, wie sie in den alten Museumsführern (1951 und 1957) aufgeführt wird, wegen der großen Unterschiede zum bekannten Epikur-Typus[7] nicht zu halten ist, fällt doch auf, daß unser Porträt die expressiven Qualitäten dieses Philosophenporträts übernimmt: die gefurchte

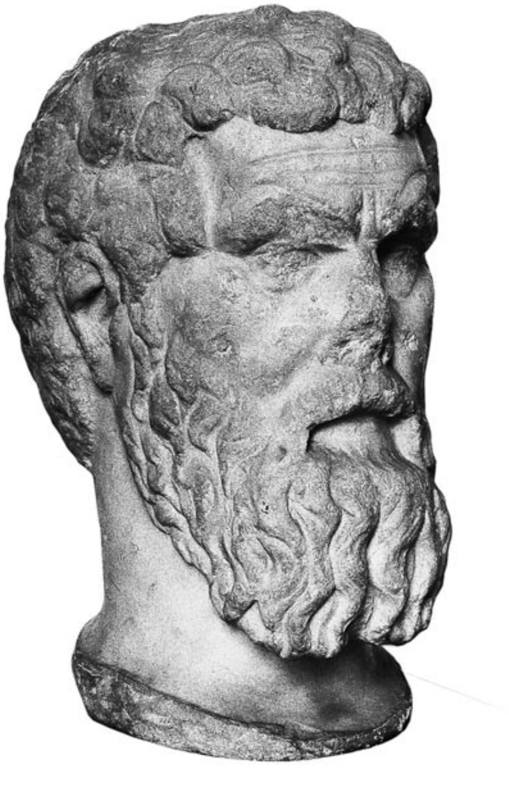


*Abb. 1. Porträt des Didius Julianus, Vorderansicht (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, inv. H*2).*

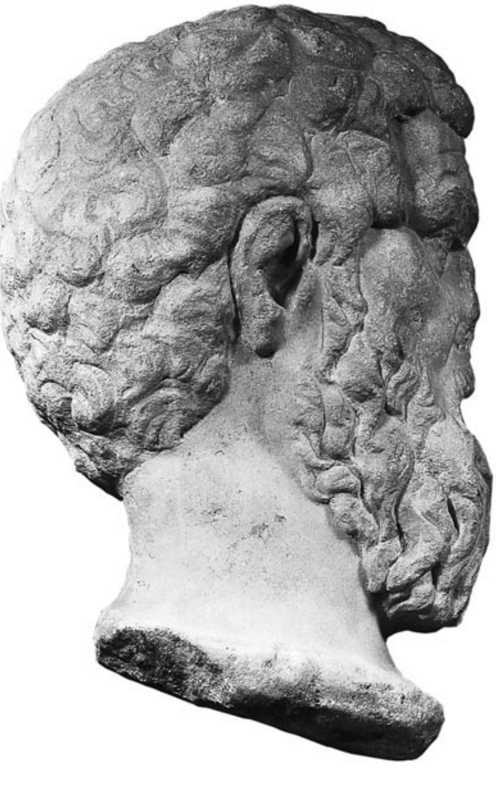


*Abb. 2. Porträt des Didius Julianus, rechtes Profil (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, inv. H*2).*

Stirn, den langen Bart mit Mittelteilung und den etwas versteckten, halbgeöffneten Mund.

Alle anderen Identifizierungen waren bis heute auf das Jahr 193 n. Chr. gerichtet, besonders aber auf Pertinax. Bernoulli fand, daß das Porträt Münzdarstellungen des Pertinax ‘sehr ähnlich’ sehe, aber er hatte noch Zweifel. M. Gjødesen hingegen ließ 1972 diese Skepsis außer Betracht, als er eine Replik im Vatikan (*Abb. 3-4*) beschrieb: Sala dei Busti Inv. 707.[8] Von diesem ganz großen Porträt[9] sind der ganze Hinterkopf, ein Teil des Halses und die Büste restauriert. Nur in einigen Punkten weicht dieses Bildnis von dem Leidener Kopf ab: es hat eine weniger weit durchlaufende Haarpartie an den Schläfen, eine mehr runde Mundlinie und einen abstehenden Bart.

Beide Porträts sind ganz deutlich Repliken eines Typs, der durch die Furchen auf der Stirn gekennzeichnet wird - drei horizontale, zwei vertikale an der Nasenwurzel und zwei gebogene über den Augen -, durch zwei völlig voneinander verschiedene Gesichtshälften infolge einer leichten Drehung des Kopfes, durch kleine, halbgeschlossene Augen, durch eine kräftige, gerade, ziemlich kleine Nase (Vatikan), durch einen halbgeöffneten, ausdrucksvollen Mund, durch eine gelockte Haarpartie mit ‘Geheimratsecken’ und schließlich durch einen langen Bart mit Mittelteilung, sei er nun abstehend (Vatikan) oder herunterhängend (Leiden). Es scheint gerechtfertigt, die Bartform des Vatikanischen Kopfes als die dem Prototyp am nächsten kommende Version zu betrachten. Trotz der starken Restaurierungen an dem Kopfe[10] ist die Gesichtsfläche gut erhalten geblieben. Das Porträt strahlt viel geringere künstlerische Qualität aus und kann als gefühllose, mehr oder weniger ‘mechanische’ Kopie des Originals betrachtet werden. Aus dieser sklavischen Abhängigkeit kann man folgern, daß der Prototyp einen abstehenden Bart hatte, der bei dem freier aufgefaßten Leidener Porträt zu einem blockförmigen, hängenden Ganzen umgewandelt worden ist. Dies hängt zweifellos mit der Aufstellung des genannten Porträts, das - auch hinsichtlich der wenig ausführlichen Bearbeitung (z.B. der Ohren) - vermutlich dazu bestimmt gewesen ist, aus einem gewissen Abstand betrachtet zu werden.

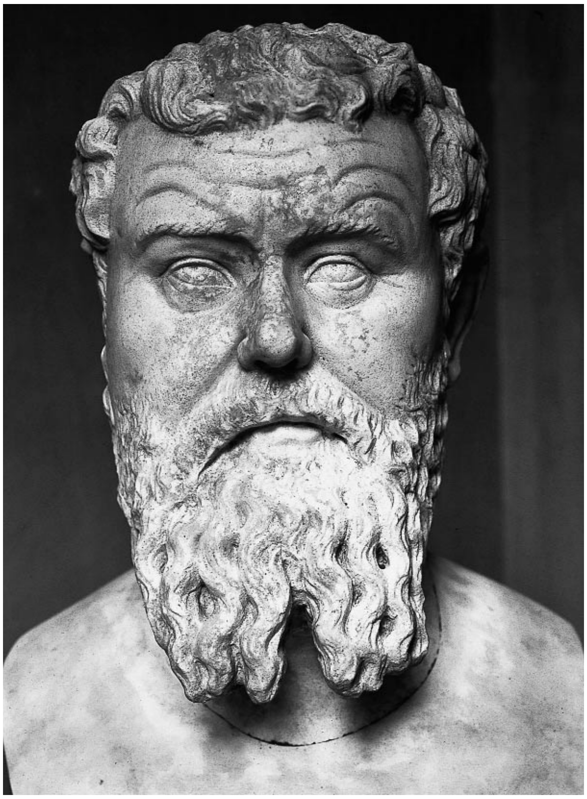


Abb. 3. Porträt des Didius Julianus, Vorderansicht (Musei Vaticani, Sala dei Busti 707).

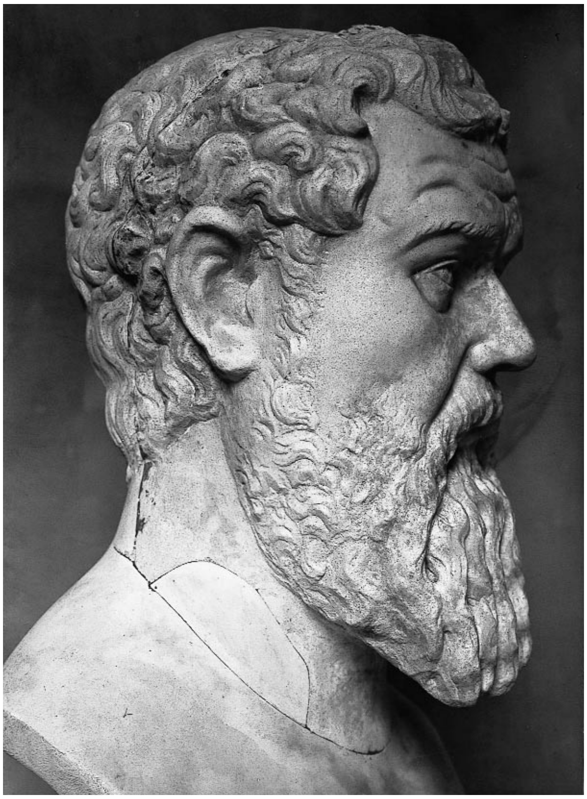


Abb. 4. Porträt des Didius Julianus, rechtes Profil (Musei Vaticani, Sala dei Busti 707).

Wegen der überdimensionalen Größe und wegen der Verbreitung des Typs über das römische Reich ist es wahrscheinlich, daß es sich bei beiden Bildnissen um Kaiserporträts handelt. Stilistisch gehören sie in das letzte Dezennium des zweiten Jahrhunderts, d.h. in die Übergangsphase von der antoninischen Zeit in die severische: die lockigen Haare folgen noch der Haartracht der antoninischen Zeit, sind aber severisch ausgearbeitet;[11] der lange Bart erinnert noch an die Philosophenkaiser, aber die plastische Behandlung der Augenbrauen und der Stirnfalten sind bereits Vorboten von Caracallaporträts.

Weil außer Pertinax auch dessen Nachfolger Didius Julianus in bezug auf diese Porträts genannt wird,[12] weil beider Laufbahnen eng miteinander verbunden sind und weil - wie sich noch zeigen wird - ihre Münzbildnisse sehr starke Ähnlichkeit zeigen, folgt zuerst eine literaturgeschichtliche und numismatische Würdigung dieser beiden Kaiser des Jahres 193.

LITERATURGESCHICHTLICHE ÜBERSICHT

Publius Helvius Pertinax,[13] geboren im Jahre 126 in Ligurien als Sohn eines Freigelassenen, begann seine Laufbahn anfangs als Lehrer, wechselte später zu einer militärischen Karriere über, in deren Verlauf er eine der ungewöhnlichsten Laufbahnen in der Geschichte durchmachte, die ihm schließlich sogar den Purpur bringen sollte. Nach seiner Aufnahme in den Senatorenstand durch die *adlectio* des Marcus Aurelius war er 175 *consul suffectus*, zusammen mit seinem späteren Nachfolger Didius Julianus. Pertinax wurde bekannt als Ordnungsstifter in unruhigen Provinzen, z.B. in Syrien (Aufstand des Avidius Cassius), Britannien und Afrika. Im Jahre 192 ist er *consul iterum ordinarius*.[14] Nach der Ermordung des Commodus (31.12.192) wurde Pertinax zum Kaiser ausgerufen. Seine guten Bemühungen wurden von den Soldaten nicht verstanden, die das Lotterleben unter Commodus zurückwünschten. Drei Monate nach seiner Thronbesteigung wurde Pertinax ermordet. Ihm folgte der Mann, der den Prätorianern am meisten zu bieten hatte: Didius Julianus.

Marcus Didius Severus Julianus[15] wurde 133 in Mailand geboren, woher das Geschlecht seines Vaters stammte. Die Familie seiner Mutter stammte aus Hadrumetum in Nordafrika. Didius Julianus durchlief - im Gegensatz zu Pertinax - den idealen *cursus honorum*, weil er durch das kaiserliche Haus (Domitia Lucilla, Marcus Aurelius) besonders begünstigt wurde. Nach der gewöhnlichen Senatorenlaufbahn und nachdem er als Legat eine Provinz verwaltet hatte, folgte 175 das bereits erwähnte Konsulat (mit Pertinax). Er mußte dann einige Jahre gezwungen in Ruhe verbringen, weil er eine vermeintliche Rolle in einem Komplott gegen Commodus gespielt hatte, aber danach verlief seine Laufbahn makellos. Er begleitet Pertinax auf seinem Wege weiter: 189 folgt er ihm als Prokonsul von Afrika und Ende März 193 konnte er den Soldaten am meisten bieten und wurde deshalb Kaiser. Seine Popularität war aber gering, ebenso sein Verwaltungstalent, so daß der Senat ihn beim Anrücken des Septimius Severus abwählte und ermorden ließ.

Aus den literarischen Quellen erhält man nur summarische Angaben über das Aussehen der beiden Kaiser. Die *Historia Augusta* sagt über Pertinax, daß er ein ehrwürdiger Greis war, einen herabhängenden Bart und ‘zurückgebogenes’ Haar hatte: ‘*fuit autem senex venerabilis, inmissa barba, reflexo capillo...*’ (XII,11). Eine Ergänzung hierzu könnte uns die vielfach als ‘wertlos’ oder ‘unbrauchbar’ bezeichnete Personenbeschreibung des Chronisten Johannes Malalas (6.Jh.) bieten. In ihrer Studie über den historisch tatsächlich nicht immer korrekten Schreiber vermerkt Elsa Hörling (1980) unter anderem: ‘Die Kaiser werden meistens sorgfältig beschrieben. Man bekommt ein Porträt, das Dank seiner Fülle ein lebendiges Bild gibt’.[16] Trotz dieser positiven Anmerkungen ist es ratsam, die Personenbeschreibungen von Malalas mit einiger Vorsicht zu betrachten und sie ausschließlich im Zusammenhang mit den mehr vertrauenswürdigen Münzbildnissen zu verwenden.[17]

Malalas beschreibt Pertinax wie folgt (XII, 290, 7-9): Ἦν δὲ μακρός, εὐθόραξ, ἐπίρινος, ἁπλόθριξ, μεγαλόφθαλμος, γέρων, ὁλοπόλιος (‘Er war lang, hatte einen breiten Oberkörper, eine große Nase, schlichtes Haar, große Augen, war alt und ganz grau’).

Bis auf die Beschreibung der Haartracht ist diese Personenbeschreibung übereinstimmend mit der Beschreibung der *Historia Augusta*. Die Münzbildnisse können vielleicht mehr Informationen über die Haartracht bieten.

Von Didius Julianus sagt Malalas - und das ist die einzige Beschreibung dieses Kaisers aus der Antike - (XII, 290,12-13):
Ἦν δὲ μακρός, μιξοπόλιος, οὐλόθριξ, σύνοφρυς, ὑπόστραβος, λεπτοχαράκτηρος, μελίχρους (‘Er war groß und halbgrau, hatte Kraushaar und zusammengewachsene Augenbrauen, schielte leicht, hatte feine Gesichtszüge und ein olivfarbenes Antlitz’).

MÜNZBILDNISSE

Das wichtigste Werk über die Münzbildnisse des Pertinax und des Didius Julianus ist die Dissertation von Volker Zedelius aus dem Jahre 1977, der die Münzen der Kaiser des Jahres 193 - mit Ausnahme der des Septimius Severus - behandelt.[18] In dieser Studie wird nicht nur ausführlich auf jeden der vier Kaiser eingegangen - wobei besonderes Gewicht den Münzen des Pescennius Niger zukommt -, sondern sie enthält auch einen allgemein betrachtenden Teil über den Stil und den ikonographischen Wert von Münzbildnissen. Es fällt auf, daß einige Beobachtungen von Zedelius auf numismatischem Gebiet auch für die Skulptur verwendet werden können, wie sich noch zeigen wird. Bei den Münzen des Pertinax[19] (*Abb. 5*) sind zwei Emissionen zu unterscheiden. Die erste ist nur kurze Zeit geschlagen worden, umfaßt keine Goldmünzen und läßt einen persönlichen Einfluß des Kaisers auf die Gestaltung der Rückseite erkennen. Bei der zweite Emission sind alle Titel erwähnt (COS II und TR.P. COS II) und alle Metalle verwendet worden. Ein einheitliches Bild seiner Münzbildnisse ist kaum zu geben, weil es sehr viele Varianten gibt. Eine zufriedenstellende Erklärung für diese Unterschiede gibt es noch nicht, aber es scheint wahrscheinlich zu sein, daß die verschiedenen Offizinen - wenn auch nicht geschieden nach Metall und Münztypus - jede eine bestimmte Zahl von Stempeln verwendet hat.[20] Dennoch hält Zedelius für die charakteristischen Kennzeichen des Münzporträts von Pertinax[21] folgende: einen breiten Schädel mit flacher Kalotte; eine niedrige, zurückfliehende Stirn, die unten vorspringt und von zwei Falten horizontal oder vertikal durchfurcht ist; tief liegende Augen unter kräftigen, zu seiten hin abnehmenden Brauen; eine nicht lange, kräftige Nase, die manchmal gekrümmt und an der Spitze verdickt ist; eingefallene Wangen mit einer scharfen Falte, die an den Nasenflügeln beginnt und zugleich die Grenze zwischen dem Wangenbart und dem Schnurrbart bildet; einen langen, vollen Bart, der sich in der Höhe des Kinns wellenartig vorstreckt und in lockeren Spitzen endet; einen kräftig ausgebildeten Schnurrbart; kurzgelocktes, eng anliegendes Haar mit ‘Geheimratsecken’ und krause Locken in der Mitte der Stirn.

Die Münzen des Didius Julianus[22] (*Abb. 6*) unterscheiden sich von denen des Pertinax durch ein niedrigeres Gewicht und durch einige Emissionen für Manlia Scantilla, die Gemahlin des Didius Julianus, und für Didia Clara, seine Tochter. Die Münzen dieses Kaisers teilt man ein in zwei Emissionen, eine mit dem Titel SEVER(VS) und eine ohne diesen. Die SEVERVS-Emission hat nichts zu tun mit dem Herannahen des Septimius Severus - wie H. Mattingly annimmt - sondern steht am Anfang der Münzemissionen für Didius.[23]

Die Münzbildnisse des Didius Julianus zeigen eine größere Einheitlichkeit als die des Pertinax. Der einzige Unterschied in den Münzbildnissen ist - nach Zedelius - die Darstellung des Lebensalters: man muß eine Gruppe unterscheiden, die den Kaiser im Stil des Pertinax darstellt, d.h. alt und ohne große Verschönerungen, und eine andere, die ihn beträchtlich jünger zeigt, wobei die Haare und das Profil von Münzbildern des Commodus abgeleitet zu sein scheinen. Im allge-

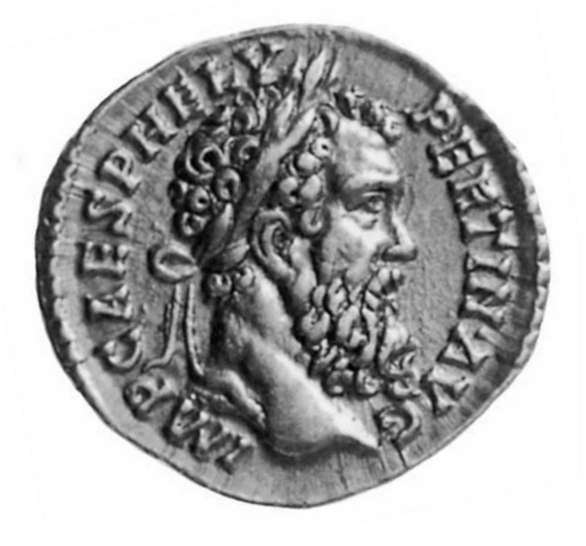


Abb. 5. Münzporträt des Pertinax (Aureus).

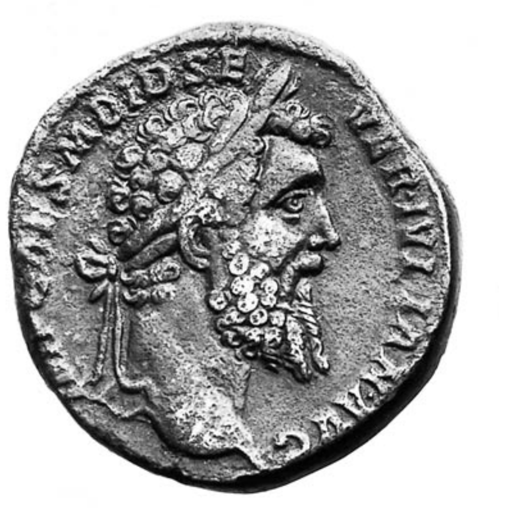


Abb. 6. Münzporträt des Didius Julianus (Sesterz).

meinen kann man das Münzbildnis des Didius Julianus folgendermaßen charakterisieren: er hat einen runden Schädel, eine zurückliegende, gefurchte Stirn, runde, schräge, etwas hochgezogene Augenbrauen, eine kleine, gerade Nase, die an der Nasenwurzel zurückweicht, tiefliegende Mund- und Augenpartien, einen langen, abstehenden Bart, welcher der Linie vom Mund zum Kinn folgt, an der Wange genau begrenzt ist und aus lockeren, gedrehten Locken besteht, einen schrägen, kräftigen Schnurrbart und lockige Haare mit ‘Geheimratsecken’.

Die auffäligsten Unterschiede in beiden Münzbildnissen liegen im Auffassung des Bartes, der bei Pertinax herabhängt und bei Didius Julianus herabsteht, und die Nase, die bei Didius kleiner und gerader ist als bei Pertinax. Die literarischen Quellen zeigen keinen Widerspruch zu diesen Münzbildnissen, außer dem Punkt der Haartracht des Pertinax. Das ἁπλόθϱιξ von Malalas weicht völlig ab, das *reflexus* von der *Historia Augusta* könnte übereinstimmen, obwohl das Haar in den Münzbildnissen kraus und nicht ‘zurückgekammt’ ist.

DIE IKONOGRAPHIE VON PERTINAX UND DIDIUS JULIANUS IN DER LITERATUR

In ihrem oben genannten Artikel unterstreicht Von Heintze den Standpunkt Gjødesens, daß der Typus, den die Porträts in Leiden und im Vatikan vertreten, Pertinax darstellt. Sie fügt diesem noch einen zweiten Typus - ebenfalls zwei Exemplare - hinzu: Aquileia, Museo Archeologico, Inv.Nr. 2624 (*Abb. 15, 16*)[24] und Vatikan, Sala Rotonda, Inv.Nr. 258 (*Abb. 24, 25*).[25] Diese vier Bildnisse - so Von Heintze - zeigen dieselben kennzeichenden Übereinstimmungen mit den Münzbildnissen des Pertinax. Sie stellt die Porträts in eine chronologische Folge: zuerst komme das Stück in Aquileia und zwar wegen seines dortigen Aufenthaltes im Jahre 169; das Bildnis Busti 707 stehe wahrscheinlich im Zusammenhang mit seinem Amt als *curator alimentorum* im Jahre 187 in Ostia und das in Leiden mit seinem Prokonsulat in Afrika im Jahre 189; das Rotonda-Porträt schließlich könnte aus seiner Regierungszeit oder vielleicht aus den Jahren kurz danach datieren. Als postumes Porträt betrachtet sie den Kopf im Museo Capitolino in Rom, Sala delle Colombe, Inv.Nr. 456.[26]

Für Didius Julianus nimmt Von Heintze fünf Bildnisse an, die von einem Typus abgeleitet sind und die mit Münzbildnissen des Kaisers übereinstimmen. Auch hier glaubt sie, diese Stücke in eine Folge bringen zu können, die chronologisch bestimmt ist:

1. Vatikan, Sala dei Busti, Inv.Nr. 708 (*Abb. 7, 11*);[27]
2. Rom, Pal.Corsini, Inv.Nr. 653 (*Abb. 8, 12*);[28]
3. Antakya, Museum, Inv.Nr. 1221;[29]
4. Paris, Louvre, Inv.Nr. MA 1100 (*Abb. 9, 13*);[30]
5. Rom, Mus.Capitolino, Sala delle Colombe, Inv.Nr. 458 (*Abb. 10, 14*).[31]

In der Literatur ab 1977 ist im allgemeinen zustimmend auf Von Heintzes Artikel reagiert worden, aber man hat auch in bestimmten Punkten Ergänzungen und Verbesserungen angebracht. Die wichtigsten Korrekturen stammen von Jutta Meischner und zwar in zwei Aufsätzen aus den Jahren 1981 und 1982.[32] Ihre Bedenken richten sich gegen die Einordnung des Kopfes von Antakya in die Serie der Didius Julianus-Porträts und gegen die Benennung ‘Pertinax’ für das Bildnis in der Sala Rotonda.

Typologisch gesehen weicht der Kopf in Antakya tatsächlich von der Typusform ab, die man bei den anderen Porträts beobachten kann. So fehlt z.B. die kennzeichnende Trapezform der Stirn und hat dieser Kopf eine ganz andere Auffassung des Bartes. Auch ist der Mund einigermaßen geöffnet und wird kaum vom Schnurrbart bedeckt. Meischner bemerkt hierzu noch, daß das Porträt wohl einen offiziellen Charakter gehabt haben müsse, was aus seiner Größe hervorgehe. Sie schlägt vor, in ihm ein Bildnis des Pescennius Niger zu sehen, weil die Münzbildnisse dieses Kaisers den gleichen ungepflegten Bart und kurze Stirnlocken zeigen und weil er in Antiochia, wie Antakya früher hieß, seine Residenz gehabt hat.

Das Porträt in der Sala Rotonda darf nach Meischner aufgrund physiognomischer und ikonographischer Merkmale nicht als Bildnis des Pertinax betrachtet werden. Es hängt stilistisch mehr mit dem sogenannten ‘Soldatentypus’ zusammen als beispielsweise mit dem Aquileia-Köpfchen (*Abb. 15, 16*), mit dem Von Heintze es vergleicht. Der ‘Soldatentypus’, den Meischner in das zweite Jahrzent des 3. Jahrhunderts datiert, wird gekennzeichnet durch eine fünfeckige Grundform des Schädels, eine rechteckige Stirn und eine runde, flache Haarpartie. Die Abweichungen von den als Pertinax von Von Heintze identifizierten Bildnissen bestätigen ihre Auffassung, daß dieses Porträt kein Bildnis des Pertinax ist. Die kolossalen Maße deuten dagegen auf ein offizielles Porträt hin, aber Meischner zweifelt an der Authentizität des Stücks. Die ikonographisch wichtigen Stellen befinden sich - im Gegensatz zu der weitgehenden Korrosion der angrenzenden Teile - in guten Zustand und die Übergänge von dem flachen, kurzen Haare zu den gebohrten

Stirnlocken verlaufen sehr abrupt. Wie dieser Kopf vielleicht identifiziert werden kann, soll in einem Exkurs zu diesem Artikel erklärt werden.[33]

Der Aufsatz Von Heintzes enthält noch einige Punkte, gegen die Bedenken vorgebracht werden können. Hinsichtlich der Pertinax-Porträts sind dies z.B. die Übereinstimmungen zwischen dem Aquileia-Porträt (*Abb. 15, 16*) und dem Typus Leiden/Busti 707 (*Abb. 1-4*), die nicht so groß sind, wie sie annimmt. Vor allem die Augenbrauen, die Augen, die untere Gesichtshälfte und die Stirn, der bei dem Kopf in Aquileia die typischen Falten fehlen, weichen stark ab. Als ergänzende Bedenken gegen den Kopf in der Sala Rotonda kann man anführen, daß es unwahrscheinlich zu sein scheint, ein Kaiserporträt auf einen Typus zurückzuführen, der rund 20 Jahre früher verwendet worden ist (Aquileia), während man nur einige Jahre vorher einen neuen Typus entworfen hat (Leiden/Busti 707). Schließlich ist die Erklärung für die Verbreitung der Porträts nicht ganz stichhaltig, weil Pertinax und Didius Julianus oft dieselbe Funktion in denselben Gegenden ausgeübt haben, so daß auch der Name Didius Julianus möglich scheint. Von Heintze weist bei der Behandlung des Porträts aus Antakya[34] selbst darauf hin.

Zu den Porträts, die Von Heintze 'Didius Julianus' nennt, muß folgendes bemerkt werden. Zuerst fällt auf, daß alle diese Porträts einen herabhängenden Bart haben, während die Münzbildnisse einen abstehenden zeigen. Das Argument Von Heintzes, daß der Bart mit den langen, locker hängenden Strähnen auch auf einzelnen Münzen des Didius Julianus vorkomme und darum kein wichtiges Kriterium gegen eine Abweisung sei, ist nicht überzeugend. Die Mehrzahl der Münzen des Didius Julianus zeigt eben nicht den herabhängenden Bart, wie dies schon Bernoulli vermerkt hat und wie es von ihr selbst zitiert wird.[35] Auch die gelockten Haare der Münzporträts finden wir bei den vier plastischen Köpfen nicht. Der Auffassung, daß diese ein mehr 'philosophenartiges' Aussehen zeigen sollten als die 'Pertinax' genannten Köpfe, um dadurch die bessere Erziehung und den Stand des Didius Julianus zum Ausdruck zu bringen, widerspricht Von Heintze selbst, wenn sie von dem Kopf in Leiden sagt: 'Kein Wunder, daß er als Philosoph gedeutet wurde'.[36] Schließlich können wir uns fragen, ob wir von diesem Kaiser, der beträchtlich weniger beliebt war als Pertinax, noch kürzer regiert hat und dem keine Rehabilitierung zuteil geworden ist, ebensoviele Bildnisse erwarten dürfen wie von seinem Vorgänger. Der Zufall spielt jedoch bei der Zahl erhalten gebliebener Porträts eine zu große Rolle, so daß Bedenken in dieser Richtung nicht zu viel Wert beigelegt zu werden braucht.

Im ersten Band des neuen Kataloges der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen, in dem die Kaiserporträts besprochen werden, fehlt das Stück Sala delle Colombe Inv. 458 (*Abb. 10, 14*), woraus man schließen kann, daß Klaus Fittschen und Paul Zanker es nicht als ein Kaiserporträt ansehen.[37] Fittschen hält es aber für möglich, daß ein Porträt in Palazzo Braschi (Salone Inv. 235) zusammen mit zwei Repliken (in Privatbesitz in Los Angeles und im Vatikan, Sala dei Busti Inv. 710)[38] Abbildungen des Didius Julianus sind. Die drei zeigen eine große Verwandtschaft mit Bildnissen des Septimius Severus, weichen aber davon besonders in der Wiedergabe der Nase ab: nach Fittschen hat diese einen deutlichen Höcker. Die Zahl der Repliken deutet auf einem offiziellen Bildtypus hin, vielleicht eines Kaisers. In dem Fall wählt Fittschen Didius Julianus, weil nach ihm in dieser Periode nur dessen Münzbildnisse die Höckernase zeigen.

Die von Fittschen angedeutete Replikenreihe sieht glaubhaft aus, aber der große Zusammenhang, den sie mit Porträts des Septimius Severus aufweist, macht es weniger wahrscheinlich, daß die abgebildete Person Didius Julianus sei. Seine Münzbildnisse weichen mehr von denen des Severus ab, und vermutlich wird sein Porträttypus bewußt anders als der seines Rivalen geformt worden sein.[39] Möglicherweise handelt es sich um einen hohen Offizier von Severus, wie Fittschen ebenfalls suggeriert, der sich dann in seinem Porträt seinem Kaiser 'angeglichen' hat. Hier wird nur das von Von Heintze gesammelte Material betrachtet, weil es die meiste Verwantschaft mit den Münzbildnissen des Pertinax und Didius Julianus zeigt; auf Grund des oben Gesagten scheint es aber notwendig zu sein, dieses Material neu zu untersuchen.

FORMAL-STILISTISCHE ORDNUNG

Unter den Porträts, die Von Heintze mit den Kaisern des Jahres 193 in Verbindung gebracht hat, kann man drei Typen unterscheiden. Das bereits erwähnte Köpfchen in Aquileia (*Abb. 15, 16*) gehört zum ersten Typus. Das Gesicht wird von der runden Haarpartie mit kleinen Locken umrahmt, unter denen die Ohren verschwinden, und von der ebenfalls runden Bartmasse, die aus längeren, herunterhängenden Locken besteht. Beide 'Rund'-Formen berühren sich ungefähr in der Höhe der Ohren. Die Stirn ist hoch und wird

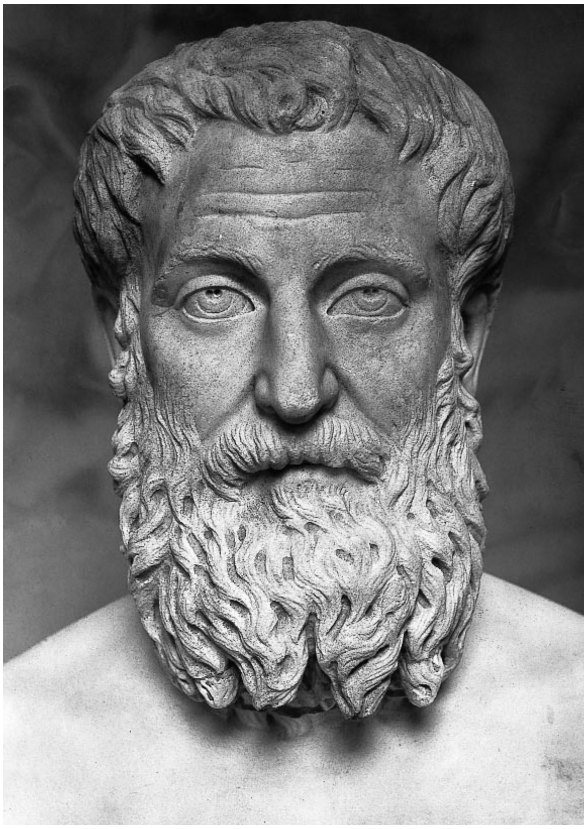


Abb. 7. Porträt des Pertinax, Vorderansicht (Musei Vaticani, Sala dei Busti 708).

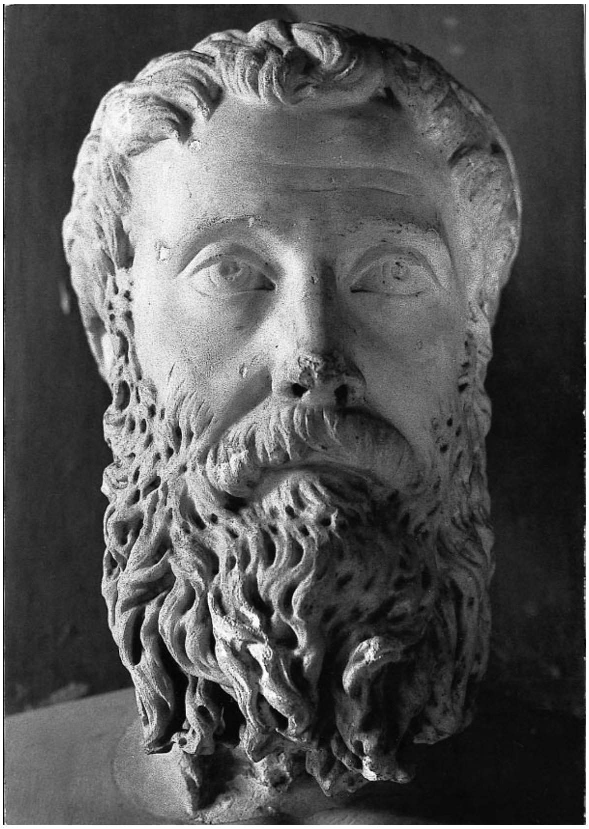


Abb. 8. Porträt des Pertinax, Vorderansicht (Palazzo Corsini, Rom, Inv. 653).

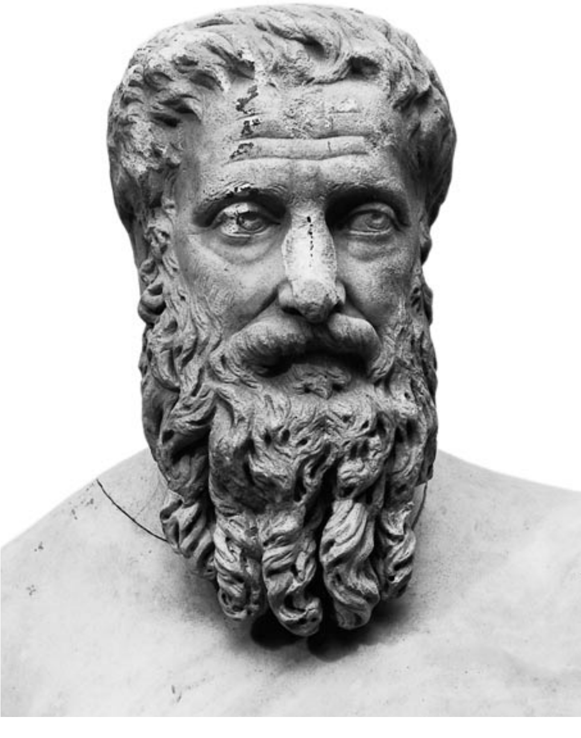


Abb. 9. Porträt des Pertinax, Vorderansicht (Louvre, Paris, MA1100).

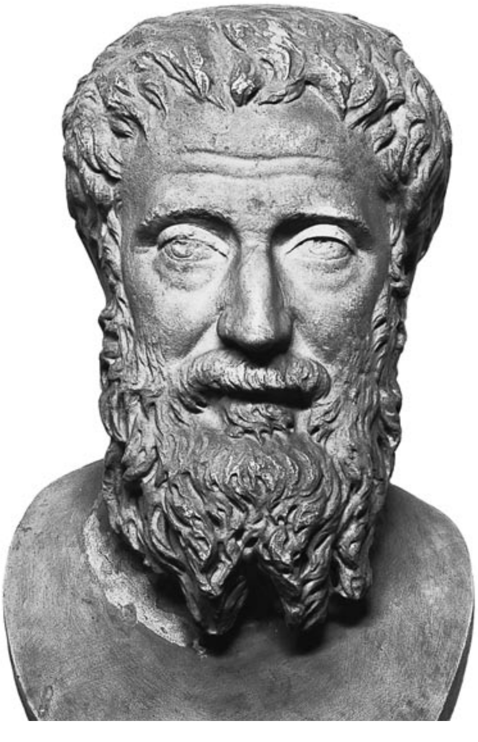


Abb. 10. Porträt des Pertinax, Vorderansicht (Museo Capitolino, Rom, Sala delle Colombe 458).

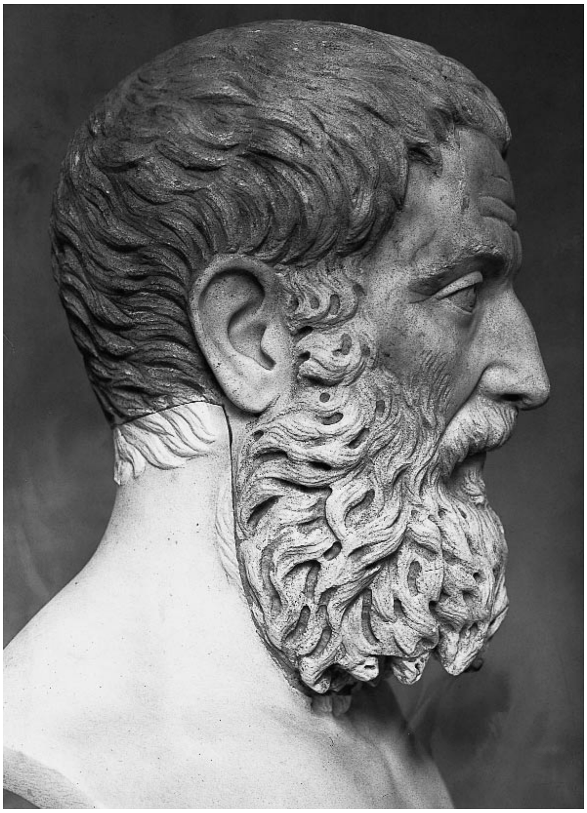


Abb. 11. Porträt des Pertinax, rechtes Profil (Musei Vaticani, Sala dei Busti 708).

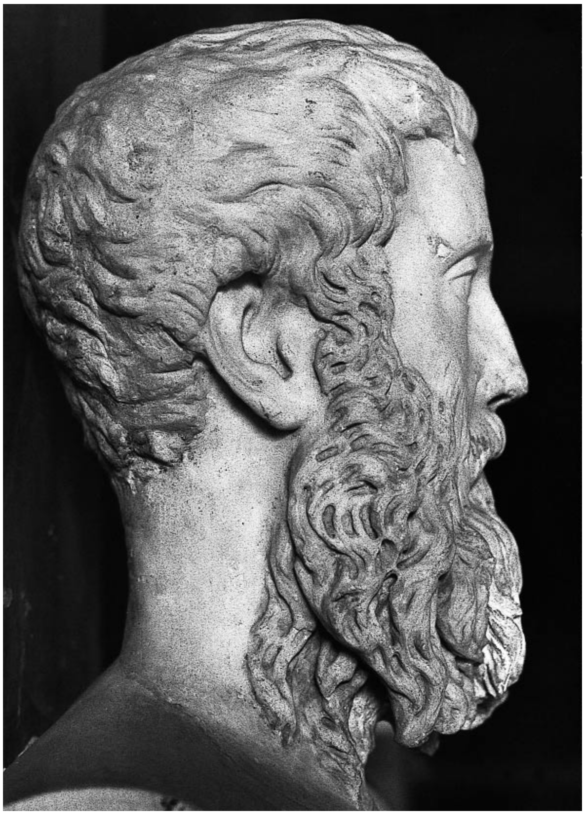


Abb. 12. Porträt des Pertinax, rechtes Profil (Palazzo Corsini, Rom, Inv. 653).

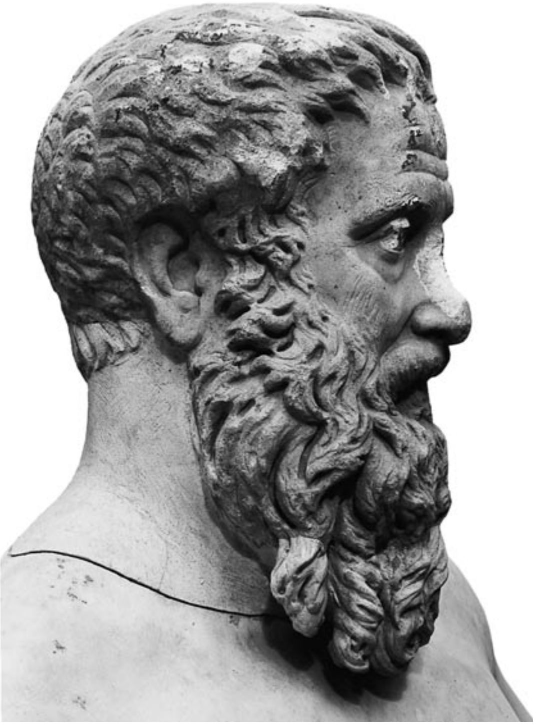


Abb. 13. Porträt des Pertinax, rechtes Profil (Louvre, Paris, MA1100).

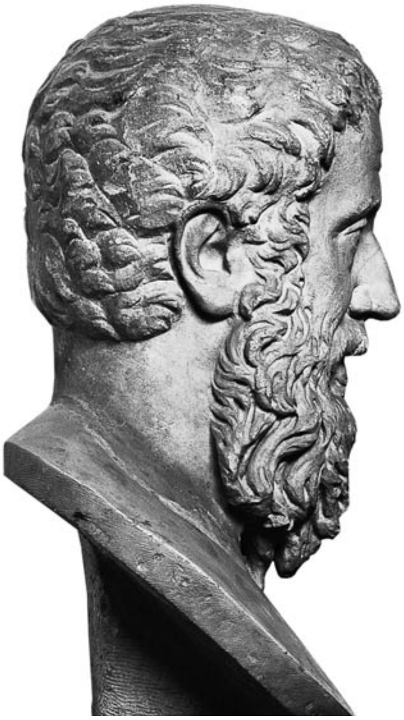


Abb. 14. Porträt des Pertinax, rechtes Profil (Museo Capitolino, Rom, Sala delle Colombe 458).

durch einige tiefe, gerade Falten durchzogen. Die Trapezform der Stirn endet bei den vorspringenden Locken in der Mitte des Hauptes. Die Augenbrauen sind rund und hochgezogen. Die Augen sind offen und die bohnenförmige Pupille ist ausgebohrt. Die Wange werden von zwei Falten durchschnitten: eine, die vom Tränensack schräg nach unten verläuft und eine in der Form der Nasolabialfalte. Der schwere, herabhängende Schnurrbart bedeckt die Oberlippe ganz, während die Unterlippe freibleibt.

Sehr eng hiermit verwandt ist das aus Lullingstone stammende Porträt im Britischen Museum zu London (*Abb. 17, 18*).[40] Auch hier sind die runden Konturen vorhanden, in denen die Ohren verschwinden; man sieht auch denselben Ausdruck, besonders an der Stirn und dem Mund, sowie ein fast genau gleiches Profil wie bei dem Porträt in Aquileia. Die Unterschiede zu diesem Stück beschränken sich auf eine mehr oder weniger gelockte Haarpartie - mit Ausnahme in der Mitte der Stirn -, kleinere Augen, keine bohnenförmige Pupille und eine etwas breitere Unterlippe. Angesichts der großen Übereinstimmungen - z.B. auch bei der trapezförmigen Stirn - sind die genannten Abweichungen als Unterschiede in der Qualität der Ausführung zu betrachten. Das Köpfchen in Aquileia hat Von Heintze zu Recht als ein Stück 'von seltener Qualität und Erhaltung' beschrieben.[41]

Ein zweiter Typus ist bereits von Von Heintze erwähnt worden; er wird von vier Porträts vertreten:

1. Paris, Louvre, Inv. Nr. MA 1100 (*Abb. 9, 13*);
2. Rom, Pal. Corsini, Inv. Nr. 653 (*Abb. 8, 12*);
3. Vatikan, Sala dei Busti, Inv.Nr. 708 (*Abb. 7, 11*);
4. Rom, Museo Capitolino, Sala delle Colombe, Inv. Nr. 458 (*Abb. 10, 14*).

Es ist deutlich, daß diese Stücke einen Typus bilden, der durch eine runde Haar- und Bartkontur sowie eine sechseckige Gesichtsstruktur gekennzeichnet wird. Die runden Formen des Haares und des Bartes gehen bei den Ohren, die in den Umriß einbezogen sind, ineinander über. Die

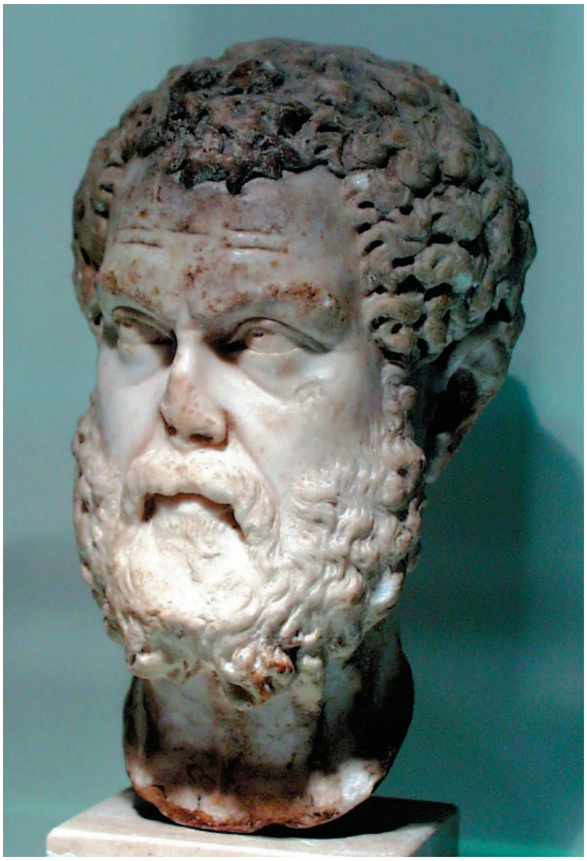


Abb. 15. Portratköpfchen des Pertinax, Vorderansicht (Museo Archeologico, Aquileia, Inv. 2624).

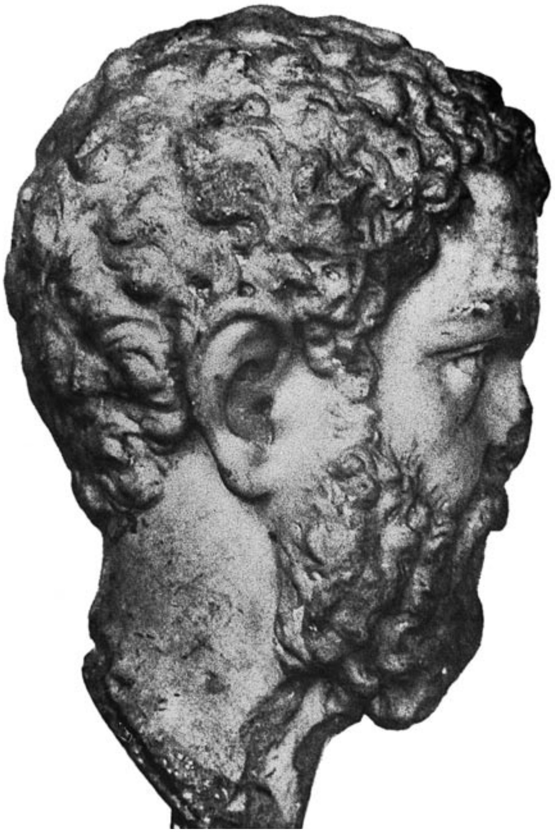


Abb. 16. Portratköpfchen des Pertinax, rechtes Profil (Museo Archeologico, Aquileia, Inv. 2624).

innere Kontur ist sechseckig und besteht aus zwei trapezförmigen Gesichtshälften, die sich an der Augenlinie berühren. Der lange, herabhängende Bart ist nicht ganz rund, sondern mehr länglich und endet in lockeren, gedrehten Strähnen. Bei allen Stücken ist er in der Mitte geteilt. Die ziemlich hohe Stirn wird von zwei horizontalen Falten durchschnitten. Die runden Augenbrauen befinden sich über mändelförmigen Augen mit eingeritzter Iris und bohnenförmig ausgebohrter Pupille. Die Nasolabialfalten laufen breit aus, so daß über dem schweren Schnurrbart, der die Oberlippe bedeckt, dreieckige Vertiefungen entstehen. Die Fliege hat bei allen vier Porträts eine Wendung nach links. Auch die Darstellung des Haares auf der Stirn ist gleich: in der Mitte befindet sich ein vorspringender Wulst zusammengelegter Locken; links davon sind die Locken so angeordnet, daß eine 'Gabel' entsteht; rechts sind ebenfalls drei vorspringende Locken vorhanden, von denen die obersten zwei kleinere 'Gabeln' bilden und die beiden untersten eine 'Zange'. Diese Lockenanordnung wird streng beibehalten. Die beiden antiken Nasen (bei dem Porträt Vatikan, Busti 708, und Rom, Pal. Corsini) sind ziemlich spitz und gekrümmt, haben keine großen Nasenflügel, werden aber von der Nasolabialfalte scharf begrenzt.

Der dritte Typus, der von den Stücken in Leiden und im Vatikan, Busti 707 (*Abb. 1-4*) gebildet wird, ist bereits ausführlich beschrieben worden. Der Ordnung halber folgen hier noch die Charakteristika dieses Typs: die Porträts haben einen runden Haarumriß und ein einigermaßen spitz auslaufendes Gesicht, eine nach charakteristischem Schema durchfurchte Stirn, kleine, halbgeschlossene Augen, 'Geheimratsecken', einen halbgeöffneten Mund, eine gerade, ziemlich kleine Nase und einen langen, abstehenden Bart, der in der Mitte geteilt ist.

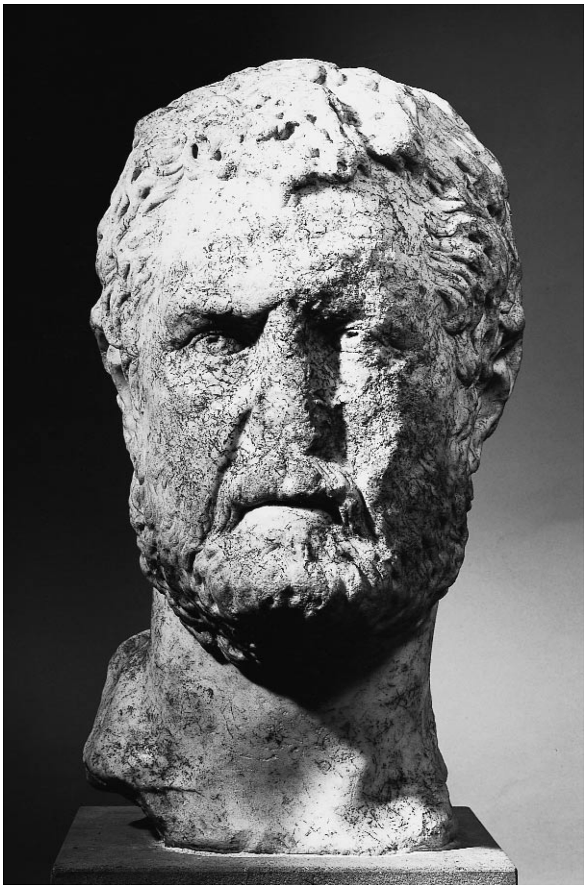


Abb. 17. Porträt des Pertinax, gefunden in Lullingstone, Vorderansicht (British Museum, London).

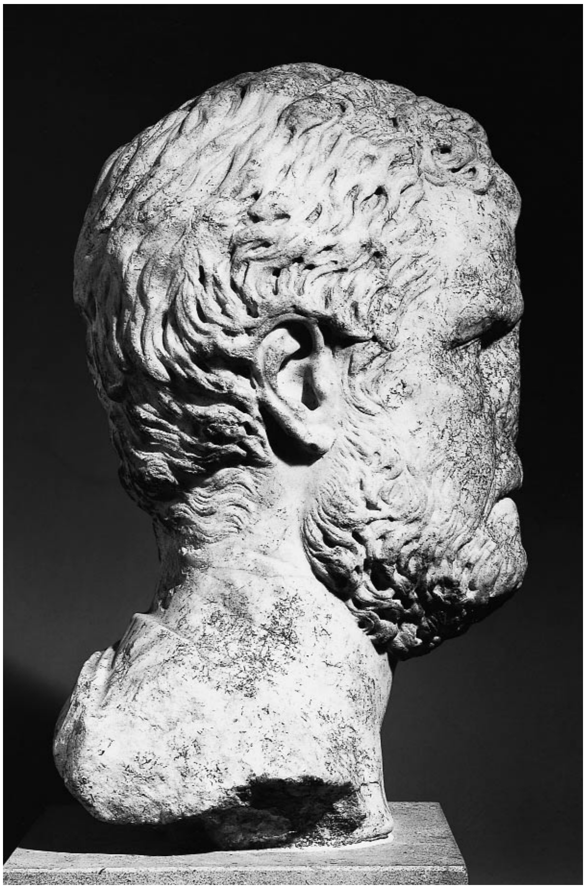


Abb. 18. Porträt des Pertinax, gefunden in Lullingstone, rechtes Profil (British Museum, London).

VERSUCH EINER NEUEN IDENTIFIZIERUNG

Kein einziges der Porträts, die bis jetzt behandelt worden sind, kann die Frage nach dem Aussehen von Pertinax oder Didius Julianus auf Grund von Münzbildnissen vollständig beantworten. Dies braucht nicht weiter verwunderlich zu sein, denn fast immer werden Zuschreibungen aufgrund der ‘meisten’ statt aufgrund ‘aller’ Übereinstimmungen mit Münzbildnissen vorgenommen. Die beiden Typen, die am ehesten für eine Identifizierung als Pertinax in Betracht kommen, sind Leiden/Busti 707 (*Abb. 1-4*) und Louvre/Corsini/Capitolino/Busti 708 (*Abb. 7-14*), weil sie große Ähnlichkeiten mit den Münzbildnissen aufweisen. Beide Typen weisen auch Abweichungen von diesen numismatischen Gegebenheiten auf. Für den Typus Leiden/Busti 707 ist dies die Form des Bartes, obwohl der Leidener Kopf einen mit der Barttracht des Pertinax übereinstimmenden, herabhängenden Bart zu haben scheint. Dieser Eindruck ist jedoch falsch, weil dieser Kopf wegen seines Formats und der weniger detaillierten Ausarbeitung auf Fernwirkung gearbeitet war. Betrachtet man ihn frontal aus einem gewissen Abstand, dann wird deutlich, daß der Bart als abstehend und nicht als herabhängend gedacht ist. Dies wird durch das bis in Einzelheiten übereinstimmende Gegenstück im Vatikan, das dem abstehenden Bart des Prototyps eng zu folgen scheint, bestätigt. Das Argument, der abstehende Bart sei auch ein Kennzeichen der Münzbildnisse des Pertinax oder kommt jedenfalls auch auf einigen seiner Münzen vor, scheint wenig stichhaltig zu sein.[42]

Der Louvre-Typus hat zwar den herabhängenden Bart der Münzbildnisse des Pertinax, weicht von diesen aber in der Darstellung der Haarpartie ab: die Haare sind nicht gelockt und die ‘Geheimratsecken’ fehlen. Um herauszufinden, welche Bedenken am schwersten wiegen, ist es erforderlich, die historischen Quellen heranzuziehen. Hinsichtlich der Barttracht kann es keinen Zweifel geben: auch die *Historia Augusta* gibt an, daß Pertinax eine *inmissa barba* gehabt habe, womit Münzbildnis und Personenbeschreibung übereinstimmen. Das trifft aber auf die Form des Haares sicher nicht zu. Die Münzen zeigen ein Porträt mit Locken, die *Historia Augusta* spricht von ‘*reflexus*’ (wörtlich ‘zurückgebogen’ oder ‘wellig’) und Malalas erwähnt ἁπλόθϱιξ (‘schlichtes Haar’). In diese Unstimmigkeit kann man einige Ordnung dadurch bringen, daß man die Haartracht des Didius Julianus betrachtet. Seine Münzbildnisse zeigen das gleiche lockige Haar wie die des Pertinax, was von Malalas durch die Bezeichnung οὐλόθϱιξ (krauses Haar) bestätigt wird. Es

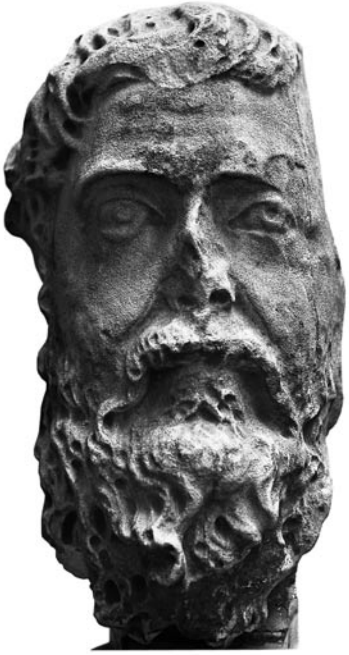


Abb. 19. Porträt des Pertinax, Vorderansicht (Museo Nazionale Romano, Rom, Inv. 4217).

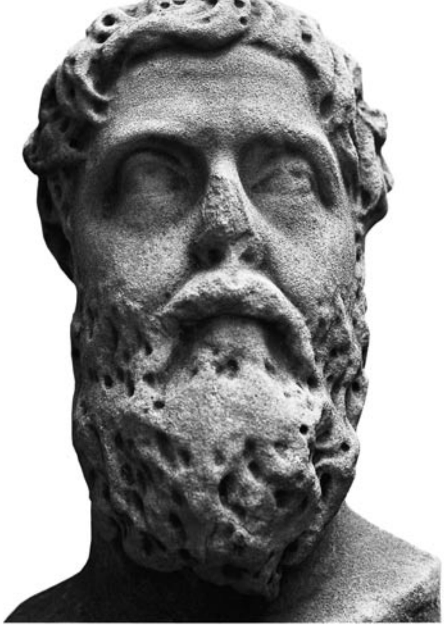


Abb. 20.Porträt des Pertinax, Vorderansicht (Museo Nazionale Romano, Rom, Inv. 4222).

ergibt sich somit die eigenartige Tatsache, daß die Münzbildnisse von Pertinax und Didius Julianus die gleichen lockigen Haare zeigen, während Malalas einen deutlichen Unterschied angibt. Vielleicht hat er dies bewußt getan, um beide Kaiser gegeneinander abzusetzen; aber wahrscheinlicher ist die Erklärung, daß er (oder besser: seine Quelle) von Kaiserporträts ausgegangen ist, die einen Unterschied in der Haartracht zeigten. Dies impliziert, daß die lockigen Haare der Münzbildnisse als konventionelles Bildelement der offiziellen Münzbildnisse betrachtet werden müssen und daß die plastischen Porträts eine mehr naturgetreue Darstellung der Haare zeigen. Die Änderung in der Haarmode von antoninischen Locken zum kurzen Soldatenschnitt verläuft deshalb allmählich; beide Typen kommen in den letzten Dezennien des 2. Jahrhunderts nebeneinander vor. ‘Bei der Frisur, der Haartracht, wo man früher so genau war, scheint in dieser Zeit vieles möglich’, so Zedelius.[43]

Ob die ‘Geheimratsecken’, die auf den Münzbildern beider Kaiser zu finden sind, auch hiermit erklärt werden können, bleibt undeutlich. Die antiken Quellen lassen uns in diesem Fall im Stich, denn kein Schriftsteller erwähnt dieses Kennzeichen in seiner Personenbeschreibung. Es ist möglich, daß die ‘Geheimratsecken’ nur auf Münzen vorkommen, weil sie die Folge einer Hinzufügung einzelner spezifisch frontaler Züge an das Profil sind.[44]

Die Schlußfolgerung dieser Betrachtung ist, daß die Bartform des Pertinax-Porträts sicher herabhängend ist und daß für die Wiedergabe des Haares verschiedene Möglichkeiten bestehen. Wie einfach dieser Schluß auch sein mag, so schließt er doch eine große Wichtigkeit für die Kaiserikonographie von 193 ein. Gegen die Identifizierung des Typus Leiden/Busti 707 als Pertinax muß zuerst vorgebracht werden, daß der Bart hier absteht und nicht herabhängt. Weil der Unterschied in der Bartform eines der wenigen Kriterien zur Unterscheidung der Porträts von Pertinax und Didius Julianus ist, darf diese Schlußfolgerung nicht zur Seite geschoben werden.

Ein zweiter Punkt, der aus diesen Beobachtungen hervorgeht, ist die evidente Abweichung, die der Louvre-Typus hinsichtlich der Münzbildnisse des Didius Julianus zeigt. Es scheint zwingend, diesen Typus mit einem Kaiser zu verbinden, nicht nur, weil die Maße jedes Porträts beträchtlich mehr als lebensgroß sind, sondern weil zugleich auch die Typenreihe überdeutlich ist. Da diese vielleicht mit zwei Stücken im Thermenmuseum zu Rom[45] (*Abb. 19-22*) noch weiter ausgedehnt werden kann, darf man es für sehr unwahrscheinlich hal-

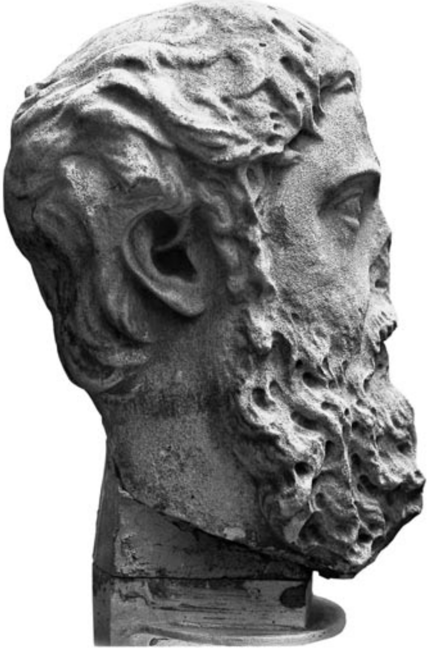


Abb. 21. Porträt des Pertinax, rechtes Profil (Museo Nazionale Romano, Rom, Inv. 4217).

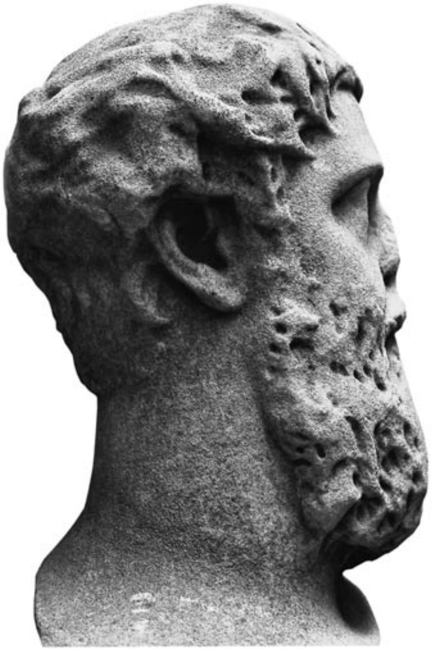


Abb. 22. Porträt des Pertinax, rechtes Profil (Museo Nazionale Romano, Rom, Inv. 4222).

ten, daß diese Serie von Porträts eines Mannes sich auf eine Privatperson bezieht.

Die Bedenken gegen die Identifizierung beider Typen können ziemlich einfach behoben werden, wenn man die Pertinaxikonographie von Bernoulli wieder zur Hand nimmt. Er betrachtete das schon mehrfach erwähnte Porträt Louvre MA 1100 (*Abb. 9, 13*) als das einzige authentische Bildnis des Pertinax. Im 1996 erschienenen zweiten Band des Katalogs der romischen Porträts des Louvre folgt Kate de Kersauson dieser Einsicht.[46] Der Unterschied in der Haartracht, der in dieser Zeit auftreten kann, macht es möglich, den Vorschlag von Bernoulli anzunehmen und das Louvre-Porträt als eine Darstellung des Pertinax zu betrachten und ebenso die übrigen drei Porträts dieser Typenreihe: Vatikan, Busti 708 (*Abb. 7, 11*), Mus. Capitolino 458 (*Abb. 10, 14*) und Pal. Corsini 653 (*Abb. 8, 12*).[47]

Der Typus Leiden/Busti 707 (*Abb. 1-4*) weicht von den vorgenannten Stücken aber so sehr ab, daß es unmöglich ist, auch diesen Typus mit Pertinax zu verbinden. Viel eher kommt Didius Julianus in Betracht, vor allem deshalb, weil der Typus den abstehenden Bart zeigt, den auch seine Münzbildnisse aufweisen (*Abb. 6*). Doch auch alle anderen Charakteristika sind vorhanden, besonders die kurze Nase und die lockeren, gedrehten Strähnen des Bartes. Die Identifizierung dieses Typs als Didius Julianus ist nicht neu: schon C.L. Visconti sah das Porträt in Ostia (*Abb. 3, 4*) als das einzige, sichere Porträt des Didius Julianus an. Die wichtigste Basis für sein Zeugnis bildete die Übereinstimmung mit den Münzbildnissen, aber interessant ist zugleich die Anmerkung, die Visconti über einen in der Nähe des Porträts gefundenen Stein macht, auf dem der Name 'Didius Julianus' festgehalten war.[48] Als stichhaltiger Beweis mit wissenschaftlichem Wert kann diese Bemerkung nicht dienen, weil der fragliche Stein verschwunden ist; als Ergänzung zu der oben genannten Identifizierung darf diese Art von 'oral history' aber nicht fehlen. Im Jahre 1978 hat auch Raissa Calza bei diesem Porträt an Didius Julianus gedacht, und zwar ohne etwas von den Ergebnissen des Artikels Von Heintzes zu wissen.[49]

In bezug auf die Beschreibung des Didius Julianus von Malalas kann schließlich noch bemerkt werden, daß vielleicht - außer den bereits erwähnten lockigen Haaren (οὐλόθριξ) - zwei andere Charakteristika bei dem Typus Leiden/ Busti 707 zu finden sind. Der Ausdruck σύνοφρυς ('mit zusammengewachsenen Augenbrauen') kann auf die bis zur Nasenwurzel durchlaufenden Augenbrauen hinweisen und von den kleinen, zugekniffenen Augen kann man tatsächlich sagen, daß sie ὑπόστραβος ('leicht schielend') aussehen.

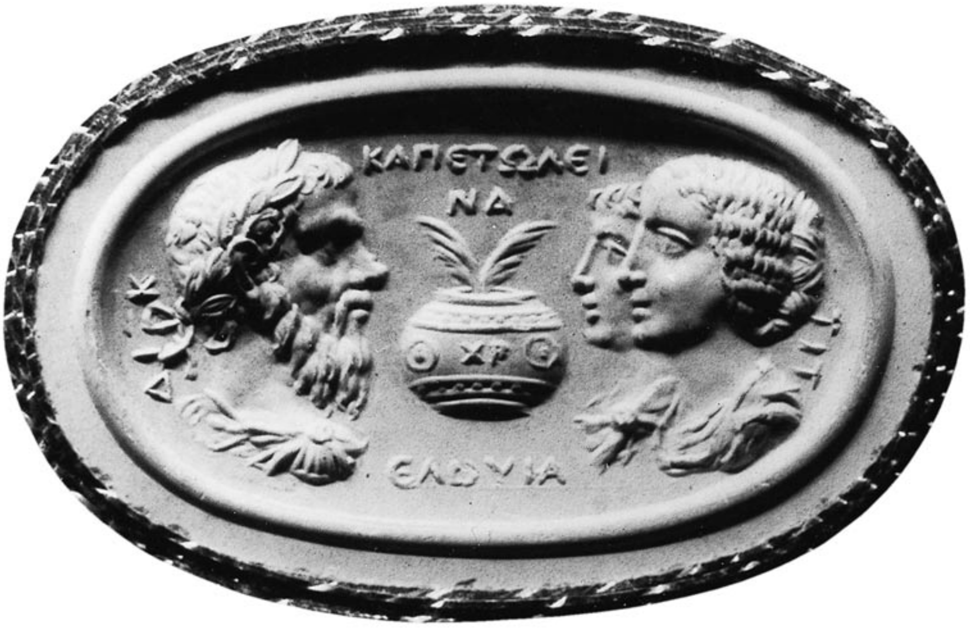


Abb. 23. Porträtgemme mit Pertinax, Titiana und Helvius Pertinax (Ermitage, St. Petersburg - S. Anm. 47).

Das Aquileia-Köpfchen (*Abb. 15-16*) ist von Von Heintze Pertinax genannt worden und Meischner hat diese Identifizierung übernommen.[50] Von Heintze verbindet dieses Porträt mit dem Typus Leiden/Busti 707 (*Abb. 1-4*), und zwar aufgrund der gleichen runden Kontur des Kopfes, der gleichen Falten an der Nasenwurzel und der Unterschiede in den Gesichtshälften, gegebenenfalls der Nasolabialfalten. Die Unterschiede zwischen beiden Typen sind jedoch größer als die Übereinstimmungen. Nicht nur die Augenbrauen weichen ab - wie sie selbst feststellt -, sondern auch die untere Gesichtshälfte, die beim späteren Typus mehr spitz als rund ist, die Augen, die innere Kontur und last but not least der Bart, der vor allem bei dem Porträt Busti 707 (*Abb. 3, 4*) in seiner abstehenden Form ganz anders ist. Man kann das Porträt in Aquileia, das unzweifelhaft mit dem Londoner Stück (*Abb. 15, 16*) einem Typus angehört, vielmehr mit dem Typus Louvre (*Abb. 7-14*) verbinden.

Die wesentlichen Kennzeichen dieses Typs findet man auch bei dem Duo Aquileia/London: die runden Konturen von Haar und Bart, die Trapezform der Stirn, die runden Augenbrauen, die Nasolabialfalten, die dreieckige Vertiefungen über dem schweren, herabhängenden Schnurrbart bilden, und der Bart, der aus langen, gedrehten Strähnen besteht, herabhängt und in der Mitte geteilt ist. Die weniger ausgeprägten 'Geheimratsecken' des Louvre-Typus sind als Alterszüge zu erklären: der Haarbausch, den der 'junge' Typus in der Mitte hat, ist verschwunden und die Begrenzung der Stirn nach oben verschoben, wodurch die Einbuchtungen zurückgedrängt worden sind.

Der wichtigste Unterschied betrifft die lockigen Haare des Porträts in Aquileia. Berücksichtigt man die weniger lockige Haarpartie des Kopfes in London und die hohe Qualität des Aquileia-Köpfchens, die annehmen läßt, dieses sei in einem wichtigen Atelier gearbeitet worden, kann man sich fragen, ob es sich hier um ein konventionelles 'höfisches' Element aus der mittleren antoninischen Periode handelt, eine künstliche Lockenfrisur, die bei den Münzbildnissen fortlebte, die aber in der Plastik allmählich einer mehr naturalistischen Darstellung gewichen ist.[51]

Wie dem auch sei, die Münzbildnisse des Pertinax stimmen in vielen Punkten mit den Kennzeichen des Typus Aquileia/London überein, wodurch es möglich ist, in diesem Typus eine jüngere Version des Louvre-Typus zu sehen und beide Typen mit Pertinax zu verbinden.

DIE VERBREITUNG DER PORTRÄTS

Die oben vorgeschlagene Änderung in der Kaiserikonographie des Jahres 193 findet im Ganzen keinen Widerspruch in der Verbreitung der Porträts. Die Stücke der Serie Louvre/Corsini/Capitolino/Busti 708 (*Abb. 7-14*) sind in Rom und Umgebung gefunden worden oder ihre Herkunft ist unbekannt. Da Pertinax unter Septimius Severus besondere Verehrung genoß,[52] darf man annehmen, daß seine Bildnisse in der Hauptstadt in großer Zahl zu sehen gewesen sind.

Die beiden frühen Stücke in Aquileia und London würden mit Pertinax' Ausnahmekarriere zusammenhängen. Das Köpfchen in Aquileia (*Abb. 15, 16*) werde dann ohne Zweifel etwas mit seinem Aufenthalt in Norditalien während des Krieges gegen die Germanen zu tun haben, wie Von Heintze zu recht bemerkt.[53]

Unser Vorschlag zur Identifizierung des Londoner Porträts (*Abb. 17, 18*) als Pertinax könnte ein anderes Licht auf die Besiedlungsgeschichte der Villa von Lullingstone (Kent) werfen, aus der das Stück stammt. In dieser seit Ende der vierziger Jahre ausgegrabenen Villa wurde das Porträt zusammen mit einem anderen Kopf, der physische Verwandschaft zu zeigen scheint, aber älter ist (ca. 150 n. Chr.), gefunden. Die Villa hat zwei Phasen von Bewohnung aufzuweisen, von denen die erste abrupt gegen Ende des zweiten Jahrhunderts aufhört und die zweite erst um 280 beginnt. In der Zwischenzeit hat die Villa leergestanden. Beide Porträts sind in der späteren Phase in einen Keller gestellt und mit großer Ehrerbietung behandelt worden. Eine Erklärung hierfür kann sein, daß eines der beiden Stücke ein Kaiserporträt war. Pertinax ist zweimal in Britannien gewesen, einmal als *eques* und einmal als *senator*. Diese seine letztere Position ist aus der Literatur gut bekannt. Commodus schickte im Jahre 185 Pertinax in das unruhige Britannien, um dort die Ordnung wiederherzustellen. Dies glückte ihm, aber er bat schon sehr schnell um seine Versetzung, weil er Repressalien der Soldaten befürchtete, die er mit eiserner Disziplin in Botmäßigkeit hielt.[54] Auffallend genug zeigt das Londoner Porträt Zeichen von *damnatio memoriae*: der Kopf ist zu einem bestimmten Zeitpunkt bewußt vom Rumpfe getrennt worden, wie der Ausgräber, G.W. Meates, festgestellt hat.[55]

Man kann an folgende Rekonstruktion der Ereignisse denken. Im Jahre 185 wurde Pertinax nach Britannien geschickt, um die dort herrschende Unruhe zu beschwichtigen. Pertinax hatte seine Residenz in *Londinium*, siedelte sich aber

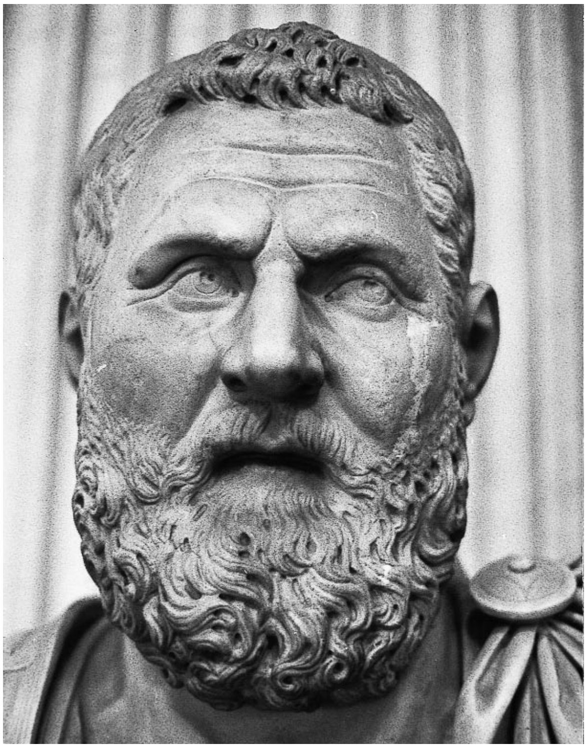


Abb. 24. Porträt des Macrinus, Vorderansicht (Musei Vaticani, Sala Rotonda 258).

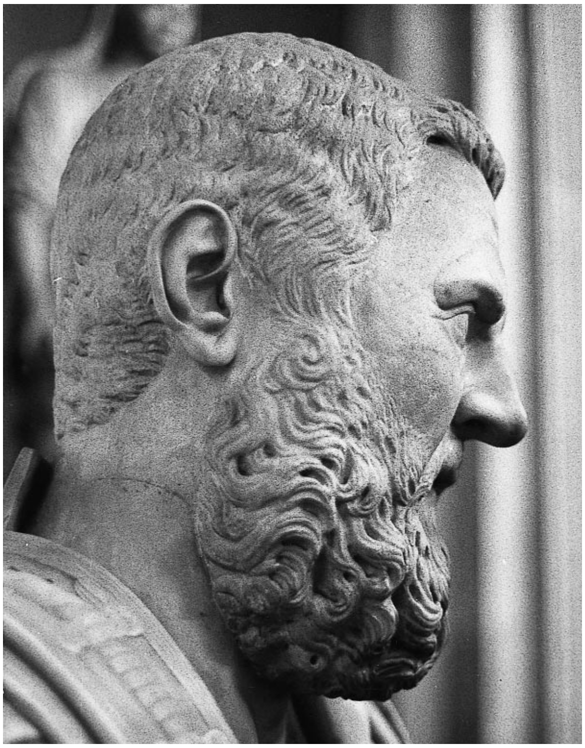


Abb. 25. Porträt des Macrinus, rechtes Profil (Musei Vaticani, Sala Rotonda 258).

auch in der Lullingstone Villa an, wo sein Bildnis und das seines Vaters (?) aufgestellt wurden. Als die Ordnung im Lande wiederhergestellt war und Pertinax sich auf seinen Lorbeeren ausruhen konnte, zeigte sich, daß seine strengen Maßregeln ihm viele Feinde, vor allem unter den Soldaten, eingebracht hatten. Er bittet um die Erlaubnis zurückkehren zu dürfen und erhält sie; aber er muß sich hastig entfernen, vielleicht aus Furcht vor einem Anschlag. Die Soldaten, die ihn suchen, finden ihn selbst nicht mehr, aber wohl sein Bildnis, das nun Opfer eines Wutanfalles wird. Das verlassene Haus wird im Laufe des 3. Jahrhunderts wieder bewohnt und als man das Porträt findet, erkennt man in ihm dann den Divus Pertinax. Mit seinem 'Schicksalsgenossen' gibt man dem Porträt einen besonderen Platz, setzt die Teile der Bildnisbüste schön aufeinander und hält diese Darstellung des vergöttlichten Kaisers dadurch in Ehren, daß man ihm Opfergaben darbringt, was durch den Fund von Opferurnen angedeutet wird.[56] Diese Theorie stimmt völlig mit den Beobachtungen und Hypothesen von G.W. Meates überein: 'The busts may represent part of a family portrait gallery, imported by a distinguished person in the Imperial service, based in Londinium and using Lullingstone as a country house. Bust II could be the owner of the villa who might have come to Britain c. A.D. 165-170 and abandoned Lullingstone c. AD 190, leaving the statues behind'.[57]

Das Porträt läßt sich auch stilistisch-typologisch ausgezeichnet in diese Ereignisse einfügen. Das Stück datiert aus der Zeit vor der Kaiserherrschaft des Pertinax, d.h. aus der Zeit um 180, was nicht nur aus der Verwandtschaft mit dem Aquileia-Köpfchen hervorgeht, sondern mehr noch aus dem Stil, der dem der spät-antoninischen Periode gleicht, in der sich der severische Stil schon ankündigt.

Die Porträts in Leiden und im Vatikan (*Abb. 1-4*), stammen aus Thysdrus und aus Ostia. Die Beziehungen des Pertinax zu diesen beiden Orten sind von Von Heintze deutlich gemacht worden; aber es ist auch ziemlich einfach, dies für Didius Julianus zu tun. Er war nämlich von 190 bis 192 der Nachfolger von Pertinax als Prokonsul von Afrika; auch stammten seine mütterlichen Vorfahren aus dem dicht bei Thysdrus gelegenen Hadrumetum.[58] Seine Verbindung mit Ostia kann sein Amt als *curator alimentorum* gewesen sein, das er um 182 ausübte;[59] aber angesichts der kurzen Entfernung zwischen Rom und Ostia kann auch eine andere Beziehung bestanden haben, durch die sein Porträt dorthin gekommen sein mag. Obwohl über Didius Julianus keine offizielle *damnatio memoriae* ausgesprochen worden ist, sind wahrscheinlich viele - oder die meisten - seiner Bildnisse vernichtet worden, was auch in den literarischen Quellen berichtet wird.[60]

STILISTISCHE KONSEQUENZEN

Die vorgeschlagenen Veränderungen in der Ikonographie von Pertinax und Didius Julianus enthalten auch einige Anpassungen an die stilistische Ordnung der Porträts aus der Periode um 193, wie sie von Von Heintze aufgestellt wurde. Einige ihrer Schlußfolgerungen müssen ganz wegfallen, da nun dargelegt ist, daß das kolossale Rotonda-Porträt kein Bildnis des Pertinax ist. Die übrigen Schlüsse hinsichtlich der Porträts von Pertinax und Didius Julianus sind durch die Interpretation von physiognomischen Einzelheiten häufig subjektiv gefärbt. Der Louvre-Typus zeigt nach ihr den ernsten, milden, würdigen Senator Didius Julianus in einer von Marcus Aurelius abgeleiteten Philosophendarstellung. Daß die von ihr dem Pertinax zugeschriebenen Köpfe jedoch ebenfalls Philosophencharakter haben, ist oben schon festgestellt worden.[61]

Marianne Bergmann sieht in den Porträts des Pertinax (Typus Leiden/Busti 707) eine Abweisung antoninischer Formen,[62] womit sie politische Gründe verbindet. Sie nimmt an, Pertinax habe sich gegen das antoninische Kaiserhaus abgrenzen wollen und darum notwendigerweise eine andere Formensprache gewählt. Diese Notwendigkeit sehe ich nicht. Natürlich mußte er einen anderen Typus als den von Commodus wählen, aber dafür konnte er auf Bildnistypen von Mark Aurel, den er sehr bewunderte und unter dem er eine besondere Karriere aufbaute, zurückgreifen. Der letzte Typus von Mark Aurel zeigt deutliche Alterszüge und legt - nach Bergmann - Nachdruck auf *onus et labor*. Diese Tugenden konnten gerade so gut dem *senex venerabilis* Pertinax zugeschrieben werden.

Trotz der hier geäußerten Einwände bleibt der Artikel Von Heintzes ein wichtiger Ausgangspunkt für die Beurteilung der Porträtkunst der

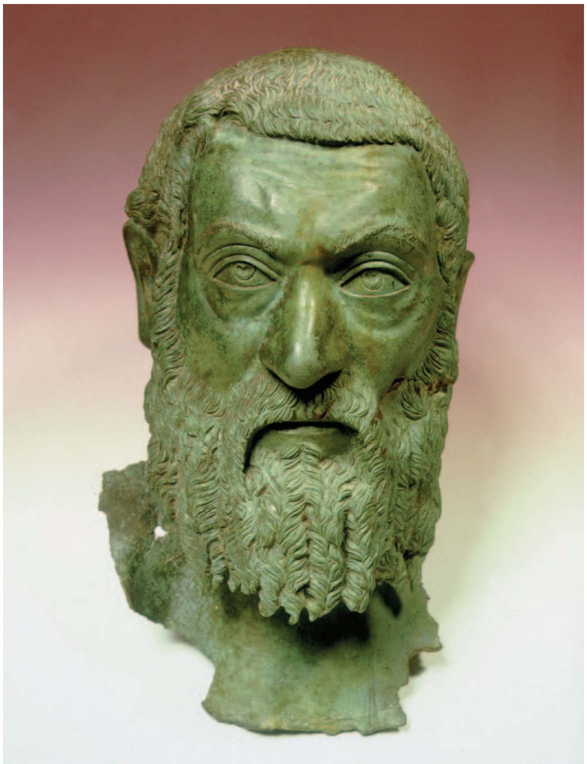


Abb. 26. Porträt des Macrinus, Vorderansicht (Stadtmuseum, Belgrad, inv. 2636).

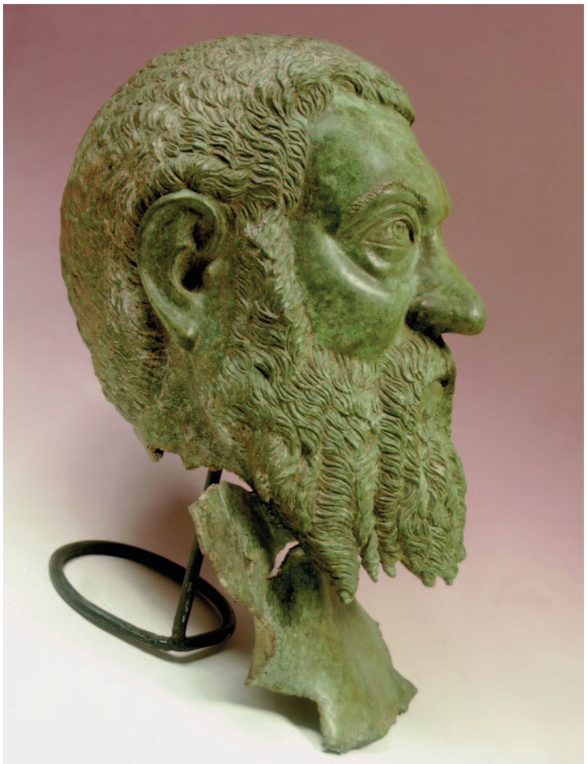


Abb. 27. Porträt des Macrinus, rechtes Profil (Stadtmuseum, Belgrad, inv. 2636).

Zeit um 193. Ihre Beobachtungen z.B. hinsichtlich der künstlerischen Grundform und der Bartbehandlung sind völlig korrekt und wertvoll. Der Bruch mit der antoninischen Porträtdarstellung geschieht jedoch nicht abrupt im Jahre 193. Die Homogenität in den hier als Pertinax identifizierten Porträttypen und der deutliche Zusammenhang, die sie mit dem antoninischen Typus zeigen, weisen auf eine andere, mehr allmählich verlaufende Entwicklung. Der ziemlich persönliche Porträttypus Leiden/Busti 707, hier als Didius Julianus identifiziert, kann als frühes Beispiel der charaktervollen Köpfe genannt werden, die wir in severischer Zeit öfter finden werden, kann aber ebenso als ein Typus betrachtet werden, der in der Philosophentradition steht, was hier oben nochmals erwähnt worden ist. Der sorgenvolle Ausdruck, der allen behandelten Porträts eigen ist, ist ein Kennzeichen dieser Zeit, das auch aus Porträts von Privatpersonen bekannt ist.[63] Die früher erwähnten Züge wie Haar- und Bartbehandlung sowie die Ausarbeitung von Augenbrauen und Stirn[64] weisen auf eine Datierung hin, die zwischen antoninischer und severischer Zeit liegt. Damit wird genau angegeben, welchen Platz diese Stücke einnehmen: sie sind Exponenten der Übergangsperiode, in der der antoninische Stil noch erkennbar ist, aber schon durch den severischen ersetzt wird.

EXKURS: VATIKAN, SALA ROTONDA 258 UND MACRINUS

Das kolossale Porträt im Vatikan, Sala Rotonda, Inv.Nr. 258 (*Abb. 24, 25*), ist deutlich von offizieller Art gewesen, verursacht wegen der bereits erwähnten Beschädigungen, Restaurierungen und Umarbeitungen aber viele Probleme. Die von Meischner hergestellte Verbindung des Kopfes mit dem sogenannten 'Soldatentypus' bietet jedoch Perspektiven. Wegen der Datierung dieses Soldatentypus in das zweite Jahrzehnt des 3. Jahrhunderts kommt der Name Macrinus in Betracht, weil auch dieser eine kurze Haarfrisur mit langem Bart kombiniert. Andere Charakteristika seiner Münzbildnisse sind die schräge Stirnlinie, die bei den Augenbrauen zurückweicht, die Haarbegrenzung, die Nasolabialfalte und die scharfe Nase.

Im Jahre 1983 sind zwei Artikel über Porträts des Macrinus erschienen, und zwar von Dieter Salzmann[65] und von Susan Wood.[66] Letztere nimmt in einem Addendum ihre (unabhängig von Salzmann erhobenen) Bedenken gegen die Macrinus-Ikonographie aufgrund der Ergebnisse Salzmanns zurück. Dessen Einteilung der Macrinus-Porträts nach Münzbildnissen in vier Typen ist tatsächlich einleuchtend; aber es muß gesagt werden, daß es nur Zufall ist, wenn die einzigen erhaltenen plastischen Porträts genau mit der Münztypologie korrespondieren. Mit anderen Worten: Das Vorkommen von nur einem Exemplar je Typus bestärkt die Beweisführung bestimmt nicht. Die beiden Porträts mit dem kurzen Bart müssen nicht notwendigerweise auch Typus 1 und 2 sein, sondern können z.B. Varianten ein und desselben Typs sein; dasselbe gilt für die Porträts mit langem Bart und die Typen 3 und 4. Vielleicht kann folgender Vorschlag die Typeneinteilung Salzmanns für die Macrinus-Porträts stärken.

Ein Vergleich des am meisten überzeugenden Porträts des Macrinus, das aus der Umgebung von Belgrad stammt (*Abb. 26, 27*), mit Vatikan, Rotonda 258, weist nämlich viele Übereinstimmungen auf.[67] Am meisten fällt die gleichen Mundpartie mit dem halb geöffneten Mund auf, die zurückweichende Unterlippe und die tiefen Furchen der Nasen-Lippen-Falten, die in beiden Fällen die Wangen rund erscheinen lassen. Ferner ist die ziemlich runde Kontur des Hauptes, aus der die Ohren herausragen, gleich; auch haben beide eine Kombination von kurzem Haupthaar und einem ziemlich langen Bart. Die Stirn ist von zwei tiefen Falten durchzogen und die Augenbrauen sind betont: bei Vatikan, Rotonda 258, nicht plastisch behandelt und bei dem Stück in Belgrad plastisch gewölbt. Eine sehr wichtige Übereinstimmung ist schließlich beim Profil zu bemerken: vom Haaransatz an verläuft die Stirn schräg nach unten, weicht an der Nasenwurzel stark zurück und geht in die fast gerade Nase über, obwohl diese bei dem Porträt Rotonda 258 restauriert ist. Die gerade Linie des Schnurrbartes, das Zurückweichen am Mund und die schräg nach innen gerichtete Bartkontur vervollständigen das Profil bei beiden Porträts.

Die Unterschiede zwischen den Stücken sind auf die Verschiedenheit des verwendeten Materials und auf die Restaurierungen an dem Kopf Rotonda 258 zurückzuführen. Außerdem weichen ab: die ausgearbeitete Stirnlocke von Rotonda 258 und der gelockte Bart, der nicht die langen Röhrenlocken zeigt wie das Porträt in Belgrad; dies kann aber auch aus materialtechnischen Gründen erklärt werden.

Wir können deshalb annehmen, daß das Porträt Vatikan, Rotonda 258, ein Porträt des Macrinus ist, das sich eng an das von Belgrad anschließt. Hierdurch ist Salzmanns Einteilung deutlicher und mehr plausibel geworden, zumal der Typus 3 nun zwei Vertreter hat.

ANMERKUNGEN

Dieser Aufsatz ist meinem Doktorvater Prof. Dr. Jos de Waele, im Juni 2001 auf dem Wege nach Pompeji gestorben, gewidmet. Ich danke Dr. Thomas Ganschow für seine kritische Bemerkungen und Textkorrekturen.

[1] Gjødesen 1972, 19-20, Abb. 21.

[2] Von Heintze 1977, 162 ff., Taf. 83, 2; 85, 2.

[3] Für Unstimmigkeiten, die teilweise schon korrigiert worden sind, siehe: Bergmann 1978, 33, Anm. 72; Meischner 1981, 145; Meischner 1982, 412 ff., 428, Anm. 65.

[4] Inv. H*2. Erworben 1822 in Livorno: Halbertsma 1995, 43, 160, Pl. 11. 2; Janssen 1843, 18 Nr. 30; Bernoulli 1894, 4 Nr.6; Gids 1951, 20; Gids 1957, 20 Nr. 99; Führer 1966, 25 Nr. 99; Gjødesen 1972, 19-20, Abb. 21; Bergmann 1977, 12, Anm. 34; Von Heintze 1977, 162 ff., Taf. 83, 2; 85, 2; Bergmann 1978, 33, Abb. 50; Bastet 1979, 56, Nr. 76; Fittschen 1980, 113, Anm. 40(k); Meischner 1981, 145, Anm. 20; Meischner 1982, 412 ff. Nr. 9a, 428, Anm. 65; Bastet/Brunsting 1982, 213 Nr. 394, Taf. 116; Bergmann 1982, 145, Anm. 22; Bergmann 1983, 43-44, Abb. 11; Ambrogi 1989, 37 n. 101.

[5] Maße: Höhe des Hauptes 0,36 m, einschl. Hals 0,43 m; Breite des Hauptes 0,24 m; Länge des Bartes (von der Oberseite der Fliege an) 0,115 m.

[6] Siehe Wegner 1939, 226-249, Taf. 39-46; Wegner 1980, 38-66, Taf. 3-4.

[7] Richter 1965, 194-200, Fig. 1175-1225; Kruse-Berdoldt 1975, 3-50, Taf. 1-5.

[8] Gjødesen 1972, 19-20, Abb. 20; Inv. Nr. 707. Gefunden 1803 in Ostia, auf dem Cardo beim Kapitol. Visconti 1884, 100-101, Taf. VIII; Bernoulli 1894, 11, Taf. 5; Amelung 1908, 485 Nr. 288, Taf. 63; Helbig 1963, Nr. 161, IV, 382; Von Heintze 1977, 162 ff., Taf. 83, 1; 85, 1; 87, 2; Bergmann 1977, 12, Anm. 34; Bergmann 1978, 33, Anm. 72; Calza 1978, 42/3, Nr. 52, Taf. 38; Fittschen 1980, 113, Anm.40(i); Meischner 1981, 145, Anm. 201; Meischner 1982, 412 ff., Nr. 9b, 428, Anm. 65; Bergmann 1982, 145, Anm. 22; Ambrogi 1989, 37 n. 100, Fig. 26/7.

[9] Maße: Höhe des Kopfes 0,41 m, insgesamt 0,76 m; Breite des Kopfes 0,27 m; Länge des Bartes 0,13 m. Diese Maße beweisen einmal mehr, daß beide Stücken Repliken sind: das Verhältnis von Höhe:Breite des Kopfes ist für beide 1,5 und das von Höhe des Kopfes:Länge des Bartes 3,1.

[10] Bergmann 1977, 12, Anm. 34.

[11] Vgl. die nordafrikanischen Severusporträts: McCann 1968, 176-177 Nr. 94, Taf. 80; Bonacasa Carra 1980, passim.

[12] Didius Julianus nur bei dem vatikanischen Porträt: Visconti 1884, 100-101, Taf. VIII; Calza 1978, 42-43 Nr. 52, Taf. 38. Der Name ‘Pescennius Niger’, die beide Stücke einige Zeit getragen hatten, fällt weg, weil dieser Kaiser im Westen niemals anerkannt worden ist: Herodianus II, 7; III, 1. Obwohl einige den Wert antiker Autoren für Porträtzuschreibungen bezweifeln (vgl. Salzmann 1983, 375, Anm. 114), ist in unserem Falle jedoch jedes Beweismaterial notwendig, um Unterschiede zu erkennen. Methodisch ist deshalb die Studie von Janine Balty (1966) wichtig, weil sie dieselbe Problematik in bezug auf Clodius Albinus und Septimius Severus behandelt.

[13] Quellen sind: Cassius Dio; *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*; Herodianus. Siehe PIR2 IV, 63-67, Nr. 73; RE Suppl. III, 895-904 (Fluss); Leaning 1989, 564/5.

[14] Eine seltene Ehrung für einen Nicht-Patrizier. Es zeigt, daß er hohes Ansehen genossen haben muß; vgl. Alföldy 1977, 44-45, 107 ff.

[15] Quellen sind Cassius Dio, *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* und Herodianus. Siehe Leaning 1989; PIR2 III, 16-19, Nr. 71; RE V, 412-424 (von Wotava).

[16] Hörling 1980, 19.

[17] Vgl. Wiggers/Wegner 1971, 12. Die Fragmente der Chronik des Malalas betreffend die Kaisergeschichte sind von A. Schenk von Stauffenberg (1931) herausgegeben worden, dessen Anmerkungen - die sich auf die Ausgabe von L. Dindorff (Bonn 1831) stützen - hier benutzt werden.

[18] Zedelius 1977.

[19] Siehe Zedelius 1977, 24-34, Taf. I-III; Woodward 1957; BMC V, lx-lxix; RIC IV 1, 3-12.

[20] Woodward nimmt drei Porträttypen je Offizin an, weil er - von sechs Offizinen ausgehend - 18 verschiedene Typen unterscheiden zu können glaubt und das sowohl für Pertinax als auch für Didius Julianus. Woodward 1957, 86; 1961, 74-76.

[21] Zedelius 1977, 29-32. N.B. Das Profil eines Münzbildnisses gleicht nicht dem Profil eines plastischen Porträts, weil das erstgenannte Profil auch Elemente der Vorderansicht enthält. Vgl. z.B. Trillmich 1971, 189.

[22] Zedelius 1977, 35-42, Taf. IV-V; Woodward 1961; BMC V, lxix-lxxvi; RIC IV 1, 13-18.

[23] Vgl. BMC V, lxx. Ob die spätere Omission von SEVER(VS) wegen Platzmangels auf den Münzen (Woodward 1961, 73) oder aus politischen Erwägungen, Absetzen des Didius Julianus von seinem Rivalen Severus (Zedelius 1977, 38/9) veranlaßt worden ist, bleibt undeutlich.

[24] H. einschl. Hals 0,14 m. Von Heintze 1977, 160 ff., Taf. 81; 82, 2; 84, 2; Poulsen 1928, 19-20, Nr. 18, Taf. 22, 33-34; Brusin 1929, 93 Nr. 14, Abb. 54; Brusin 1936, 6, Abb. 3; Santa Maria Scrinari 1972, 67 Nr. 198 + Abb.; Meischner 1982, 412 ff. Nr. 10, Abb. 14a; Ambrogi 1989, 37 n. 99+102, Fig. 24-25.

[25] H. des Kopfes 0,48 m. Von Heintze 1977, 163 ff., Taf. 82, 1; 84, 1; Bernoulli 1894, 5, Taf. 3; Lippold 1936, 148-149 Nr. 556, Taf. 45; Helbig 1963 Nr. 52; Meischner 1982, 428, Anm. 65.

[26] H. des Kopfes 0,37 m. Von Heintze 1977, 168 ff., Taf. 86; 87, 1; Visconti 1884, 98-99; Bernoulli 1894, 9, Taf. 4; Stuart Jones 1912, 201 Nr. 46, Taf. 46; L’Orange 1933, 93; EAA IV (1961), 759 (F. Panvini Rosati); Helbig 1966 Nr. 1276.

[27] H. des Kopfes 0,335 m. Von Heintze 1977, 170 ff., Taf. 87, 2; 88, 1; Bernoulli 1894, 3-4 Nr. 3; Amelung 1908, 485 Nr. 289, Taf. 64; Hekler 1912, Taf. 275a; Helbig 1963, Nr. 160; de Luca 1976, 74 Anm. 1.

[28] H. des Kopfes 0,35 m. Von Heintze 1977, 171, Anm. 62; de Luca 1976, 74-75, Nr. 40, Taf. 66 (mit Literatur); Fittschen 1980, 113, Anm. 40 (f).

[29] H. des Kopfes 0,35 m. Von Heintze 1977, 169, Anm. 50, 171 ff.; Brinkerhoff 1970, 7 ff. Nr. 1, Abb. 3-4; Inan/Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 112-113 Nr. 62, Taf. 55; 67, 1; Meischner 1981, 145; Meischner 1982, 416, Anm. 36.

[30] H. des Kopfes 0,31 m. Von Heintze 1977, 171-172, Taf. 89; 90, 1; Bernoulli 1894, 3 Nr. 1, Taf. 1; Michon 1922, 63 Nr. 1100; Fittschen 1980, 113, Anm. 40 (g); De Kersauson 1996, 338-339.

[31] H. des Kopfes 0,41 m. Von Heintze 1977, 171 ff., Taf. 88, 2; 90, 2; 91, 1; Bernoulli 1894, 3 Nr. 2, Taf. 2; Stuart Jones 1912, 201 Nr. 45, Taf. 46; Helbig 1966 Nr. 1272.

[32] Antakya: Meischner 1981, 145; Meischner 1982, 416, Anm. 36; Sala Rotonda: Meischner 1982, 428, Anm. 65.

[33] Siehe ‘Exkurs: Vatikan, Sala Rotonda 258, und Macrinus’ (S. 192).

[34] Von Heintze 1977, 173.

[35] Bernoulli 1894, 9; Von Heintze 1977, 160.

[36] Von Heintze 1977, 166.

[37] Fittschen/Zanker 1985; Band II (Männliche Privatporträts) ist noch nicht erschienen.

[38] Fittschen/Zanker 1985, 93 Nr. 81, Taf. 99; 100 - Repliken: 93, Listenr. 1 und 2, mit Literatur und Beilage 65.

[39] Vgl. Zedelius 1977, 38-39. Ablehnend auch: Bergmann 1998, 258 Anm. 1557.

[40] H. des Kopfes ca. 0,30 m. Meates 1955, 70-89, Taf. 18-19, 25-29; Toynbee 1964, 59-63, Taf. XI (mit Lit.); Painter 1968-1969, 131 ff., Taf. 72; Meischner 1982, 412 ff. Nr. 14, Abb. 14b; Meates/Allen 1987, 53.

[41] Von Heintze 1977, 160.

[42] Vgl. Von Heintze 1977, 169.

[43] Zedelius 1977, 20. So auch Bergmann 1998, 258 Anm. 1556. Vgl. die Anmerkungen zu Galba in Gesichter 1982, 307. Auch bei den Münzbildnissen des Marcus Aurelius ist die Zahl der Locken beschränkt und sind deutliche Abweichungen von den plastischen Porträts zu bemerken: Bergmann 1978, 40. Niels Hannestad (1986, 236) setzt sogar voraus, daß auch die Porträts in der Skulptur nicht die wirkliche Haartracht des Marcus Aurelius zeigen, sondern als ‘political manifesto’ aufgefaßt werden müssen.

[44] Siehe Anm. 21.

[45] Inv. 4217, Felletti Maj 1953, 48 Nr. 233 + Abb.; Poulsen 1974, 154; de Luca 1976, 75 Anm. 13; Calza 1978, 35-36 Nr. 39, Taf. XXXI.
Inv. 4222, Felletti Maj 1953, 117-118 Nr. 232 + Abb.; Poulsen 1974, 154; de Luca 1976, 75 (mit Anm. 13); Calza 1978, 35, Taf. XXXI, 39bis.

[46] Bernoulli 1894, 3; De Kersauson 1996, 338-339.

[47] Unsere Identifizierung könnte durch eine Porträtgemme in der Ermitage in St. Petersburg verstärkt werden (*Abb. 23*), auf der Pertinax, seine Gemahlin Titiana und sein Sohn Helvius Pertinax dargestellt sind (Sardonyx-Stein, 30 x 17 mm. Stephani 1881, 121-125, Pl. V, 21/2; Bernoulli 1894, 2-3; Reinach 1895, 143-144, Taf. 130, 45, mit älterer Literatur; Delbrueck 1940, 15, Abb. b auf Beilage 1 zu S. 70). Frau Julia Kagan, Konservator der nachklassischen Glyptikabteilung des Museums, teilte mir 1986 aber mit, daß heutzutage die antike Authentizität der Gemme bezweifelt wird, weswegen sie hier außer Betracht bleibt. Interessant ist aber der Vorschlag von Klaus Fittschen, die Büste Mus. Cap., Sala delle Colombe Inv. 391(Fittschen/Zanker 1985, 90 Nr. 79, Taf. 95-96, mit Lit.) als ein Porträt des Helvius Pertinax anzusehen. Die vorgebrachten Argumente wie Stil und das Existieren einer Replik in Toulouse sind überzeugend. Siehe auch Fittschen 1999, 75-77, Taf. 124-126 (mit zwei weiteren, umgearbeiteten Repliken in Rom und Hannover). Stellen wir dieses Porträt neben die hier als Pertinax identifizierten Stücke, so ergibt sich eine bemerkenswerte stilistische Übereinstimmung.
Eine weitere Bestätigung konnte man schließlich aus einem Sarkophagdeckel in Palazzo Rondanini zu Rom bekommen, auf dem man Pertinax identifiziert hat (Ambrogi 1989, besonders Fig. 4). Der Kopf des Hauptpersons zeigt deutlich die meisten Züge des Typus-Louvre, nur sind die Haare welliger gestattet.

[48] Visconti 1884, 101. Ebenso wie viele andere Funde, die in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts in Ostia ausgegraben worden sind, kann auch dieser Stein in den Magazinen der vatikanischen Museen in Vergessenheit geraten sein. Vgl. Paschetto 1912, 504-507.

[49] Calza 1978, 42-43 Nr. 52, Taf. 38.

[50] Von Heintze 1977, 160 ff.; Meischner 1982, 412 ff.

[51] Vgl. Delbrueck 1940, 15-16; auch: Bergmann 1978, 40 und Bergmann 1982, 145, besonders Anm. 23.

[52] Pertinax wurde von Septimius Severus in einer prunkvollen Zeremonie vergöttlicht, wobei auch ein Porträt des Pertinax einhergetragen wurde (Cassius Dio LXXV, 4, 3). Ferner war ‘Pertinax’ ein Ehrentitel des Septimius Severus, der nur auf den Münzen verschwindet, die nach 198 geschlagen wurden. Auf der Porticus Octaviae in Rom (203 n. Chr.) trägt er immer noch diesen Ehrentitel (siehe *CIL* VI, 1034). Vgl. jedoch McCann 1968, 50.

[53] Von Heintze 1977, 165. Vgl. auch Kolbe 1962, 416, Errichtung eines Standbildes zu Ehren von Pertinax in Köln (169 n. Chr.).

[54] *S.H.A., Vita Pert*. III, 9; Cassius Dio LXXIV, 4, 1.

[55] Meates 1955, 85. Vgl. dasselbe Geschehen mit dem Kopf des Nero aus der Alde: Toynbee 1964, 47; Jucker 1981, 308.

[56] Meates 1979, 35-39.

[57] Meates/Allen 1987, 53. Siehe auch Meates 1979, 21, 24; Stevens 1966, 123; Frere 1978, 319 Nr. 9. Vgl. dagegen Percival 1976, 94.

[58] *S.H.A., Vita Did*. I, 2; wegen eines früheren Amtes in Afrika: *CIL* VI, 1401.

[59] *S.H.A., Vita Did*, II, 1. 94.

[60] Cassius Dio LXXIV, 14, 2a

[61] Siehe oben S. 176, 181 und Anm. 36.

[62] Bergmann 1978, 33.

[63] Meischner 1982, Gruppe I und II; besonders das Stück in Basel (Nr. 8, 412 ff.) zeigt große Übereinstimmung bei den Stirnfalten. Das ziemlich beschädigte stephanophore Porträt in Padua, Mus. Civico (Ghedini 1980, 50-51 Nr. 18 + Abb. Bessere Abb.: InstNegRom 81.3872-3875) hat dieselben Züge, kombiniert mit einer expressiven Mundpartie. Auch dieses Stück datiert aus dem letzten Jahrzehnt des zweiten Jahrhunderts.

[64] Siehe oben Anm. 11.

[65] Salzmann 1983.

[66] Wood 1983.

[67] Belgrad, Städt. Museum, Inv. Nr. 2636. H. des Kopfes 0,33 m. Kondić 1973, 47/8, Taf. V-VII; Salzmann 1983, 362, 371 ff., Abb. 13, 17, 21, 28-30; Wood 1983, 493, 496; Fittschen/Zanker 1985, 113 Anm. 2 (zu Nr. 95); Wood 1986, 30-31; Jugoslawien 1988, 152-154, Kat.Nr. 171 + Umschlagbild.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

Alföldy, G. 1977, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen. Prosopographische Untersuchungen zur Senatorischen Führungsschicht*, Bonn.

Ambrogi, A. 1989, Un frammento del sarcofago di Pertinace: 193 d.C., *Xenia* 18, 27-52.

Amelung, W. 1908, *Die Skulpturen des Vaticanischen Museums*, Berlin.

Balty, J. 1966, *Essai d’iconographie de l’empereur Clodius Albinus* (Collection Latomus 85), Bruxelles.

Bastet, F.L. 1979, *Beeld en Relief. Gids voor de verzameling Griekse en Romeinse beeldhouwkunst in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*, ’s-Gravenhage.

Bastet, F.L./H. Brunsting 1982, *Corpus Signorum Classicorum Musei Antiquarii Lugduno-Batavi*, Zutphen.

Bergmann, M. 1977, *Studien zum römischen Porträt des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr*. (Antiquitas 3, 18), Bonn.

Bergmann, M. 1978, *Marc Aurel* (Liebighaus Monographie 2), Frankfurt am Main.

Bergmann, M. 1982, Zeittypen im Kaiserporträt, *WissZBerl* 31, Fasc. 2/3, 143-147.

Bergmann, M. 1983, Zum römischen Porträt des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr., in *Spätantike und frühes Christentum* (Ausstellung Liebighaus Museum alter Plastik, Frankfurt am Main, 16.12.83-11.3.84), 41-59.

Bergmann, M. 1998, *Die Strahlen der Herrscher. Theomorphes Herrscherbild und politische Symbolik im Hellenismus und in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Mainz.

Bernoulli, J.J. 1894, *Römische Ikonographie*, II-3, Stuttgart.

Bonacasa Carra, R.M. 1980, Ritratto di un dignitario libico nel Museo di Sabratha, *QuadALibia* 11, 101-112.

Brinkerhoff, D.M. 1970, *A Collection of Sculpture in Classical and Early Christian Antioch*, New York.

Brusin, G. 1929, *Aquileia, guida storico artistica*, Udine.

Brusin, G. 1936, *Il Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Aquileia*, Roma.

Calza, R. 1978, *Scavi di Ostia* IX. *I Ritratti* II, Roma.

Delbrueck, R. 1940, *Die Münzbildnisse von Maximinus bis Carinus* (Das römische Herrscherbild III-2), Berlin.

Felletti Maj, B.M. 1953, *Il Museo Nazionale Romano. I Ritratti*, Roma

Fittschen, K. 1980, Ein Bildnis in Privatbesitz - zum Realismus römischer Porträts der mittleren und späteren Prinzipatszeit, in *Eikones. Festschrift Hans Jucker*, Bern, 108-114.

Fittschen, K. 1999, *Prinzenbildnisse antonininscher Zeit*, Mainz.

Fittschen, K./P. Zanker 1985, *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom* I: *Kaiser- und Prinzenbildnisse*, Mainz.

Frere, S. 1978, *Britannia. A History of Roman Britain*, London.

Gesichter 1982, *Gesichter. Griechische und römische Bildnisse aus Schweizer Besitz* (Ausstellung Historisches Museum Bern 6.11.82-6.6.83), Bern.

Ghedini, F. 1980, *Sculture greche e romane del Museo Civico di Padova*, Roma.

Gids 1951/1957/1966, *Gids voor de verzameling van Griekse en Romeinse beeldhouwwerken. Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*, 's-Gravenhage.

Gjødesen, M. 1972, Soldat eller Filosof, *MeddelelsGlyptKøb* 29, 7-56.

Halbertsma, R.B., 1995, *Le solitaire des ruines. De archeologische reizen van Jean Emile Humbert (1771-1839) in dienst van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden*, Leiden.

Hannestad, N. 1986, *Roman Art and Imperial Policy*, Aarhus.

Von Heintze, H. 1977, Studien zu den Porträts des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. 8. Die Kaiser der Krisenjahre 193-197 n. C., *RM* 84, 159-180.

Hekler, A. 1912, *Die Bildniskunst der Griechen und Römer*, Stuttgart.

Helbig, W. 1963/1966, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom* I/II, Tübingen^4.

Hörling, E. 1980, *Mythos und Pistis. Zur Deutung heidnischer Mythen in der christlichen Weltchronik des Johannes Malalas*, Lund.

Inan, J./E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, *Römische und frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik aus der Türkei. Neue Funde*, Mainz.

Janssen, L.J.F. 1843, *De Grieksche, Romeinsche en Etrurische Monumenten van het Museum van Oudheden te Leyden*, Leiden.

Jucker, H. 1981, Julisch-Claudische Kaiser- und Prinzenporträts als 'Palimpseste', *JdI* 96, 236-316.

Jugoslawien 1988, *Antike Porträts aus Jugoslawien* (Ausstellungskatalog Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte), Frankfurt am Main.

De Kersauson, K. 1996, *Musée du Louvre. Département des Antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines. Catalogue des portraits romains* II*: De l'année de la guerre civile (68-69 après J.-C.) à la fin de l'Empire*, Paris.

Kolbe, H.-G. 1962, Der Pertinaxstein aus Brühl bei Köln, *BJb* 162, 407-420.

Kondić, V. 1973, Two Recent Acquisitions in Belgrade Museums, *JRS* 69, 47-49.

Kruse-Berdoldt, V. 1975, *Kopienkritische Untersuchungen zu den Porträts des Epikur, Metrodor und Hermarch*, Diss. Göttingen.

Leaning, J.B. 1989, Didius Julianus and his Biographer, *Latomus* 48, 548-565.

Lippold, G. 1936, *Die Skulpturen des Vaticanischen Museums* III-1, Berlin/Leipzig.

L'Orange, H.P. 1933, *Studien zur Geschichte des spätantiken Porträts*, Oslo.

De Luca, G. 1976, *I monumenti antichi di Palazzo Corsini in Roma*, Roma.

McCann, A.M. 1968, *The Portraits of Septimius Severus (AD 193-211)* (*MemAmAc* 30), Rome.

Meates, G.W. 1955, *Lullingstone Roman Villa*, London.

Meates, G.W. 1979, *The Roman Villa at Lullingstone, Kent* I*: The Site*, Chichester.

Meates, G.W.-Allen, D.F. 1987, *The Roman Villa at Lullingstone, Kent* II*: The Wall Paintings and Finds*, Maidstone.

Meischner, J. 1981, Fragen zur römischen Porträtgeschichte unter besonderer Berücksichtigung kleinasiatischer Beispiele, *BJb* 181, 143-167.

Meischner, J. 1982, Privatporträts der Jahre 195 bis 220 n. Chr., *JdI* 97, 401-439.

Michon, E. 1922, *Musée National du Louvre. Catalogue Sommaire des Marbres Antiques*, Paris.

Painter, K.S. 1968-1969, The Lullingstone wall-plaster: An aspect of Christianity in Roman Britain, *BMQ* 33, 131-150.

Paschetto, L. 1912, *Ostia Colonia Romana. Storia e monumenti* (DissPontAcc ser. II, 10,2), Roma.

Percival, J. 1976, *The Roman Villa*, London.

Poulsen, F. 1928, *Porträtstudien in Norditalienischen Provinzmuseen*, København.

Poulsen, V. 1974, *Les Portraits Romains* II*: De Vespasien à la Basse Antiquité*, København.

Reinach, S. 1895, *Pierres gravées des collections Marlborough et d'Orléans*, Paris.

Richter, G.M.A. 1965, *The Portraits of the Greeks*, London.

Salzmann, D. 1983, Die Bildnisse des Macrinus, *JdI* 98, 351-381.

Santa Maria Scrinari, V. 1972, *Museo Archeologico di Aquileia. Catalogo delle sculture romane*, Roma.

Schenk von Stauffenberg, A. 1931, *Die römische Kaisergeschichte bei Malalas*, Stuttgart.

Stephani, L. 1881, Erklärung einiger Kunstwerke der kaiserlichen Ermitage, *Compte-renduComImpArch*, 5-138.

Stevens, C.E. 1966, The Social and Economic Aspects of Rural Settlement in C. Thomas (ed.), *Rural Settlement in Roman Britain*, London, 108-128.

Stuart Jones, H. 1912, *The Sculpture of the Museo Capitolino*, Oxford.

Toynbee, J.M.C. 1964, *Art in Britain under the Romans*, Oxford.

Trillmich, W. 1971, Zur Formgeschichte von Bildnis-Typen, *JdI* 86, 179-213.

Visconti, C.L. 1884, Appendice su 'La famiglia e il cursus honorum dell'imperatore Didio Giuliano', *BullCom* 12, 98-101.

Wegner, M. 1939, *Die Herrscherbildnisse in antoninischer Zeit* (Das römische Herrscherbild II, 4), Berlin.

Wegner, M. 1980, Verzeichnis der Kaiserbildnisse von Antoninus Pius bis Commodus. II, *Boreas* 3, 12-116.

Wiggers, H.B./M. Wegner, 1971, *Caracalla bis Balbinus* (Das römische Herrscherbild III, 1), Berlin.

Wood, S. 1983, A Too Succesful Damnatio Memoriae: Problems in Third Century Roman Portraiture, *AJA* 87, 489-496.

Wood, S. 1986, *Roman Portrait Sculpture 217-260 AD*, Leiden.

Woodward, A.M. 1957, The Coinage of Pertinax, *NC* 6, 17, 84-96.

Woodward, A.M. 1961, The Coinage of Didius Julianus and his Family, *NC* 7, 1, 71-90.

Zedelius, V. 1977, *Untersuchungen zur Münzprägung von Pertinax bis Clodius Albinus*, Diss. Münster (1975).

ABBILDUNGSNACHWEIS

Abb. 1, 2: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.
Abb. 3, 4, 7, 11: Musei Vaticani Arch.Fot. XXXI.8.91, XXXI.8.92, XXXI.8.94, XXXI.8.95.
Abb. 5: Auktion Gorny 67, 1994, 564.
Abb. 6: Auktion Leu, 1974, 215.
Abb. 9, 13: Louvre, Paris.
Abb. 10, 14: InstNegRom 76.2055, 76.2057 (Rossa).
Abb. 15, 16: Museo Archeologico, Aquileia.
Abb. 17, 18: © British Museum, London.
Abb. 23: The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.
Abb. 26, 27: Belgrad, Stadtmuseum.
übrige Abbildungen: Autor.

SCHOUT WERNERTSLAAN 7
NL-5673 RL NUENEN

BABesch 79 (2004)

Phrasikleia: Style, Drapery and Meanders
A review article on Antike Plastik 28

J.M. Hemelrijk

Abstract

This paper started as a review of Antike Plastik fasc. 28. It gives a short description of three of the four chapters, those dealing with Apollo Sauroktonos, with a colossal head of Heracles in Sparta, and with a well-known relief in Epidaurus. The first chapter, however, in which the fascinating statue of Phrasikleia and the kouros found together with her, are published by N. Kaltsas, asked for extensive comments and supplementary descriptions. This concerns drapery and folds, the uncut area around the feet under the skirt, the shades of colour seemingly visible in the excellent photographs, the structure of the meanders that decorate the garment, aspects of the sculptural style and, finally, the clumsiness of certain details, which may perhaps be attributed to a helpmate of the Parian sculptor Aristion (whose name is mentioned in the inscription recognized as belonging to the kore).

Antike Plastik, Herausgegeben in Auftrag des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts von A.H. Borbein. Lieferung 28.

Mit Beiträgen von Nikolaos Kaltsas, Renata Preisshofen (†), Dimitris Damaskos, Eckart Sauter. Hirmer Verlag, München 2002.

Each new volume of *Antike Plastik* brings welcome additions to our knowledge of ancient sculpture. In this fascicule N. Kaltsas discusses Phrasikleia and her companion kouros from Myrrhinous; Miss Preisshofen studies the Apollo Sauroktonos, D. Damaskos publishes a colossal head of Heracles in Sparta, and E. Sauter focuses on a well-known relief from Epidauros in the National Museum of Athens.

The text is 162 pages, there are 76 plates with numerous pictures. Photographs are excellent but many have been tempered with in a loathsome way: certain statues are, as it were, set in a pitch dark night (as was the fashion at the beginning of the 20th century; see the Sauroktonos of pls. 24-31); others are floating in a light-gray mist, not modeled by light and shade (*e.g.* pl. 35). Not a few appear as if they have been harshly *cut out along their contours*: this total elimination of the natural surroundings and background, which has become fashionable, robs the statues of their three-dimensional solidness and reality (e.g. pls. 43, 48-49, 55, 63 etc.; contrast pl. 59 e-f, which, though aesthetically less satisfactory, seems very real).[1]

In the great wealth of material contained in this volume the present reviewer may perhaps be excused if he concentrates on the very important and long-awaited publication of Phrasikleia (31 years after her discovery!) and the kouros buried with her. About the other three papers I shall have to be brief.

Preisshofen's conscientious discussion of the Sauroktonos (pp. 41-115, pls. 21-64) must be all but exhaustive. She describes the countless copies and enumerates the various theories that try to explain this puzzling group. She herself regards the name 'killer of the lizard' as a nickname that misleadingly stuck to the statue. She regards the youthful Apollo as a Spring god, who with his sun beam, his arrow, reawakens the lizard (*das Sonnentier*, *heliake*) and restores its eyesight after winter sleep (pp. 52-53). This, surely, is an explanation that gets rid of the seeming triviality of the action.

I have always wondered what made Praxiteles give a girl face to Apollo (*e.g.*, pls. 21, 26). I am quite shocked by the fact that the often plumpish girl faces of pls. 39-54 were, at least in Roman times, generally accepted as that of the youthful Apollo: there is nothing of the lean, bony physiognomy of a lively, hard-running youth. The body too is effeminate, though Boardman calls it an 'adolescent athlete figure'.[2] The question seems important, but is not mentioned. Yet the feminizing of Apollo (both youthful and adult) is a surprising break with the hardy mentality of the fifth and early fourth centuries. Did the sturdy, broad-shouldered Plato (an expert wrestler!) or the manly Aristotle appreciate this androgynous rendering of their mighty, often dangerous god? It is hard to believe.

The Heracles head from Sparta, discussed by D. Damaskos (pp. 117-124, pls. 65-66) is, he argues, an original of about 200 BC, not, as has often been thought, a Roman copy. It is twice life size and seems a very fine piece that deserves the meticulous analysis given by the author.

The relief from Epidaurus, famous for its archaizing, overelegant, striding lady of pls. 72-73 is discussed in great detail by E. Sauter (pp. 125-162, pls. 67-76). It is usually regarded as belonging to

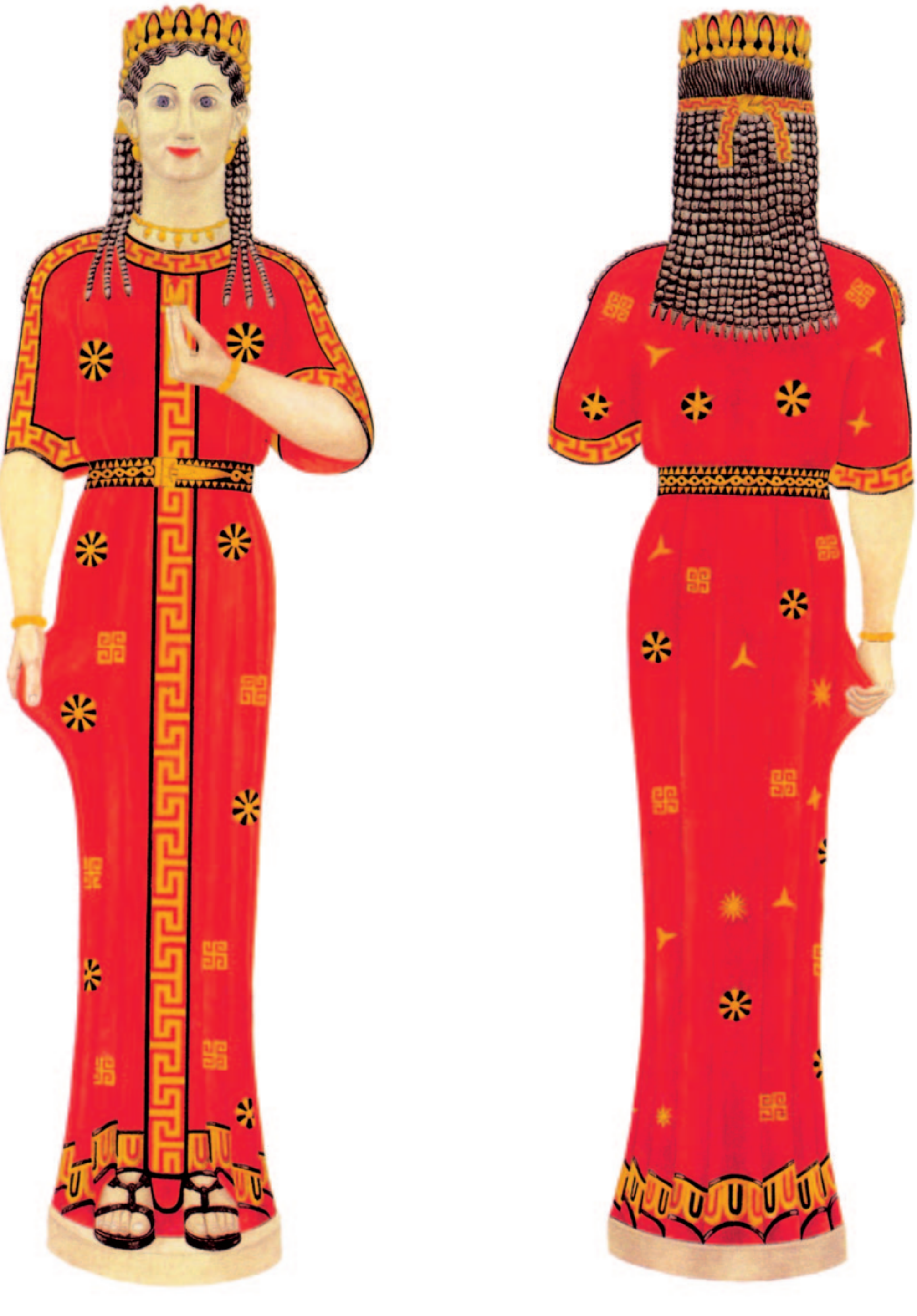


Fig. 1-2. Phrasikleia, after Kaltsas pl. 1b-c; drawing by Th. Kakarounga.

the late fourth century. Here it is dated to the first century BC, though rather hesitatingly, this date being '*durchaus begründbar*' (p. 154). This chronology is based on a careful scrutiny of the crowning cyma (pp. 142 ff, pl. 76) and the figure style (pp. 148 ff). The relief was part of a small altar probably decorated with the *dodekatheoi* (p. 154, reconstructed in fig. 21, p. 150). The main figures are Zeus and Hera (not Asklepios and Hygieia) who are flanked by Nike and the archaistic figure (here called Hebe). If this dating is correct, the relief is no longer proof of the existence of archaistic sculpture in the fourth century.

Now back to Kaltsas's publication of Phrasikleia[3] and her companion, the kouros. Let us first briefly speak of the latter (pp. 26-37, pls. 13-20). Kaltsas' treatment is detailed and interesting (see, *e.g.*, p. 36). Originally the statue must have been ca. 1.95 m (n. 131, p. 27), but the author does not give detailed measurements of the different parts of the statue (though, in the future, such measurements will surely be indispensable for accurate comparisons with other kouroi). He suggests that the kouros may be a younger work by Aristion of Paros, the sculptor of Phrasikleia, and that it represents a member of the same family (p. 37). He dates it 540-530 BC (p. 36) and regards the kouros from Volomandra (figs. 26-28) as the earliest work this Parian sculptor made in Attica. These attributions are not likely to be accepted generally. Opinions among scholars differ sharply, both with regard to style and to dating (summarized on p. 36). One or two remarks may be made here. As regards the Volomandra kouros, there are significant differences: the most striking one is, perhaps, that his thorax and waist are far less sturdy and his legs seem slenderer than those of Phrasikleia's companion. The attribution of Phrasikeia and 'her' kouros to one and the same sculptor also seems questionable. As we shall see below, there are indeed similarities, but, on the whole, the face of each is quite different: note the very widely spaced, small eyes of the kouros, the width of his nose bridge, his almost feminine mouth imbedded in soft cheeks and his high, blank forehead, and then compare the less soft, more bony face of Phrasikleia, or look at the two profiles (pls. 6-7 and 16-17). Furthermore, the differences between the hair of the two is enormous, that of the kouros neat and admirable, that of Phrasikleia almost clumsy or, at least, irregular and not well-planned nor delicately carved, hardly the work of an expert sculptor (we shall return to this below; see pl. 7a and the exquisite hair of pl. 17a).[4] Should not likenesses be far closer and more striking before we feel justified in speaking of a single sculptor?

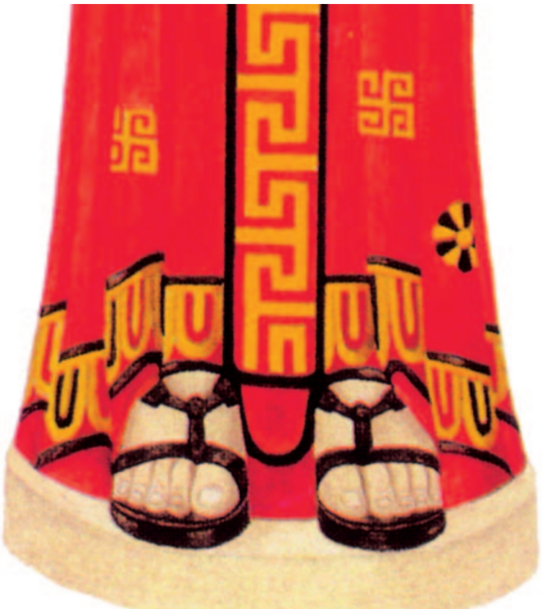


Fig. 3. After Kaltsas pl. 1b, enlarged detail; drawing by Th. Kakarounga.

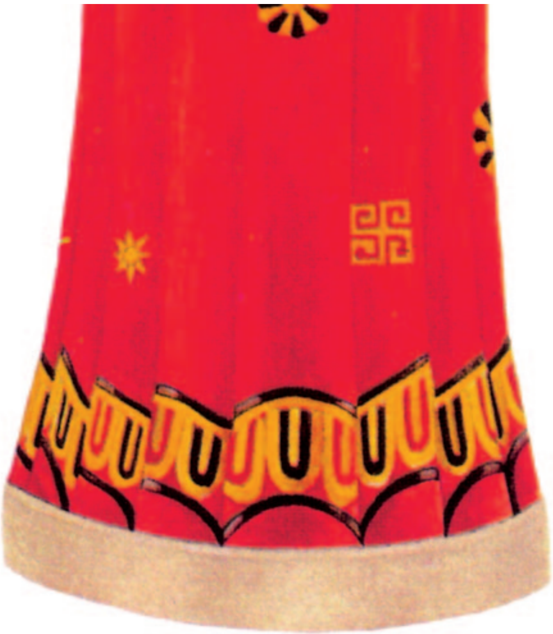


Fig. 4. Idem, but skirt seen from behind, after Kaltsas pl. 1c.

Nevertheless Kaltsas' discussion of the kouros is useful and instructive.

Oddly enough, his publication of Phrasikleia is less satisfactory. The description and discussion of the statue are detailed (pp. 7-26, pls. 1-12), but there are omissions.

The two statues were found together in 1972, but the base of Phrasikleia with its fascinating inscription ('I shall ever be called maiden...,' p. 10, figs. 5-6) has been known since 1729, when it was detected and built into a church (Kaltsas gives no sketch of the inscription as is, for example, given by Boardman).[5] The reader would like to know how the statues were discovered and who found out that the kore belonged to this inscribed base, but we are, rather disappointingly, kept in the dark, or rather, Kaltsas curtly refers us to a paper of 1972 by E. Mastrokostas written in Greek (n. 11).

The statues lay buried in a shallow pit (fig. 1, p. 8). They may have been hidden there some time before the Persian wars, for the author suggests that Phrasikleia can have been taken off her tomb for political reasons: perhaps she stood on a plot owned by the Alcmaeonids, and was therefore removed when the family had to leave Athens (n. 2). This removal took place with great care, as appears from the way in which the upper surface of Phrasikleia's base was cut down to facilitate the extraction of the statue (with plinth, lead filling and all; pp. 7-8, n. 12 and figs. 2-6). Perhaps the family hoped to reinstate the statue in better times, but when, finally, the Alcmaeonids returned, one member of the family, Kleisthenes, introduced a law forbidding showy funerary monuments; and so Phrasikleia was never put back on her grave. Of course, the author regards all this as very hypothetical. At any rate, the kouros buried with her was not handled with the same care: he lost a hand and both feet together with the plinth (fig. 1).

Pl. 1 (*cf.* here *figs. 1-2*) gives four colour drawings of Phrasikleia made by Theodora Kakarounga (see n. 28 on p. 11). Its colours (red, yellow and black) differ from the indications published in a paper (and in her recent book on korai) by K. Karakasi, who is criticized for not having asked permission to study or publish the figure (n. 27, p. 11; see here n.1). As we shall see, it is not entirely clear that Kaltsas' reconstruction of the colours is wholly correct; at any rate, one expects some (perhaps sparing) use of blue or green, and against the 'gold' of the yellow ornaments some use of 'silver' (tin) would have been fine.[6]

Phrasikleia is 1.71 m tall (without the plinth), a little above life-size (n. 6). Her right foot is set very slightly in advance of the left one (0.6 cm, see for other early examples n. 15). Her right hand grasps her skirt, her left holds a flower before her breast. Both lower arms are almost entirely in the round, the left being supported only by a small strut (pl. 9c: broken when the statue was buried).[7]

The most distinguishing feature in her appearance seems to me the gorgeous crown or coronet she is wearing, an ornament that seems unique in its sculptural splendour: it consists of big golden (?)[8] lotus flowers and buds, springing from a chain of

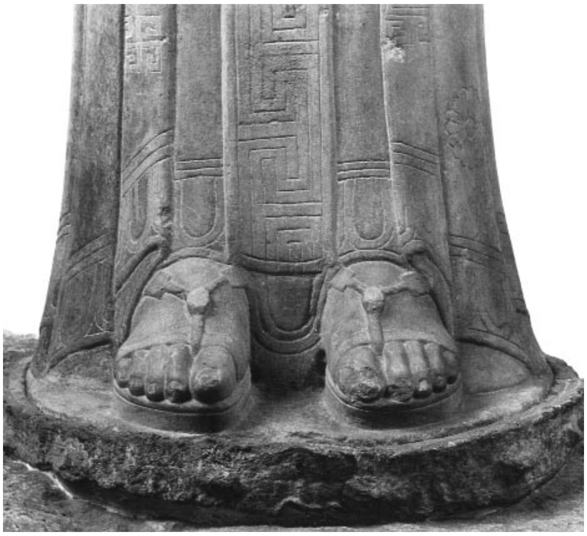


Fig. 5. After Kaltsas pl. 8c; feet and lower edge.

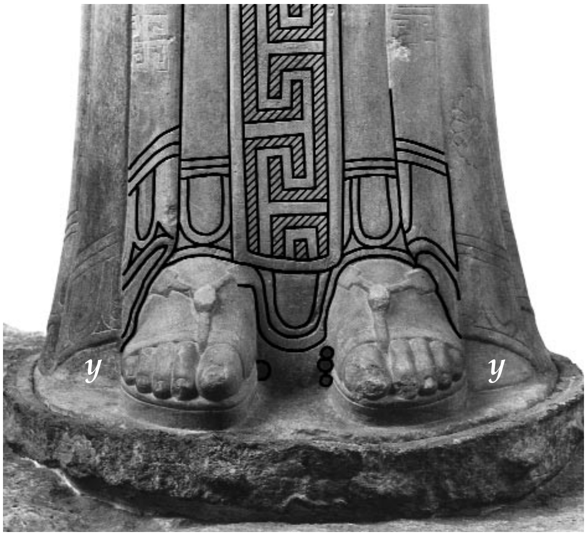


Fig. 5b. Idem, some details inked.

fine 'pearls'; this coronet is not incised and painted, but almost wholly carved in the round, set against a hardly visible background (black?). Kaltsas discusses this impressive headdress only at the end of his description (p. 16). It has, of course, given rise to much debate, but he reduces the problem by simply (and not quite rightly) comparing the coronet to the diadems or *stephanai* worn by korai from the Acropolis, denying that it means that the statue represents a goddess or that Phasikleia is a heroine (see his notes 58-63). No doubt it denotes an exceptionally high social standing, but no further explanation seems possible at the moment.

She wears a long, red garment decorated with yellow (gold) and black patterns (here *figs. 1-4*). Her garment is described as a full-length chiton with sewn sleeves (not with buttons; note the extra material filling the space under the armpits, pl. 8a; here *fig. 1*). Ridgway and others call it a peplos (p. 10, n. 21). A comparison with kore 802 in the Museum of Paros,[9] which must be more or less contemporary and was probably made by a compatriot of our sculptor, shows how a chiton was rendered at the time. At any rate, the author says nothing about the material of Phrasikleia's garment, though the widely spaced folds in the skirt and the simple shape of the upper part with only a few, slowly moving, wavy folds (pl. 2b) suggest that it is wool rather than linen. This is especially clear when the author compares such statues as a kore from Cyrene (fig. 16b), which displays the narrow subtle folds of the linen chiton known from the Cheramyes kore and the like.

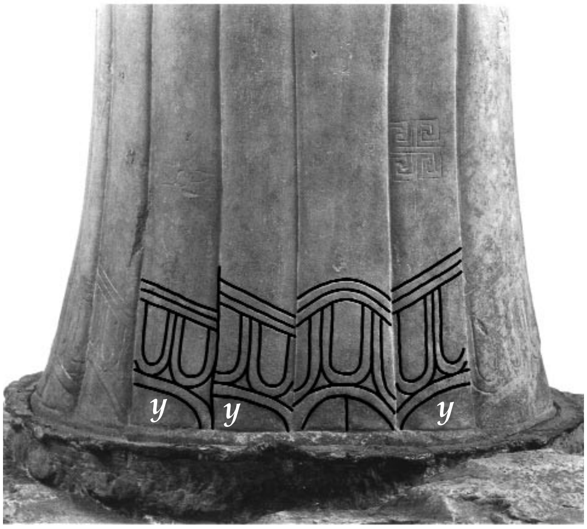


Fig. 6. After Kaltsas pl. 8d, back of lower edge; some details inked.

In fact, at first sight, Phrasikleia looks rather like the Peplos kore, though there we have an overfall.[10] On the other hand, the remarkable folds in the edge of Phrasikleia's skirt above her feet seem proper to linen rather than to wool (pls. 2-3, 8c-d; here *figs. 3-6*).

It is with regard to these folds in the lower edge that the author's treatment of the statue is deficient: they are almost entirely ignored. Clearly, there should have been a detailed description of pls. 8c-d and 2-3, accompanied by drawings (see here *figs. 5b, 6-8*).

But let us start with the decoration of this edge (Pls. 1, 8c-d, 12d-f). This consists in a frieze of broad tongues between narrow borders, an ornament known in a simpler form from female dress, *e.g.*, on 'Melian' and Attic vases (figs. 8-9, p. 13). On Phrasikleia's skirt the tongues are double: U's within U's. They have incised, U-shaped borders (here *figs. 5b, 6*), which were yellow (here *c* in *fig. 7*), the area inside these tongues was filled, alternately, with red or black U's painted around a yellow core (but not incised; pl. 1, here *figs. 3-7*). The upper border of this frieze of tongues consists in two incised narrow edges, the upper one (here *a* in *fig. 7*) black, the lower one (here *b* in *fig. 7*) yellow (according to pl. 1, where the incisions are not shown, see here *figs. 5-6*). Below, the pattern is finished off with one (incised) edge that is black in the reconstruction (pl. 1, here *d* in *fig. 7*) The curved triangles between the lower ends of the U's were red (*x* in my *fig. 7*); apparently the tongue frieze was, as it were, sewn onto the red skirt, cf. *figs. 1-5*).[11]

At the front there is an irregularity: the central tongue has slipped down between the feet (pls. 1b and 8c, here *figs. 3 and 5*), while its upper part is covered by the rather crudely cut-off end of the central, vertical ornament of the skirt, the so-called *parhyphe* (here *fig. 5b*, see below). This tongue is broader and bigger than the others and its colours, according to pl. 1b, may also have been different. But the rendering in pl. 1b (here *figs. 1 and 3*) is inaccurate: the (yellow) sharply incised, U-shaped border (here *fig. 5b*) is more or less ignored; it is vaguely indicated as a yellowish edge without its sharp incision (here *fig. 3*). The area inside this border is painted solid red in the reconstruction of pl. 1, though the photograph of pl. 8c (here *fig. 5*) shows vague shades suggesting a light-coloured U with a darkish core, thus marking the central tongue off from the rest.[12] The lower (black) edge of this tongue differs from that of all others since it is not straight but follows the curve of the tongue (see here *fig. 5*).

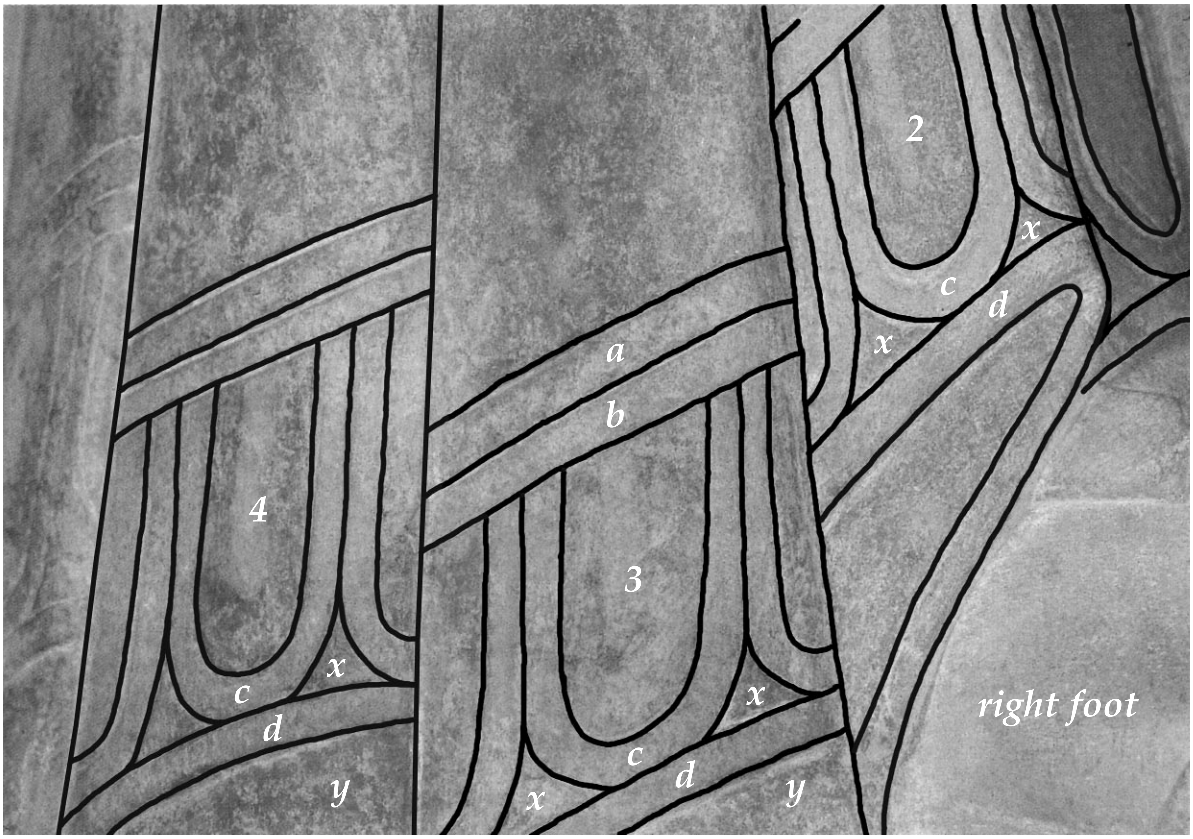


Fig. 7. After Kaltsas pl. 12d, folds next to right foot, some details inked.

The four tongues that are fully visible next to this central one, two on either side, contain only red U's, since the black ones in between are half hidden by the folds (here *fig. 3*): the edges of these tongues are visible in pl. 12d-e, which show the second, third and fourth fully visible tongues to the (proper) right of the central tongue (here marked *2*, *3* and *4* in *fig. 7*; cf. here *figs. 3 and 5*); the 'fourth' one is black (see pl. 1, here *fig. 3*).[13]

As for the colour of the bottom border (or seam) of the tongue pattern (*d* in my *fig. 7*), it is black in the reconstruction of pl. 1 (here *figs. 1 and 3*), but pl. 12d-f seem to show that these edges are as light as the edge immediately above the tongues (*i.e.*, the lower of the two topping the ornament, *b* in my *fig. 7*) and as the outer (incised) border of the tongues (*c* in my *fig. 7*): could it, therefore, not be regarded as yellow (or 'silver')? Contrast the darker tinge of the (incised) upper edges above the tongues in pl. 12d and e (compare *a* in my *figs. 7-8*).

With regard to the movement of the lower edge of the skirt, the sculptor clearly had in mind the newly developing zig-zag folds. That he was more or less acquainted with this pattern is shown by the fine zig-zag 'loops' on the outside of the insteps of both feet: pls. 2b, 3b, 4b, 8c, 11a-b (here *figs. 5*, *7*, *8*). However, in the rest of the lower edge he clearly wanted to avoid this complicated pattern and only sculpted, or incised, the rising parts of the zig-zags (the zigs, so to speak); covering (as it were) the returning, descending zags beneath the folds (roughly as I suggest in my *fig. 8*). Thus, with the omitted zags, he also covered parts of the tongues attached to these sections of the zig-zags (see pls. 1 and pl. 12d-f; here *figs. 5b*, *7-8*).

However, the open areas under these upward-slanting edges (areas y in my *figs. 5b-7*) should, I believe, have been hollowed out or deeply carved, for they represent, one should assume, nothing but air. And indeed, on p. 8 the author describes three horizontal drill holes between the feet, right next to the soles of her sandals. They can be seen with some difficulty in pl. 8c. (I have inked them in my *fig. 5b*; in the photo I seem to see four holes!). The drill must have been quite thick: 8 mm! The hole next to the right foot is rather deep (13 mm), the others 2 mm or less. Kaltsas describes them as 'in the bottom of the skirt', but

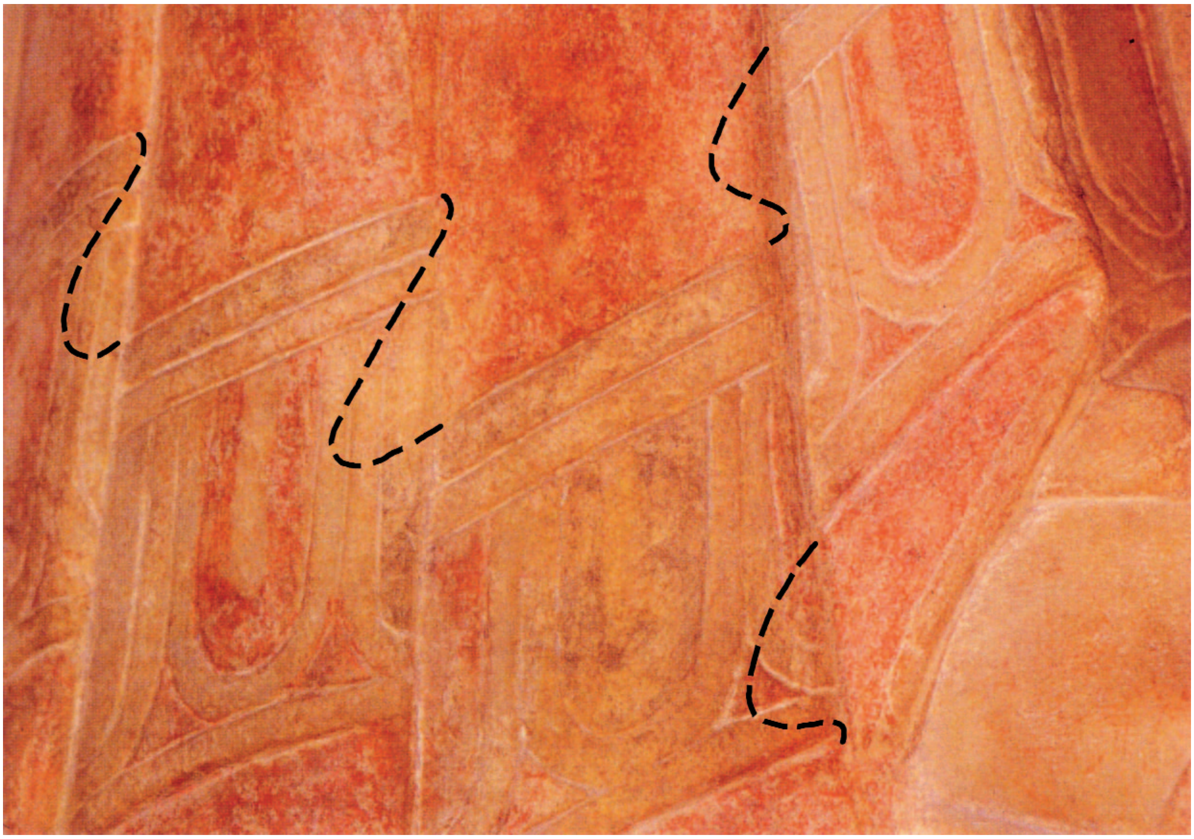


Fig. 8. Idem, inked reconstruction of some zig-zags in lower edge hidden behind vertical folds.

in reality they are under the skirt, in what I have called the void or 'empty' space between the feet, which should have been carved out. Kaltsas, however, says that they are due to 'a miscalculation in the preparation of the cutting back of the stone' in the area between the feet (p. 8); I would rather believe that the sculptor intended to penetrate deeper into the stone between the feet, but then stopped and so left this part of the statue unfinished.

At any rate, the result is that in the reconstruction of pl. 1 (here *figs. 1-2*) these areas are painted red, as if they actually represent cloth, a kind of under-skirt (here *figs. 3-4*), rather like the chiton under the peplos of the Peplos Kore. This is unexpected and, I suggest, not what the sculptor meant to convey, though this assumption is perhaps disproved by his treatment of the stone under the central fold at the back: here the upward slanting edges of the two sets of zig(-zags) meet and form a very illogical single curve (pls. 1c, 3a) and under it he cut a shallow vertical groove, a groove that seems to indicate a fold of some sort (pl. 8d, inked in my *fig. 6*).

However this may be, it is clear that the sculptor had not mastered the problem of zig-zag edges: he must have thought of the full, complete zig-zag folds in the (rather clumsy) way I indicate in my fig. 8;[14] he could, of course, have shown them and not hidden them *behind* the folds. This clumsiness seems an indication that the date of the statue should not be lowered beyond 550 BC (*contra* p. 26: 'not later than 540').

As for the fine ornaments strewn all over the garment, Kaltsas' description is not quite accurate. The design on the belt is called a spiral-meander, but it consists of circles interconnected with slanting, tangential double stripes (pls. 8 and 10b). The hair fillet (pl. 1c) is decorated with a red battlement pattern, with short, red vertical fillers in open spaces (see here *fig. 13 a*), not with a triple meander (p. 16). However, since this is the only ornament with a *red* pattern in a '*golden*' field, it might perhaps be described as a rather untraditional double-battlement meander in yellow (gold) on a red background.

The patterns along the edges of the sleeves and those along the shoulders and upper arms (pls.

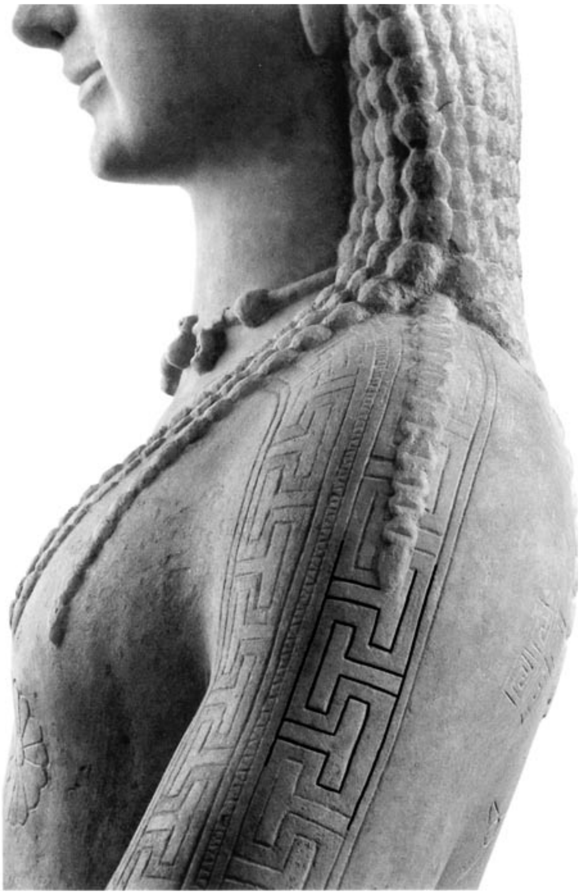


Fig. 9. After Kaltsas pl. 9b, the 'T'-meander on her sleeve and her shoulder-lock; some details inked.

8a-b, 9a-b, 10a-b, 12b-c, here *fig. 9*) are, what may be called, simple T-meanders, the T's forming the red background, while the (yellow) meanders run round the T's (pl.1, here explained in *fig. 13c*).[15]

The author points out that the horizontal patterned edges on the sleeves (pl. 12b) stop short when ending against the bodice, or blouse (pls. 12b and 1b, here *fig. 1*); one would perhaps expect them to continue in the material covering the torso. This seems to indicate that they are meant to represent embroidered strips sewn onto the cloth: note in pl. 12b the way in which their ends overlap, as if sewn the one over the other. This is certainly the case with the *parhyphe*, the vertical patterned strip that runs from the neck down to the feet: this strip is clearly in raised relief (pls. 2b, 4b, 8a,c, 9c, 11a etc., here *figs. 3, 5*). Apparently it was too long and, therefore, it was rather crudely 'cut off' to fit the skirt (pl. 1b, 8c, here *fig. 5b*); a rather curious instance of bad planning or perhaps a surprising attempt at 'realism'.

In the *parhyphe* the meander is more complex than elsewhere on the garment and requires explanation. It derives from the simple form of my fig. 13b, a running 'hook-meander' (*red* hooks) in which the meander (*yellow*, or light, in *fig.13*) runs around upright and pendant hooks (capital *gamma*'s, as it were). For a good understanding of what follows, it should be noted that the width of this meander-strip is 5 modules or units (as in the graph paper of my figs. 13-14), that the stem of the *gamma*'s is 4 modules and that their horizontal bars contain only 3 modules. The upright hooks in my fig. 13b all point one way and so do the pendant ones. This pattern may lead to the one shown in my fig. 13d, which is a schematic design of the core of the meander of the *parhyphe*. Here the upper and lower hooks form pairs, and are set *back to back*. Or rather, the ornament derives from the T-meander of fig. 13c, in which the T's are split lengthwise (into two, mirrored, capital *gamma*'s, so to speak) and the two halves set at a distance of one module from each other. At any rate, the (yellow) meander, running around these hooks (marked *y* in the drawings), may be described as *stopped, facing alternately*, but each hook shares the ('stopped') bar (here indicated as *st* in *fig. 13d* and *e*) from which it springs (its 'root', so to speak) with its neighbour.[16] In the meander of the *parhyphe* (here *fig. 13e*) the stems (*i.e.*, the vertical bars) of the hooks (or capital *gamma*'s) are extended upwards (or downwards) with one module, and then they are interconnected along the upper (or lower) border with the next *gamma*-hook (over a distance of no less than 11 modules). The 'root'-bars (or 'stopped' bars) are, as has been said, indicated with *st* in the drawings. Note that the width of the patterns of fig. 13 a-d is five modules, that of 13e seven modules.

It may not be immediately clear from the photographs given by Kaltsas, but my fig. 13e is a more exact rendering of the meander of the parhyphe than the colour drawings of his pl. 1 (here *fig. 1*) and those published by Karakasi,[17] because the horizontal bars of the *gamma*'s in fig. 14e consist *of 4 and not of 3* modules, which makes the ornament more slender.

This is an unusual pattern and, to my knowledge, unique on korai.[18] Therefore it is perhaps not all that easy to produce, but still we are surprised to find that, just under the belt, the engraver-painter made a mistake: he added two angles of 90 degrees to the *gamma*-hook; i.e., the red hook is continued, bending inwards, to form three angles instead of one (as is neatly depicted in the

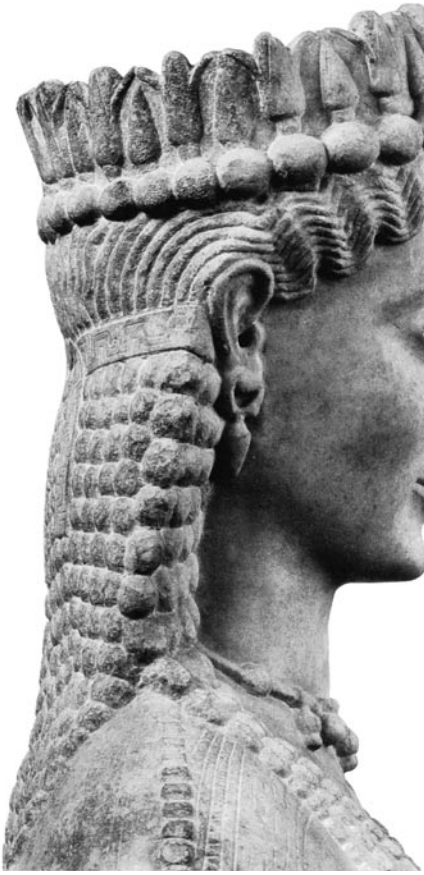


Fig. 10. After Kaltsas pl. 6a.

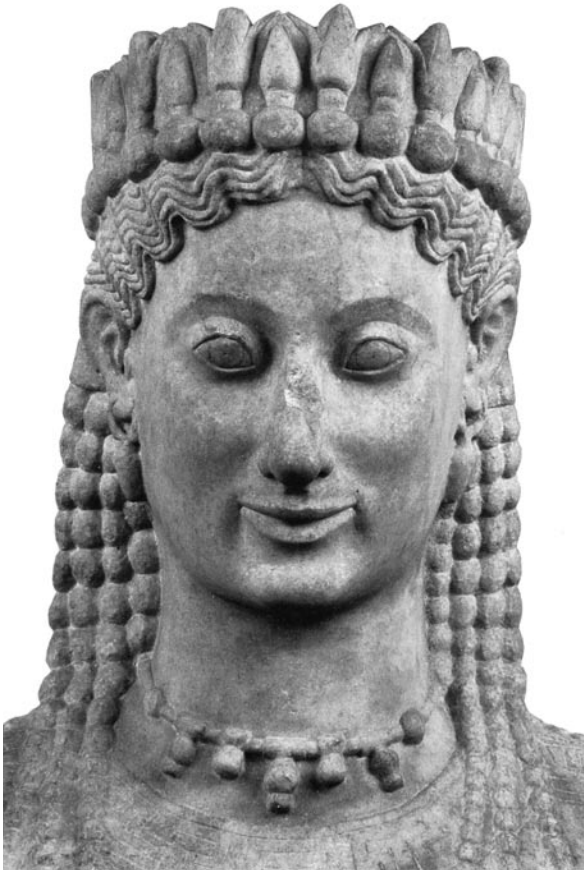


Fig. 11. After Kaltsas pl. 6b.

drawing of pl. 1; here *fig. 1*). However, this mistake is understandable: my fig. 14a-b shows how *gamma*-hooks (indicated with *r*, for *red*) may be lengthened, upwards or downwards, one or two modules in order to make room for two or even three turns of 90 degrees. The resulting meanders (*y* in the drawings) seem much more complicated as they run right round such hooks, turning four or five times 90 degrees. The wrongly drawn hook under the belt belongs to this more complicated meander, which turns five times round the corner (see my *fig. 14b*). This ornament the engraver may have had in mind when he made his mistake. Still, I wonder how the he could overlook his error while carrying on with his work.[19]

To explain what I mean with a *stopped* meander, my fig. 14c shows the manner in which a running meander, such as my fig. 13b, is changed into a *stopped* meander of the same simplicity: here the vertical bars of the capital-*gamma*-hooks *a* are also lengthened (as in *fig. 13e*) and are also continued along the border (*b*), then they cross to the other side (*c*) and join, *via d*, an opposed hook (*e*), passing through no less than 11 modules on their way. Thus the separate elements of the meander (*m*) begin and *stop* after a few turns (six to be precise, three to left, three to right) at the upper or the lower border (*st*).

Incidentally, it may be remarked that the engraver-painter who made these ornaments may have been an assistant and not the sculptor himself.

So much for the meanders and the folds of Phrasykleia's garment.

As for the colours of pl. 1 some more remarks may be made.

The excellent colour photographs of pl. 12b-c show that the colours in the drawing of the horizontal edges of the sleeves in pl. 1 may not be quite accurate. The yellow 'T'-meanders run, as it were, in a red field between two narrow borders that are painted black in the reconstruction of pl. 1. However, the photographs in pl. 12b and c seem to indicate that the colour of the lower edge is darker than that of the upper one.[20] If the lower

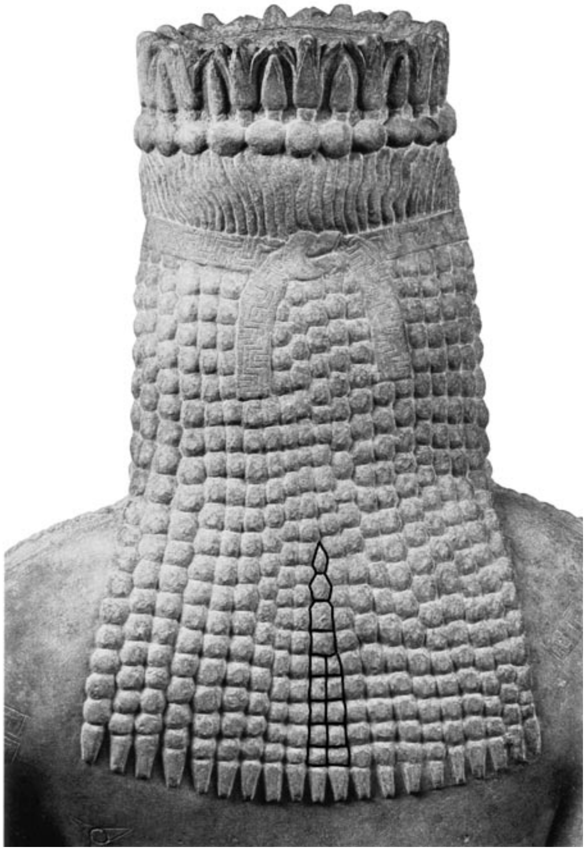


Fig. 12. After Kaltsas pl. 7a, two tresses inked.

border is black (pl. 1), the upper one might perhaps be another colour (a fourth one, since red and yellow are already used in the meander and its background). Here we have the same problem as was discussed above in connection with the lower edge of the skirt, pl. 12d-f. At any rate, when studying the excellent photographs one is puzzled by the reconstruction of the colours as published by Kaltsas.

Also Kaltsas' description of the physical appearance of the statue might have been more comprehensive. As regards the face and the head (here *figs. 10-11*) he speaks of her small eyes and longish nose and rightly denies any relation with the head of the Berlin Kore, but his comparison with the 'Wix' head in Copenhagen (figs. 20, 21, p. 22; *cf.* pls. 6-7) seems hardly relevant. He rightly points out (p. 24) that the Volomandra kouros is similar in its profile, the eyes and the noteworthy *'Wellung des Haares im Nacken'* (figs. 27-28, p. 30; here *fig. 10*). A remarkable feature of Phrasikleia's face (apart from the smallness of her slanting eyes, pl. 6b, and the length of her nose, pl. 6a) is the roundness and breadth of her face, when seen from the front (here *fig. 11*): in this strictly frontal photo there is rather much space between the eyes and the ears. This is also typical of Phrasikleia's companion, with his widely spaced, very small eyes (pl. 16) and is, though less so, also seen in the Volomandra kouros. Phrasikleia's profile is remarkably shallow when measured from forehead to the back of the head (pl. 6a, here *fig. 10*). This contrasts with the somewhat later kouros (pl. 16a) and is an early feature, just as in the Volomandra kouros (fig. 27, p. 30). Her eyes, eyebrows, lips etc. seem more sharply accentuated than in the Volomandra kouros (and her jaws are broader), but, since this kouros is to be dated about a decade before 550, a date after 550 for Phrasikleia, as proposed by the author, seems doubtful to me.

Phrasikleia's irises are incised with compasses (pl. 6b), and Karakasi tells us that very slight traces of blue have been observed in them; may the eyes have been blue?[21] This possibility is not mentioned by Kaltsas nor does he discuss her well-shaped ears, the upper parts of which bend outwards and show pleasantly in front view (pls. 6a, 7b; my *figs 10-11*). The ears of the Volomandra kouros are stiffer and lie flat against the skull (figs. 27-28 on p. 30) and the ear of her companion, the kouros, as seen in pl. 16, is harshly grooved.

With regard to the build of her body, it might have been pointed out that the back at the level of the shoulder blades is vertical and not jutting out (pls. 2-3), that her hair 'unnaturally' clings to the inward curving surface there (see also pl. 9a-b), and that the insteps of the feet are very steep (pls. 3b, 5b). The shape of the lower part of the statue might have been made visually clear by means of a horizontal section, drawn through the area just below the knees: this section seems to be rectangular with rounded angles rather than cylindrical like that of the Hera of Cheramyes (pls. 1-3).

With respect to the contours of the entire statue, closer scrutiny of the photographs of pls. 2b, 3a, 4b, 5a and 8c shows that the outlines of the right and left sides are asymmetrical in a not quite pleasant way: the proper left contour descends in a graceful, shallow double curve from girdle to feet (lightly and sensitively modified at the hip), while the proper right one, though the hand grasps the garment, continues downwards undisturbed, running in a slightly stiffer and shallower curve. The difference shows most clearly in the lowest 30-40 cm of the statue (see pls. 2b, 3a) and seems to me not quite satisfactory.

In other places this lack of delicacy in the execution is more marked, especially, as I have indi-

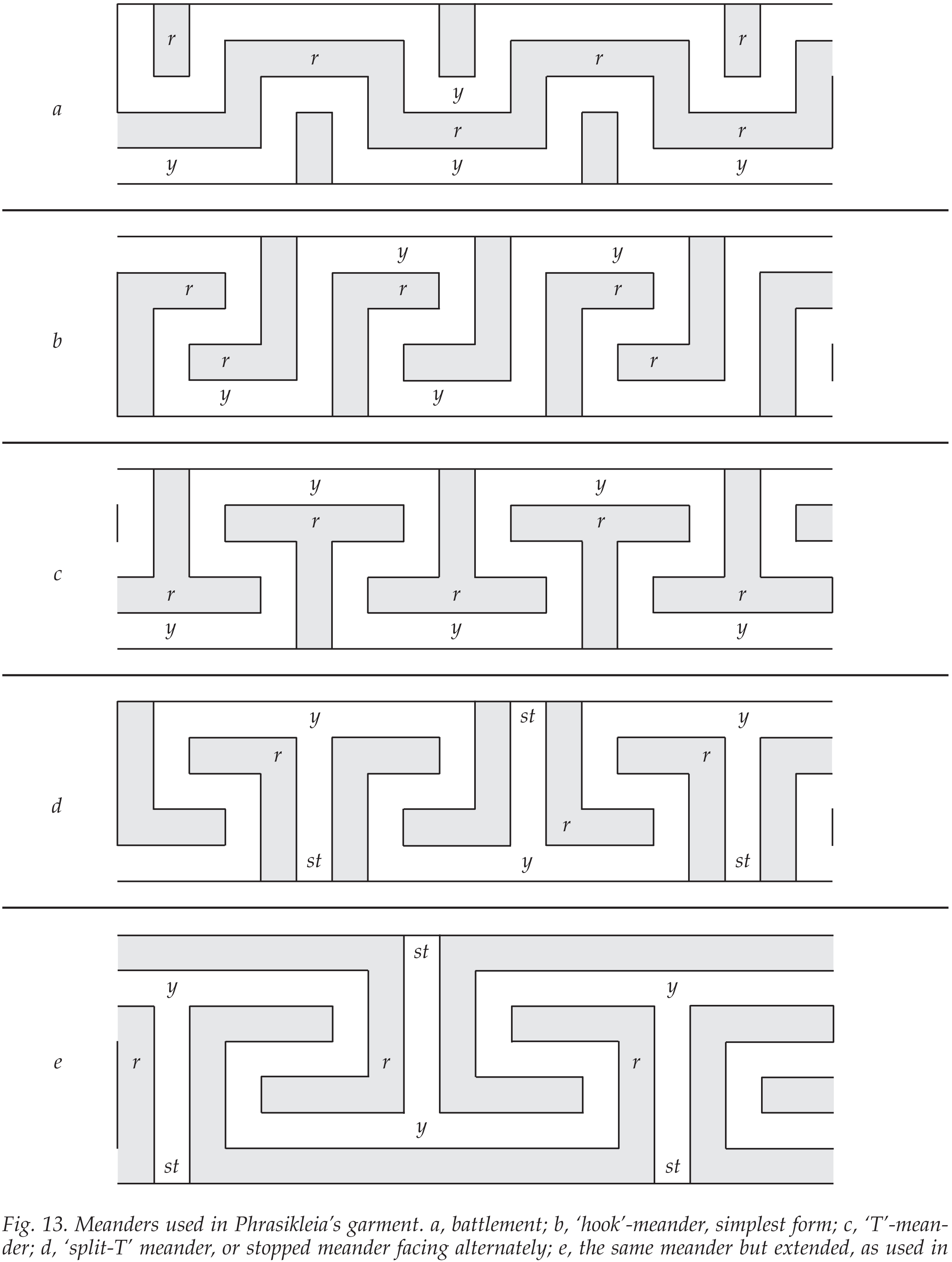

a
r
r
r
r
y
r
r
y
y
y
b
y
y
r
r
r
r
r
y
y
c
y
y
r
r
r
r
r
y
y
y
d
y
st
y
r
r
r
st
y
st
e
st
y
y
r
r
r
y
st
st

Fig. 13. Meanders used in Phrasikleia's garment. a, battlement; b, 'hook'-meander, simplest form; c, 'T'-meander; d, 'split-T' meander, or stopped meander facing alternately; e, the same meander but extended, as used in the parhyphe. Codes: r = red, y = yellow, st = stopped.

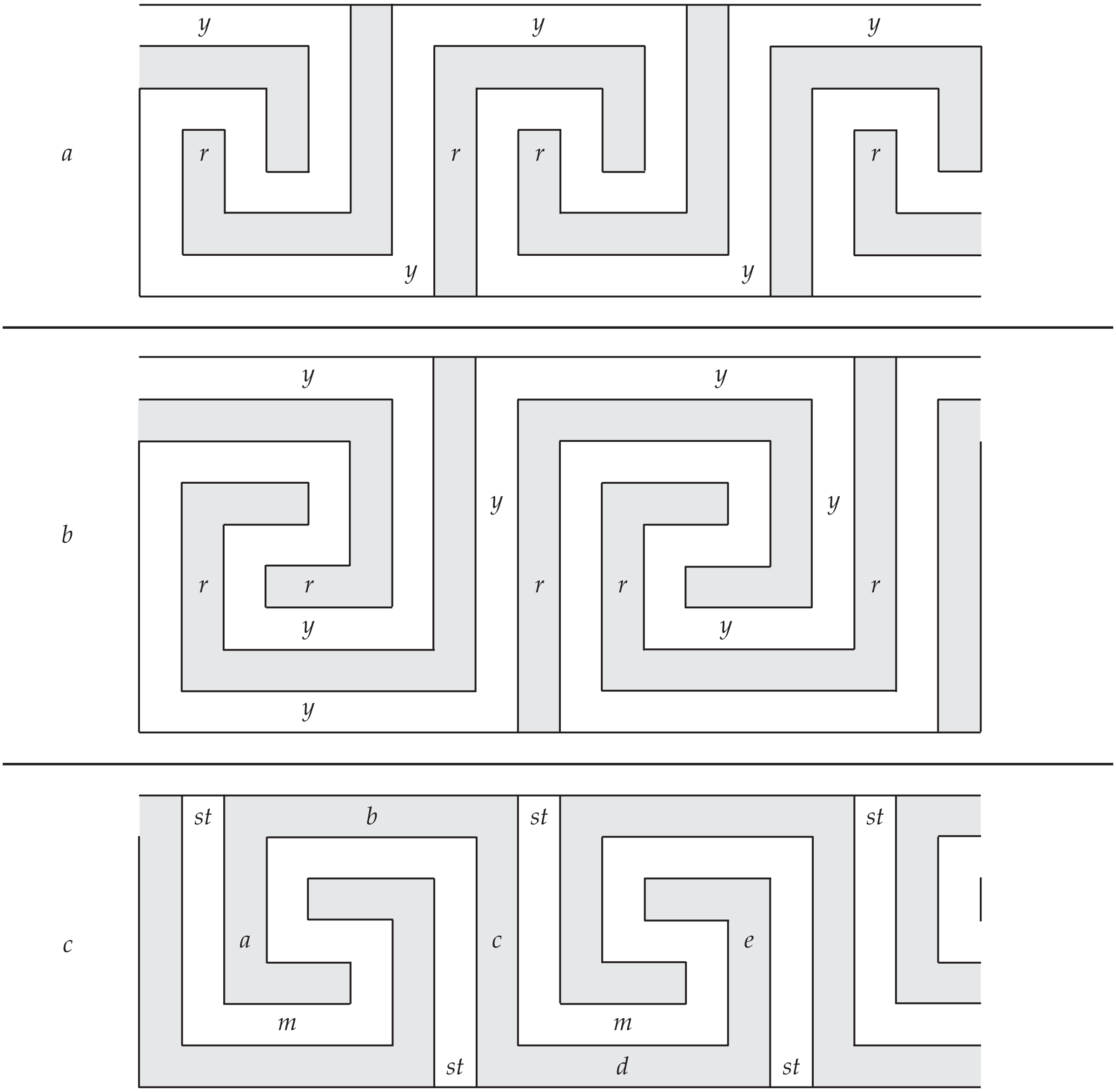


Fig. 14. a and b: running meander constructed on hooks with more than one angle: a: hooks, r, turning two corners (the meander, y, passes 4 corners before turning the other way); b: hooks, r, turning 3 corners (the meander, y, passes 5 corners before turning round); c: stopped meander (m), hooks (a) extended, continuing along border (b), then crossing over (c) and joining via d the next hook e (cf. Fig. 13e).

cated above, in the hair on the back (pls. 7a, 8b): its pearl-shaped elements are badly planned, irregular and inelegant (pl. 7a; here *fig. 12*); contrast the excellent precision of the very attractive hair of her companion, the kouros, in pl. 17. And the two shortish, crammed locks that unexpectedly spring from the central part of Phrasikleia's hair on the back are definitely clumsy (pl. 7a, inked in my *fig. 12*).

Even worse are the locks that run over the top of each shoulder (pl. 9a-b; see my *figs. 9-10*). The author hardly speaks of them nor does he explain their presence; yet it is clear what the sculptor meant with this unique arrangement: in front view we see four tresses at either side of the jaws and neck (pls. 2b, 6b; here *figs. 10-11*), but only three tresses continue down over the shoulders onto the breasts (here *fig. 1*). The innermost tresses appearing at either side from under the ear, suddenly disappear when reaching the necklace (here *fig. 11*); clearly it is to be assumed that they run behind the three other tresses over the top of the shoulder where they re-appear and run down the upper arm: pls. 6a, 9a-b (here *figs. 9-10*). Not only is the arrangement forced, but also the carving is shallow and flat (pl. 9b, here *fig. 9*).

Still, there is more: the hand that incised the small ornaments on the garment (stars, rosettes and meander-crosses) seems in places to have been rather shaky: where one would expect the firm use of a round and a fine flat chisel, he seems to have worked hesitatingly with a sharp point; at least, so it seems in figs. 10 and 11 on p. 14, and insufficient technique is also clear in the clumsy meander-cross on pl. 10c, which is a curious muddle. It would seem that all these imperfections may be due to a pupil or assistant.[22]

The photographs are plentiful, but for a thorough understanding there should also have been details of the feet and sandals together with a description (pl. 8c). Further, most readers would have liked a good picture or a drawing of the belt and its metal grip with fastening hook (p. 10, pl. 9c). As we have seen, some plates are difficult to understand for lack of comment: *e.g.*, it takes some time to understand that pl. 11c represents roughly the same area as pl. 10d, but from a different angle. They serve, I suppose, to show how the statue was cleaned: only the cleaning of the left half is finished. Both photographs include the left-hand side of the back; in pl. 11c we see the belt and, to the right, the back of the sleeve of the right arm. Also pl. 11d was taken before cleaning was completed; it depicts the skirt covering the right ankle seen from the right with, in the right lower corner, the upper part of the right foot (see also pl. 12d-f and fig. 7 on p. 12). Of course, cleaning was done purely mechanically (n. 5).

To sum up, it may be said that all readers will be grateful to Mr Kaltsas for publishing Phrasikleia's 'portrait' in this highly interesting volume of *Antike Plastik*, but some of them will, with the present reviewer, feel that certain details should have been discussed in greater detail, and all, no doubt, will agree that the publication of the statue should have come at least twenty years earlier.

NOTES

[1] I thank Mary Moore for vetting my English, a task formerly undertaken by my late teacher Prof. R.M. Cook. Examples of such plates showing sharply contoured statues disfigure also the recent book *Archaische Koren* by K. Karakasi (Munich, 2001). This book is here quoted as Karakasi 2001.

[2] J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture of the Late Classical Period*, London 1985, 54; this seems true of only some: *e.g*. pl. 34.

[3] Here quoted as Kaltsas. It should be noted that the new monograph on korai by Karakasi (see above n. 1) apparently appeared too late to be used by Kaltsas; this is to be regretted. In the following I shall have to refer to Karakasi's suggestions from time to time.

[4] In fact, because of certain irregularities, I shall argue below that a pupil of the master must have done some work on the statue of Phrasikleia (a practice that must have been common), but it should be noted that also in the hair of the kouros, pl. 17a, a peculiar mistake was made: an abortive but emphatically carved, wavy incision above the hairband - somewhat to the right of centre, pl. 17a. This incision is the more surprising, since the carver should have noticed his mistake long before he had proceeded so far (I guess some 10-12 cm).

[5] J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture, the Archaic Period*, London 1978, 73.

[6] Karakasi (see n. 1 above) tells (p. 123 n. 106) that in the incisions of the ornaments of the drapery very slight traces of gold and tin were observed; conceivably the yellow and black of these patterns were produced with gold and tin (silver being too quickly corroded). Kaltsas does, I believe, not mention these possibilities.

[7] Karakasi (see n. 1), pl. 115b and d show the hand still detached from the wrist.

[8] See for other possible colours: Karakasi 122-123 and n. 104, *e.g.* green. Might the black perhaps have been 'silver'?

[9] H. Kyrieleis (ed.), *Archaische und Klassische Griechische Plastik*, Munich 1986, pls. 36-37. Incidentally, the photographs of the statue of Phrasikleia may have been taken from too low a level: the upper part of the body is surprisingly short (pls. 2 ff) compared to the slender torso of the Parian girl. However, similar proportions are found, *e.g.*, in the Hera of Cheramyes (Boardman 1978, see n. 5, fig. 87).

[10] Boardman 1978, fig. 129. Ridgway believes that she wears a kind of cape, for the right sleeve is difficult to explain, but this seems doubtful (B.S. Ridgway, *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture*, 1977, 91 ff).

[11] In her colour drawings (pl. 1, here *figs. 1-4*) Kakarounga painted tiny highlights on the black edges, just visible in my figs. 3-4 (in *a* and *d* in my *fig. 7*). I take it that they do not indicate patches of actual colours.

[12] It is hard to believe that these shades are mere discolourings.

[13] It should be noted that pl. 12e depicts part of pl. 12d and that pl. 12e shows the black 'fourth' tongue also visible to the left in pl. 12d ; I add this because the explanations of the plates is often lacking. Compare my inked fig. 7; also figs. 3 and 5.

[14] And as they appear already on the 'shawl' of the Berlin kore and in the edge of the himation of the Lyon kore (Boardman 1978, see n. 5, figs. 108, 110, see also the lower edge of the himation of *ibid*. fig. 109, Acr. 593 etc.).

[15] The reader should note that in my drawings *figs. 13 and 14* the meanders are light (yellow) on a darkish (red) 'background'. Greek meanders are based on modules or units, as the graph paper of my drawings. It is the negative or empty spaces (or voids) enclosed by the meander that form the constructive core of the orna-

ment; mostly they are in the shape of a capital *gamma* (*fig. 13b, d, e*) or a capital T (*fig. 13c*). Incidentally, battlement patterns, single (like ours) or multiple, are quite common on *parhyphai* of korai.

[16] What I mean with a 'stopped' meander is explained below, with the help of my fig. 14c.

[17] Karakasi (see n. 1), pl. 236-237.

[18] On most korai these ornaments are painted and not - or hardly - incised; see G.M.A. Richter, *Korai. Archaic Greek maidens,* London 1968, *passim* or Karakasi (see n. 1), *passim*.

[19] Karakasi (see n. 1), p. 123, I think rightly, believes that the incisions were re-drawn when the ornament had been painted, in order to re-define the patterns and to bring out the fine grain and colour of the marble. An ordinary running meander, such as my fig. 13b, makes three turns of 90 degrees in one direction and then three in the other.

[20] Again the plates are hard to understand: pl. 12b gives a detail of the right sleeve above the elbow, see pl. 1b; and pl. 12c shows the right sleeve from behind above the elbow, see pl. 1c.

[21] Karakasi (see n.1), n. 118, p. 124.

[22] Also probably the incised circle on the skirt that was meant to contain a rosette, but, Kaltsas tells us, was not finished: n. 43 on p. 13.

ZOMERDIJK 16
NL-7946 LZ WANNEPERVEEN

Reviews

FLAVIA TRUCCO, LUCIA VAGNETTI (eds.) *Torre Mordillo 1987-1990. Le relazioni egee di una comunità protostorica della Sibaritide*. Roma: CNR - Istituto per gli studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici, 2001. 439 p., 125 fig., 71 Tavole. – ISBN 88-87345-05-8.

The Bronze Age of Southern Italy has in recent years received increasing attention in Mediterranean archaeology, which is to a large extent due to surprising discoveries at sites such as Vivara and Roca Vecchia that indicate the region's involvement in wider networks of Mediterranean exchange. However, attention is also generated by regional research projects that show the gradual development of settlement and use of the landscape in prehistoric times. In spite of the increasing interest in Italian prehistory, the number of full, integrated, fieldworks reports is still very low. The collaborators to the Torre Mordillo volume ought to be complimented for the quick publication of the book, which reports on fieldwork carried out between 1987 and 1990.

The site of Torre Mordillo is situated in the foothills southwest of the plain of Sybaris in northeastern Calabria. Research at the site is related to the investigations in the same region, which have been directed by Renato Peroni from the University of Rome 'La Sapienza' since the 1970's. The excavations by his team at Broglio di Trebisacce, at some 30 km from Torre Mordillo, have revealed various phases of habitation during the Bronze and Early Iron Ages. On the basis of these excavations and additional explorations in the area, the development of prehistoric settlement in the landscape has been described. The excavations at Torre Mordillo provide a useful point of reference for this regional analysis and they enable us to refine and adjust the regional picture.

In the volume under review, the 1st chapter deals with the history of research at Torre Mordillo. The prehistoric site was discovered in the 1960's during the American and Italian research of the Hellenistic settlement. In chapter 2 the prehistoric stratigraphy of the site is presented as it was attested in the two excavation areas; the main structures are also discussed here. The deposit showed a continuous habitation from the Middle Bronze Age (ca. 1600-1365 BC) to the Early Iron Age (from ca. 1020 BC onwards). Of particular interest were the remains of a structure dating to the earlier phase of the Final Bronze Age (ca. 1200-1020 BC). It was recognized by a large amount of daub rubble. On the clay floor, two jars were found in situ, while four stones may have constituted a hearth. Postholes, as well as impressions in the remains of daub provide important clues to the construction of the house. Some remains of another structure, belonging to the beginning of the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1365-1200 BC), were discovered in the second area of excavation. This building appears to have been horseshoe shaped and it may be compared to a similar structure at Broglio, which has been interpreted as a ruler's dwelling. A structure of a different nature is an earthen rampart, which must have been built for defensive purposes during a reorganization of the settlement at the very beginning of the Final Bronze Age. A section through the rampart shows the careful way of construction. The rampart also yielded a significant amount of finds dating to the Middle and Late Bronze Ages.

The core of the publication is the catalog of stratigraphical units, which is presented in chapter 3. The catalog is accompanied by excellent illustrations. The stratigraphic contexts are based on a general typological analysis, which is presented in chapter 4. In this classification, the local pottery types were seriated on the basis of a unifying scheme involving pot shapes from all periods of habitation. The statistical analysis of the classified ceramic forms resulted in a chronological table encompassing all shapes and forms. This way of classifying is understandable in the face of many small, undiagnostic finds and the large number of contexts with chronologically mixed finds. Moreover, it has resulted in a relative chronology based on the large numbers of local wares and not, as is often the case, on the few imports recovered stratigraphically. The disadvantage of this method is, of course, that the relative chronology of the site is not based directly on the stratigraphy of the excavation. Perhaps for this reason, the classification has not been tied to calibrated radiocarbon dates from organic materials. Judging from the two chapters in the book dealing with the faunal and botanical evidence, enough organic material was retrieved to attempt absolute dating of stratigraphical units. Nevertheless, the current typological and chronological table indicates associations between artifact types and contexts that are useful for other projects in the region as well.

In chapters 6-9 overall discussions of the material records from the subsequent chronological phases at Torre Mordillo are given. A very limited number of finds can be assigned to the Middle Bronze Age, the earliest period of occupation. The pottery that has been ascribed to this period, generally, compares well to that at nearby Broglio di Trebisacce, even though the Torre Mordillo settlement appears to have more affinities with central Tyrrhenian Italy. The material record of the Late Bronze Age fits in well with the standard Subappenine repertoire of the area, with the majority of handles characteristically horned. The Final Bronze Age, shows a material record, which initially seems to deviate from the preceding period, as well as from nearby sites. The local Protogeometric wares dating to the end of the period, however, fit in well with sites elsewhere in Sybaris region.

Evidence for relationships with the wider Mediterranean world is given by the Mycenaean-type pottery and by ivory imports. Among these is a beautiful bow shaped ivory comb, which has a good parallel at Enkomi on Cyprus. The Mycenaean-type pottery encompasses the chronological range from LH I-II to LH IIIC. Such a full chronological range is rare in Italy, and it shows the significance of Torre Mordillo for the study of Mediterranean long-distance contacts. The presence of the early types is of particular importance, since they show that Italic contacts with the Aegean during this period were not limited to coastal sites. The majority by far of the Mycenaean pottery at Torre Mordillo has been proven to be of local or regional manufacture. Interestingly, this is probably also the case for a LH I-II sherd, indicating that local manufacture of this type of material began from the earliest contacts onwards. The last two chapters deal with analyses of the floral and faunal remains, revealing the agricultural practices which, without any doubt, was the basis for the settlement's long flourishing habitation.

Torre Mordillo is an excellent example of fieldwork publication, with specialist's reports and more general discussions, each provided with clear maps, graphs and illustrations. A few points of criticism may, however, be raised. The absence of any reference to absolute dates has already been mentioned. In addition, it is cumbersome that the main bibliography appears in the middle of the book (after chapter 9), while the subsequent chapters have their own references. This enhances the impression that the specialist's reports from the second part of the book have not been taken into full account in the discussions of each habitation phase in the first part. Since the structures are discussed separate from the artifacts as well, integrated discussions for each period of habitation are now lacking. Finally, it is a pity that a general concluding section is lacking in which Torre Mordillo is specifically related to the picture of regional development that has been put forward for Broglio di Trebisacce. These criticisms notwithstanding, the contributors to the volume are to be complimented. Torre Mordillo presents an unbroken sequence of habitation and interregional interaction from the Middle Bronze Age to the period of Greek colonization. It is, therefore, of value not only for the development of prehistoric society at this particular Italic site. The volume is also of importance to assess the relationships between Mycenaean and later Greek explorations in the central Mediterranean, as well as for the indigenous background that formed the context of these contacts. The volume on Torre Mordillo contributes highly to our understanding of Southern Italy in the pre- and protohistoric periods.

Gert Jan van Wijngaarden

P. Valavanis, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Greece fascicule 7, Marathon Museum*. Athens: The Research Centre for Antiquity of the Academy of Athens, 2001. 85 p., 59 figs., 44 pls.; 32 cm. – ISBN 960-7099-94-X. – ISSN 1108-3670.

Greece has lately been very successful in publishing fascicles of the *CVA*, but the one under review is a serious disappointment. To begin with, it is written in Modern Greek, a language that is out of place in a publication meant for scholars and students all over the world. One wonders if this is an error due to the sheer inability of the author to write in one of the four accepted languages (English, French, German, Italian) or merely to misplaced national Greek pride, but whatever the reason, either is utterly unjustified. The English summary (p. 70-83) is embarrasingly meagre and of hardly any use. Besides, the reading of the Greek is made even more difficult because iotacism has now, it seems, invaded spelling: e.g., 'worn' or 'faded' inscriptions are said to be 'swismènes' with éta, not with upsilon (p. 44, if I am right in believing that it is from sw(b)uno, ancient Greek 'sbennumi').

The comments on the vases are extensive and provide full references to relevant problems. There are 44 plates with nearly four times as many photos, some of which are too dark and shady to be useful (e.g., pls. 2-3, 19,4, 26.2, 30.1, 35.1); 59 drawings show profiles of vases or reproduce figure scenes.

Perhaps some readers expect to find a re-publication of the crucial vases found in the tumulus of the Athenians at Marathon, already published (but in very tiny, unclear pictures) in *CVA* Athènes 1, III Hg pls. 10-14 (the author has not understood the rubric III Hg, which Beazley omits except for the 'g': Valavanis reads either '6' or '9' instead of 'g' or omits the rubric altogether). The readers will be disappointed, however, because only two of the Marathon vases appear in this fascicle. These are included 'because' - I translate - 'of their interest and the new photographs available'. They are a well-known b.f. kalpis by the Nikoxenos Painter (with satyrs shouldering maenads at either side of Dionysus, pls. 1-3) and an unattributed b.f. tripod pyxis (with gods and four-horse chariots, pl. 17). The photographs of both are, however, quite poor in quality. The Nikoxenos vase is in a bad state and should by now have been restored in a proper manner and, by some curious error, pl. 17.3 is almost exactly the same as pl. 17.4! I personally would have appreciated a good picture of the very fragmentary red-figure cup, the only r.f. item among the finds in the tumulus and therefore a tremendously important one, because of its date *ante quem*! It would have been interesting to compare its maeander border and the two feet that remain (once belonging to two figures) to those in tondi by the Antiphon Painter or by Makron.

The vases chosen for this fascicle come from different archaic and classical tombs in the region of Marathon: Vrana, Scorpio Potami etc., excavated by Papadimitriou, Mastrakostas, Marinatos and others. References to publications of these excavations are so scarce as to suggest that there are hardly any reports on them (most references are to Petrakos' archaeological guide: *Ho Marathoon, Archaiologikos Odigos*, 1995).

Many of the vases are of mediocre quality and often poorly preserved (chiefly because they were found in cremation graves), but as most of them are published here for the first time, they deserve close attention. Most are Attic but a few are Corinthian. There are numerous Attic lekythoi and drinking vessels but also one or two good-quality vases of other shapes, *e.g.* the janiform head vase of pl. 43 (two female heads).

A curious problem is a cup of the Leafless Group (pls. 21-22, figs. 23-25). This bears two clumsily scratched inscriptions (pl. 22. 2-4 and figs. 24-25) which, though very worn, seem to read (around the Maenad in the tondo): 'Chrysonides etheken [psi?]'; and (under the foot): 'Kylon anetheken theois'. These inscriptions are odd in themselves, but even more so since the cup comes, not from a sanctuary, but from a tomb (Skorpio Potami, from a classical tomb). The reader would like to know what Mr Valavanis thinks of these lines; however, he says little about them. They surely are a riddle - if not modern!

Another interesting example is the chous painted in Six's technique, with a Taras-like youth on a dolphin (fig. 42 and pl. 34. 3-4). Curiously enough the underside of this chous is flat (fig. 42), which is unusual in Greek ware (though not in Etruscan pottery: when shrinking during firing, a flat bottom tends to crack more easily than a slightly bulging or concave underside).

Of the other entries, the most intriguing perhaps is the plastic vase found on the coast of Marathon (pl. 44). Its type is interesting but its physical description is not quite complete. It is a jug in the form of a girl sitting on the ground, her legs folded under her to her proper right. The position of the left leg is not made clear; part of the left hand, resting on the ground seems to be visible, showing that the arm supported her leaning torso. There is a remnant of something near the right hand; possibly a bird. The stance of the figure is very like that of some of the temple boys from Sidon (4th century BC, see R. Stucky, Die Skulpturen aus dem Eschmun Sanctuary, *Antike Kunst, Beiheft* 17, 1993, nos. 101 ff., pls. 24 ff, e.g. nos. 101, 112). Even better parallels are the five Roman statues of a girl seated on the ground and sometimes playing at knuckle bones: these are now described in detail by K. Schade in *Ant. Pl.* 27 (Munich, 2000) pp. 91 ff. The legs of the girl of our plastic vase are perhaps like those of the Dresden statue (Schade, *loc. cit*. pls. 56-57; but compare the Berlin girl, Schade, pls. 50-51). Schade (*loc. cit*., p. 108) dates the example (*Urbild*) of her series to the first half of the 2nd century BC, but our plastic vase shows that this type of seated girl was already known in the 4th century.

Much more should, no doubt, be said about this publication, but space is limited. The main concern of all readers will surely be that they expect that the *CVA* committee in Greece will not again approve of future fascicles written in Modern Greek: after all, the *CVA* is an international publication intended to serve a very wide public.

J.M. Hemelrijk

DAPHNI DOEPNER, *Steine und Pfeiler für die Götter. Weihgeschenkgattungen in westgriechischen Stadtheiligtümern*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2002. 264 S., 172 Ill.; 29 cm (Palilia Band 10). – ISBN 3-89500-075-2.

The state of publication of the small finds of Greek sanctuaries in South Italy and Sicily is truly dramatic. Most of the famous temples have been cleared without any (published) archaeological recording, some even quite recently. Where publications exist, they usually consist of short and general preliminary reports mainly devoted to a selective catalogue of objects, but revealing little or nothing of stratigraphical contexts or spatial distribution of the finds. Leaving aside Paulo Orsi's marvelous work, which was excellent when published in the early 20th century, but is now of course outdated, more extensive reports of sanctuary excavations all too often are either longer versions of the preliminary kind just described or straightforward catalogues of pottery or terracotta's, without any reference to find contexts. In fact, some soprintendenza-deposits contain thousands of sanctuary finds with no other recorded provenance than the site - sometimes not even the sanctuary - they were taken from.

Against this bleak background, Doepners thorough study is more than welcome. This book provides much more than its title and even sub-title promise. The five chapters on the main subject of the study - aniconic stone dedications - in Metapontion, Poseidonia (Paestum), Syracuse, Akragas and Selinus include substantial paragraphs devoted to other categories of dedications, in casu stone statues, terracotta statuettes and plaques, bronze and pottery vessels and 'other finds'. All of these are again taken into account in the concluding general interpretation of the meanings and functions of votives. All along, find circumstances and excavation contexts of votives receive due attention. The 'argoi lithoi' (more or less unworked stone dedications), pillars and columns are thus placed in the wider spatial and religious context needed to understand them. At the same time, this study offers a vivid picture of the votive culture, which surrounded some of the buildings which we now admire as lonely ruins.

Yet, however admirable the general results of Doepner's immense work, her use of a specific and somewhat problematic category of votives as a starting point poses some problems which weaken her argumentation. A basic point is her imprecise definition of 'aniconic'. Besides 'argoi lithoi' (some of which were apparently selected for their organic-looking shapes!), Doepner includes pillars and columns which usually have decorative ornaments, albeit just simple volutes. At least a part of these probably bore a painted decoration, possibly in some cases even showing figures. She also rather easily seems to assume that pillars with flat tops cannot have been intended as bases carrying votives. Moreover, some of her aniconic stones were inscribed with dedicatory texts, and may better be regarded as stelai, carriers of a message rather than votives in the strict sense. In sum, the amount of preserved truly aniconic dedications may well have been smaller than Doepner suggests.

On the other hand, her description of the finds also indicates that it is more than likely that many undecorated votive stones have disappeared: some were reused as building material in antiquity, but many must have been cleared away by excavators who did not recognize them for what they are. In addition, the considerable differences in recovery rate between the sites she considers is a serious weakness in Doepner's comparison between sites and in her general analysis.

Her conclusions are also weakened by the focus on stone dedications. Terracotta statuettes and pottery are clearly not Doepner's specialization, and tend to be treated somewhat hastily. Her assumption that decorated pottery votives were costly has by now shown to be wrong. Likewise, it is unlikely that the thousands of decorated pots found at many sanctuaries were primarily meant for ritual use, as has often been assumed by scholars and is repeated by Doepner. Many, if not (almost) all must have been votives, just like statuettes and aniconic stones.

Similar problems may also blur Doepner's analysis of individual sites, notably Metapontion, the starting point of her study. At least some the remarkable concentrations of aniconic votives at the 'Stadtheiligtum' may be the result of postdepositional circumstances, including excavation history. As adequate documentation seems to be missing, this problem will never be solved.

In some cases, Doepner overstretches the evidence. The clearest instance is offered by the regular lines she sees in the placement of groups of aniconic votives in Metapontion. Although it is clear that most stone dedications are aligned with the general orientation of the adjacent temples and altars and that neighboring stones sometimes relate to each other, the longer lines drawn by Doepner to connect stones are not convincing. Drawing lines in large sets of dots is always easy, but what does it mean? Inbetween aligned sets, many other stones remain, sometimes almost blocking sightlines, and one wonders how the more irregular items can be aligned with sufficient precision. Moreover, there is hardly any information on the relative chronology of stones, so supposed sets may have been placed in the course of centuries amidst many other votives. Only detailed stratigraphic excavation, combined with analysis of finds surrounding the stones might provide meaningful groupings, but it is mostly too late for that.

More direct archaeological evidence is also needed for a better understanding of the meaning and practical use of the aniconic votives. Where they simply offerings or did they (continue to) act as a focus for (family?) cult. The few test excavations done by Doepner seem to support the first hypothesis, but are far from conclusive. Such uncertainties, however, only help to stress the importance of her study as a starting point for further research and an example for those already working in Greek sanctuaries: even the ugly and undecorated finds can be very interesting when they receive their deserved care and contexts.

Vladimir Stissi

PETER CONNOR & HEATHER JACKSON (with the assistance of JOHN BURKE), *A Catalogue of Greek Vases in the collection of the University of Melbourne at the Ian Potter Museum of Art*, Series 1, volume 1. Melbourne: Macmillan Australia and The School of Fine Arts, Classical Studies and Archaeology, 2000. 208 p., ill. + CD-Rom; 32 cm. – ISBN 1-876832-07-X.

The present reviewer must apologize for the very long delay of this report: it was due to his lack of knowledge how to use the CD Rom accompanying this publication. This splendid tool was made possible by the Virtual Museum Project that was undertaken by the Multimedia Education Unit of the University of Melbourne. The result is truly magnificent.

The collection is not a great one nor particularly rich in outstanding pieces; the catalogue contains only 76 items, but these can be scrutinized by means of the CD Rom from all sides and in very great detail as if one were personally handling the objects using a magnifier. This, surely, is an effective way to instruct students but very useful and enjoyable also for specialists.

Three vases were stolen in 1990. Two of them are published here in the hope that they may be traced somewhere: no. 31, a fine bf. Attic hydria, and no. 39, a delicate lip-cup with an exquisite and curious Gorgoneion (two furious snakes at his moustache!) in the tondo (correct a misprint in the heading; read 550-40 BC); the third one, inv. no. MuV 68, is neither included nor described. Another vase, no. 32, was re-purchased after it had been lost for a long time in an airport shed (p. 13). One vase, no. 48, was recently donated in memory of Peter Connor, the main author of this book (see p. 48).

There is an overview of Greek vases and each section of the catalogue is introduced by a short text written by different scholars, next to a splendid photograph (*e.g.*, of the Parthenon, the interior of the 'Treasury of Atreus', the Doric portico at Lindos, the Apollo temple of Corinth, a detail of the entablature of the Nike temple etc.).

The text of the catalogue is exhaustive, descriptions are very detailed and almost always accurate (there are slight inaccuracies here and there, *e.g.*, in the texts of nos. 36, 38, 49); comments are useful for students and scholars alike. All this makes for good reading. There are numerous excellent profile drawings, made by Heather Jackson (p. 8). The photographs, all in colour, are plentiful and often depict delightful details - but there is one point that ought, I think, to be criticized: modern technique facilitates 'contouring' or cutting out the objects from their natural environment: this abominable fashion has been applied on most items, with the result that they are now floating in a grayish-beige mist or in a very blue sky (or set against a deadly-white or pitch-black background). The colourful 'embellishment' of pictures is, no doubt, supposed to make them more attractive; but it is a serious menace to archaeological realism - comparable to the constant flow of bad music in shops and on the streets: it destroys the semblance of three-dimensionality of the vases, just as the music kills all awareness of sound or silence.

As for the individual pieces, I particularly enjoyed scrutinizing the horses on the geometric footed bowl no. 6, the jug no. 9 (horse and stag), the endearing little faience hedgehog no. 12, the crudish Protocorinthian piriform aryballos with foxes and hares, no. 16, the fine panthers of the Corinthian pyxis no. 24, and among Attic vases, *e.g.*, the bf band cup no. 40. Many more could be selected in this manner, but this must suffice.

I may end with two remarks. The black amphora no. 76 with, on either side of the neck, a man's head in bf between badly painted arms that are held upwards, is so unusual that it almost looks like a fake; can it not be South Italian rather than East Greek? Further, the reader would like to know why no. 34 is not by the Antimenes Painter himself: the extreme ease and efficiency of the drawing and incisions seems to warrant his hand (see the plate on p. 99).

It is to be hoped that many students and scholars will take the time to amuse and instruct themselves with this splendid presentation.

J.M. Hemelrijk

Annamaria Commella, *I rilievi votivi greci di periodo arcaico e classico. Diffusione, ideologia, committenza*. Bari: Edipuglia, 2002. 248 p., 158 figs; 30 cm. – ISBN 88-7228-346-9.

This study focuses on a fascinating group of votive offerings to various gods in the Greek world, mostly found in sanctuaries, but also elsewhere. Although at first sight one would expect that their original context is evident from the iconography and inscriptions, Commella makes clear that there are great gaps in our knowledge. Another point of consideration that leads her to this research is the absence of a complete corpus. This does, however, not detract from the fact that we have a great number of partial corpora. Commella shares in a long-standing tradition of religious and art-history studies about this class of pious objects, concentrating on religious history, style, iconography (e.g. banquets and rider heroes), and worshippers. The marble pieces were brought to the sanctuaries by people from various social classes and betray very well the mentality of the givers. Commella is ambitious in that she tries to cover the entire Greek world during the archaic and classical periods and does not single out specific areas. That implies that no region is overly represented. Athens and Attica have by far the greatest numbers of votive reliefs, whereas famous sanctuaries like Olympia and Delphi lack them. An explanation for that fact is not at hand.

The author does not question why some gods and their sanctuaries were given more of these reliefs than the others. Was there a reason within the religious tradition of the spot or were there other motifs like rules formulated by the priests? A weak point is the severe subdivision into time spans, according to the traditional art-historical periods, more or less corresponding to generations of thirty years. Especially in this class, which does not contain masterpieces, but mostly slabs carved by modest craftsmen, the analysis of stylistic development is rather academic. The people of that time of course were aware of changes in rendering the images, but would not have felt the same sensation that we, from our point of view, may have in looking at these reliefs. In my opinion, a better approach would have been a subdivision into longer time spans, whereas the developments in artistic sense could of course have been dealt with within these larger sections as well. Another problem of the short periods Commella uses is that the numbers of pieces are very small, sometimes not surpassing one or two, which evidently does not contribute much to our insight.

Iconographically, the reliefs show a rather limited repertory. Apart from groups of worshippers in front of the gods, there are healing scenes, heroic banquets and images of single gods or dedicates. Mythology is scarcely present apart from in the late 6th century. In this sense the Greek world shows a *koinè* from the outset of the genre: were these models invented in one holy place and copied in other sanctuaries? Or did they originate simultaneously in various spots? Commella observes an increasing tendency to put the god or gods on a higher plan, making them taller and bigger and separating them from the worshippers. That is not only made clear by the different dimensions of the two categories of figures, but also by the attitudes of the gods. After the high-classical period, the deities are concentrated on themselves or look into a far distance, over the heads of their believers.

The inscriptions under the images are neither copied nor translated in this book and have been taken into account only as an accessory source of information. To my mind, the texts could have yielded much more information on questions like differences in the status of worshippers with or without texts, the contacts sought with the gods (acclamation of the god or not), the status of the offering person (by means of family relationships), the importance of the text as such (or not) and about the mostly rather primitive carving (did the makers inscribe the stelae or was that done afterwards by scribes?). They cannot be solved entirely, but one may reflect upon them and come to partial conclusions. I think that the addition of a text as such enlarged the status of the object and that even illiterates sought to add some words. The descriptions of treatments – as known from Epidauros and Dodona for instance – casts light upon the healing matters. The conclusive remarks (pp. 159-185) are the most interesting pages, as they do enter upon some of the questions raised here. Commella shortly discusses production, composition and imagery ('linguaggio'), and dedications.

Although the illustrations have all been taken from other publications, the book has a nice appearance and invites to reading. There are few typographical errors. The succinct catalogue is well made and there is an extensive bibliography. In sum: despite my critical remarks, Commella's contribution is an interesting work that will be useful for students in the field of sanctuaries, religion and social status of statuary.

Eric M. Moormann

L. Bernabò Brea† (with the collaboration of Madeleine Cavalier), *Maschere e personaggi del teatro greco nelle terracotte liparesi*. Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2001. 316 p., 380 figs.; 30 cm (Bibliotheca archaeologica, 32). – ISBN 88-8265-120-7.

When I visited Lipari in the 1990's, I immediately bought *Menandro e il teatro greco nelle terracotte liparesi*, Genova: Sagep, 1981, by the same author. (That book has been reviewed by, among others, K. Schauenburg in *Gymnasium* 90 (1983) 330-2, and Erika Simon in *Gnomon* 60 (1988) 637-40. The reader should refer to those for an introduction.) This prized possession proved to be handy in reviewing the new book on exactly the same subject.

Why do the authors write a new book instead of updating the old one? Why do they throw away the entire original typology? Not a word in this new book to answer these questions. The new book is meant for exactly the same public of archaeologists and classical philologists, so popularisation cannot be the reason for all these changes. The Italian text does not even have an introductory note where the existence of the older book is acknowlegded, although it is referred to in almost every footnote. The thirty-page-long English abstract of the text at the end of the book (a new feature) does begin with such a note, although it does not answer the above questions:

'In 1981 in the volume *Menander and the Greek Theatre – the Lipari Terracottas* we presented in their entirety all the terracottas of theatrical subject-matter which had so far come to light in the Lipari excavations, and Madeleine Cavalier explored in particular the relationship between these terracottas and the figured pottery with which they were found amongst grave-goods, in votive pits, waste-tips or in the stratigraphy of the terrain in the necropolis area.

We are presenting here in a more concise form all the most significant pieces, leaving aside the great mass of duplicates and fragments of lesser interest while adding the numerous and sometimes extremely interesting pieces which have come to light in the last eighteen years; and we are bringing the presentation up to date in the light of the great progress in studies which has been made in the meantime.'

I shall take the second of these two paragraphs as a guideline for the first part of this review. Every time, a quote from it will precede my findings.

In a more concise form: this claim is hardly true. The first book contains VII + 326 pages, the new one 316, but it is much thinner (2.7 as against 4.2 cm), due to the paper used.

All the most significant pieces: the typology of the old book has gone overboard for no stated reason. Therefore, checking this claim meant the extremely tedious job of screening both books. I limited this job to some 60 per cent of both the figures (260 out of 380) and the pages (146 out of 257 of the Italian text that contains figures), as well as the footnotes on the remaining pages. It appears that interpretations have changed so much and that so many variants have been removed, that 48 types present in the original typology have disappeared. After this, the typology was apparently deemed outdated as a whole. I have not been able to find equivalents for four clear types from the first book: A 13, C 1, E 94 and E 109. The disappearance of type A 13 (Deiphobos) from the tragic masks is an error that should have been noted when proofs of the figures for this new book were checked: figure 14 in the new book, meant to show Deiphobos, does show the same Herakles as fig. 18. Why the other three types are missing remains unknown: have I overlooked them, or have the authors?

Leaving aside the great mass of duplicates and fragments of lesser interest: indeed, some pages of photographs and lengthy descriptions of fragments have been left out.

Adding the numerous and sometimes extremely interesting pieces which have come to light in the last eighteen years: in the pages screened, I noticed the following additions. Figs. 1-3 show fifth-century forerunners of the Lipari statuettes. Figs. 21-23 show new masks of Hekabe and Talthybios from Euripides' *Troades*. Figs. 27-30 show masks from Euripides' lost *Chrysippos*. Fig. 35 shows a mask of *Chrysippos* or a young woman. Figs. 49-50 show new masks of Herakles and Hades (and they could have been aligned in a clearer way: one register for Hades and one for the corresponding views of the Herakles mask would have been much clearer). Figs. 51-55 show five new masks from one grave. Other new photographs show pieces in the museums of Glasgow and Cefalù, not shown in the first book.

The great progress in studies which has been made in the meantime: indeed, 21 out of 52 items in the bibliography appeared after 1981, and the *LIMC* had to be added to the list of frequently quoted periodicals and encyclopaedias. What is the result for this book? Tragic masks could now be presented in small groups referring to named tragedies by Sophocles and Euripides, and probably to one tragedy by Astydamas the Younger. A group of comic masks appears to refer to Aristophanes' *Ekklesiazousai*, a second one to an unknown comedy about a fight between Hades and Herakles and a third one to another unknown comedy. The *Hermónios* and possibly the *Lykomédeios* from Pollux' list of characters are identified. (Why the authors decided to devote pages 68-72 to comic masks already treated with Ar. *Ekkl*. remains unclear.) Comic statuettes could now be divided into three chronological groups: those before and those during the existence of the Gnathia pottery style (last 3rd of 4th century BC), and those of the time of the Lipari Painter (first half of the 3rd). Subjects of some comedies could be indicated, such as the funny group of a husband who does not know whether he shall remain faithful to the young mother he is married to or shall have an affair (fig. 83); and a group referring to a forerunner of Plautus' *Aulularia* (fig. 85). Sometimes I cannot agree with new interpretations suggested by the authors. In a new category for statuettes already published in the first book, they see faces with double expression: one eyebrow normal, one raised. Of the figs. 122-136, I recognise this only in some of them, and agree with the description 'symmetrical eyebrows' in the first book (E 9 in the first book, corresponding to fig. 126 in the second).

Putting the difference between the two books in one sentence: progress has been made from an analytical to a synthetic way of looking at the material.

So far, this review is positive in tone. This changes when it comes to the mystery why the authors chose to change allegiance from the Genuese publisher Sagep to the Roman «L'Erma» di Bretschneider. Screening both books for differences, I saw a great difference in quality of the figures in the first book and those in the second. In the probes that I counted, I found 47 instances where Sagep has more beautiful photographs than «L'Erma», as opposed to 15 instances the other way round. Although the second book has some new colour photographs, many of the old ones have been reused and in the process they deteriorated, sometimes extremely so. Sagep has colour plates with beautifully warm colours for both the objects and the backgrounds, one background colour per plate, even when it contains four photographs. The reshuffling of the material would have brought photographs of different background colours together. This problem has been solved by painting or clipping away the original background, putting a light grey one in its place and rephotographing each one. The hue of the objects themselves has invariably shifted to pink and purple, again: sometimes extremely so. Sometimes, even parts of the objects themselves have been painted or clipped away; most remarkably so, the shaded part of the nose of plate 22,2 in the first book, as compared to fig. 231a in the second.

Printing errors (I counted four of them in the English text) culminate in the unashamed indifference of the publisher to the first author's name. It is correctly spelled Luigi Bernabò Brea, with a grave accent and without a hyphen. In the bibliography, the accent is correct but there is almost always a hyphen. But the accent is wrong in all conspicuous places: dust jacket (four times), cover, title page and bibliographic data.

The first author, the grand old man of Sicilian and Eolian archaeology, passed away before this book was published. But old soldiers never die, they just fade away. As this book appeared, he was still preparing a study of theatrical terracottas of eastern and central Sicily. And the greatest miracle of it all: he was doing so without the help of the one who always helped him, Madeleine Cavalier.

D.C. Steures

H. Reinder Reinders & Wietske Prummel (eds.), *Housing in New Halos. A Hellenistic Town in Thessaly, Greece*. Lisse/Abingdon/Exton (PA)/Tokyo: A.A. Balkema Publishers 2003. 331 p., numerous ill. in the text, 16 colour figs.; 29 cm. – ISBN 90-5809-540-1.

This abundantly well illustrated book offers the splendid results of interdisciplinary research, team work carried out in several campaigns between 1976 and 1993 at New Halos in Thessaly, a city situated at a strategic point between north and central Greece, in the Almirós Plain near the Pagasitiko's Gulf. H.R. Reinders, director of the Archaeological Institute of the University of Groningen, has already published his dissertation on the Hellenistic city in 1988 (Hes Publishers, Utrecht). The results of further research and new excavations in six houses, published in this book under review, shed more light on the domestic culture of the site. In the Introduction and Chapter 1 Reinders deals with the general aspects (investigation, history, geology) of New Halos in the Thessalian district Achaia Phtiotis. M.J. Haagsma describes and analyses the principles of construction of the houses in Chapter 2. Chapter 3, written by C. Beestman-Kruyshaar, G.M.C. van Boekel, Y. Burnier, S. Hijmans and Reinders, offers a detailed insight into local, Athenian and Corinthian pottery, terracotta figurines (*e.g.* old Tanagra types), loom-weights, metal finds and coins. In Chapter 4 Reinders, H. Woldring, W. Prummel and J. Schelvis deal at length with the environment, vegetation and faunal remains. In the concluding Chapter 5 Reinders discusses the main results, including the beginning and end of the occupation of New Halos. The six Appendices contain catalogues of pottery, types of vessels, figurines, loom-weights, metal artefacts, and coins. The only index of the book, unfortunately, is rather limited.

The picture, which emerges from this study is that New Halos had a very short life; it was probably founded by Demetrios Poliorketes in 302 BC and destroyed by an earthquake in 265/264 BC, a date which cannot be proven by literary sources. The latter date is based on the presence of coins of Ptolemaios II, and the absence of coins from large emissions by Antigonos Gonatas (coins of the Pan-type). Furthermore the absence of traces of fire, the presence of broken roof-tiles, and the absence of skeletons in the houses point to an earthquake. Judged by the contents of a cemetery with 66 graves, part of the inhabitants lived to the south of the city during the rest of the third century BC. The city wall, surprisingly not following a natural line of defence, has 120 (!) towers, a clear evidence of Demetrios' megalomania. The city had two sections, divided by wall with a central opening: a triangular upper town, with public buildings, a sanctuary dedicated to Demeter and a South gate. The highest point in the triangle, called the acropolis, had an outer and inner gate. The adjacent rectangular lower town had a Northwest, Harbour and a Southeast Gate. Through the middle of the rectangle runs the Main Avenue, dividing the lower site into two equal parts, an unusual feature, which may have been a copied feature of Demetrios' army camps. At a certain point the street was broader, a space which could have accommodated the agora. Unlike in other Greeks towns the housing blocks were related to the enceinte. Another peculiar feature is the absence of *isonomia*, as shown by *Typenhäuser* in planned, Classical cities: the houses had different layouts and sizes. If the lower town really had the calculated 1440 houses, it must have housed around 9000 inhabitants. Four houses have different plans. Two other, adjacent houses have shops at the front, a courtyard, and a central backroom framed by two rooms. The plans deviate from houses in cities like Priene and Olynthos. As the contingent houses have walls in common, they must have been built in the same period. Also the city wall seems to have been built in a short time, probably by the army of Demetrios, who had to leave for Asia Minor. It seems that part of the population of Old, Classical Halos, which was destroyed by Philip II of Macedonia, moved to the new city. Probably many were pastoralists having their dwellings inside the lower city, keeping their animals in the plains (p. 228). It seems that they practiced transhumance (pp. 148-153, 173, 247, colour fig. P). Apart from small iron arrowheads few weapons have been found, so it is questionable whether soldiers lived in the city. The artefacts, part of which are visible in the Archaeological Museum at Almirós, found at the houses do not show wealth. They suggest that the inhabitants, farmers, pastoralists, smiths of iron agricultural implements, coroplasts, carpenters, potters, fishers and so on, were simple people. The use of domestic space has not yet been analysed ad fundum (see *e.g.* pp. 60, 68, 76, 78, 131). It will be enlightened in Margriet Haagsma's forthcoming PhD. thesis.

The city had its own bronze coins, showing Phrixos (not: Phryxos, p. 246) clinging to the ram (cf. the coins of Old Halos and the terracotta statuette of Helle on the ram, p. 113). They seem to have been made at Larisa Kremaste, probably the capital of a mint union, producing coins with the monogram XA. In Larissa's neighbourhood were copper mines. From a coin hoard from the Southeast Gate may be deduced that New Halos had more economic relations with the cities in South Thessaly, Boeotia and Euboia than with northern cities (p. 12 and 144).

To conclude, the book makes clear that New Halos had many unusual architectural features, showing that our knowledge of the countless Hellenistic towns is still extremely limited. Most important is the insight it gives into the everyday urban life in the first half of the third century BC. The authors have made a very important contribution to our knowledge of the Hellenistic Age.

L.B. van der Meer

G. COLONNA (ed.), *Il santuario di Portonaccio a Veio.* I. *Gli scavi di Massimo Pallottino nella zona dell'altare (1939-1940).* With contributions by G. Colonna, V. Martelli Antonioli, L. Martelli, L.M. Michetti e altri autori. Roma: G. Bretschneider 2002. 177 p., 30 figs. in the text, 80 pls.; 34 cm. (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Monumenti Antichi. Serie Miscellanea - Vol. VI-3 (LVIIII della Serie Generale). – ISBN 88-7689-209-5.

In this monumental, carefully edited publication Giovanni Colonna and colleagues publish the results of two excavation campaigns carried out by Massimo Pallottino in the sanctuary of Portonaccio at Veii, during 1939 and 1940, in and around the monumental altar to the east of the temple built around 500 BC. This was the temple whose roof was decorated with the famous statues of Leto with Apollo as a child, Apollo facing Heracles, and Hermes, now in the Museum of Villa Giulia in Rome. The book consists of four chapters and two appendices. In Ch. 1 Colonna presents a detailed reconstruction of the history of the unpublished excavations and a tentative interpretation. In Ch. 2 Valeria Martelli Antonioli (Pallottino's assistant) and her niece Laura Martelli present a catalogue organized according to material categories, subdivided according to find spots; unfortunately, few of these are known with certainty. In Ch. 3 Laura M. Michetti, an assistant of Colonna who had participated in an excavation of Portonaccio in the early 1950s, submits a chronological framework for the artefacts and comments on their character. In Ch. 4 she concludes with her reflections on the types of cults, including a comparison between the votive material at Portonaccio and that at Rome, Latium and elsewhere in Italy. Colonna pieces together the excavation history using Pallottino's excavation diary with many sketches of areas and their stratigraphy, his plans (figs. 4-5), photographs, and notes pertaining to material which arrived in the storerooms of the Villa Giulia Museum in Rome. Although many data and many objects were lost, Colonna tries to show that the sanctuary has four building periods (figs. 6-7): 1. from c. 900 to 625 (traces of Villanovan huts, with a possible religious meaning), 2. from c. 625 to 550 (the building under the so-called *oikos*, G), 3. from c. 550 to 450 (the small altar I, and the so-called *oikos*, G), and 4. from c. 450 to 350 (the large altar II, which is oriented exactly to the east). The sanctuary was 'buried' around 200 BC, probably by Roman *coloni*.

The space around the second altar yielded a fill with an enormous amount of votive objects. The *terminus ante quem* for most of these seems to be c. 550/530 BC, when the terrain was raised to build the second *oikos*. Most of the 1255 objects may originate from a *bothros* or *thesauros*, scattered and buried around the second, monumental altar. It appears that Menerva was the principal goddess at the sanctuary. She was revered as a deity of war and probably of oracles, and as protectess of family and the household, marriage and birth. In other excavations, between 1914 and the 1950s, were retrieved objects dedicated to Turan (Aphrodite), Aritimi (Artemis), probably to Venai (perhaps a cult partner of Neptunus) and Raθ, an Apollo-like god, probably the same Raθlθ which appears on the famous Pavatarchies mirror from Tuscania. The feminine cults were dominant. Interestingly, on the other hand, with one exception, the archaic inscriptions bear only names of male dedicants. Latin inscriptions testify that the cult of Menerva continued after the fall of Veii in 396 BC (note 78). No inscription mentions Hercle/Heracles. Colonna, nevertheless, assumes that Apollo and Heracles were worshipped in the temple in view of the identity of the statues decorating the roof. Fragments of three groups of terracotta statues also showed Athena and Heracles together (c. 530, c. 500 and c. 470 BC). The fragments, however, were found near the altar, not in or next to the temple.

Particularly interesting is the strong resemblance between the votive material at Veii from the period between c. 600 and 550/530 B.C. and that of votive deposits at Rome (S. Omobono, Lapis Niger), and in Latium (Lavinium, Anagni, località S. Cecilia (there are only a few references to finds from and publications on Satricum). Similar, too, are the types of bucchero vases, imported vases as well as imitations of East Greek pottery, probably from Caere; Etrusco-Corinthian vases, bronze statues, toilet implements, and so on. The typically Latial miniature vases, figurines cut out from bronze sheeting, and model loaves of bread (*focaccine*), however, are absent at Veii. From Michetti's analysis (Ch. 4) it may be concluded that Veii played a very important role in the cultural contacts between Latium and South Etruria.

As in Latium, the local aristocracy seems to have undergone a behavioural shift from displaying its wealth privately in their private tombs to public exhibition of costly votive gifts in sacred areas. In Appendix II Daniele Maras comments on the votive inscriptions from the first half of the sixth century BC, written in the local Veian, syllabic alphabet on high quality vases. Amongst those the most famous are the inscriptions of Avile Vipiiennas (probably the *condottiere* known from literary sources and shown by a fresco from the François Tomb at Vulci) and of Karcuna Tulumna, possibly a king from Veii. Especially interesting is the fact that the name Mamarce Apuniie not only occurs on a bucchero *oinochoe* from Veii but also an bucchero *amphora* from a tomb at Lavinium. Colonna holds that these vases initially served as gift exchange and that only later they were deposited in tombs or sanctuaries. Some inscriptions contain the words *ein mipi kapi*, which apparently mean 'do not touch me', or *mir nunai*, 'we (*plurale tantum*) (are) sacred'.

The book has three excellent indexes. What makes the reading of this volume a little confusing and complicated is the fact that three different maps indicate the zones around the altar by different letters: figures 2, 6 and 7 (by L. Giammitti, 1920), figures 3 and 4 (by M.

Pallottino), and figures 9 and 10 (by S. Barberini). The catalogue in Ch. 2, however, is very clear. The find spots of all objects indicated by the inventory number VTP can be found, as far as known, on Pallottino's map. A weakness of the book is that the historical background, especially the impact of the Roman conquest of Veii in 396 BC, is not evaluated. Many of the votive terracotta's are dated between ca. 450 and 350 BC (pp. 239-241). This suggests that the cults continued without interruption. The presence of 5th-3th-centuries BC material in a fill dated to around 550 BC leaves us with some perplexity. In order to evaluate *ad fundum* and properly reconstruct the history of the Portonaccio sanctuary , one has to study also the publications of E. Stefani (*NSc* 1930, 302-334 and *NSc* 1953, 29-112), M. Santangelo (*BdA* 37, 1952, 147-172), of M.P. Baglione (*ScAnt* 1, 1987, 381-417), and of G. Colonna (*Santuari d'Etruria* 1985, 99-108; *ScAnt* 1, 1987, 419-446; and Veio: i santuari di Portonaccio e Piano di Comunita, in *Scavi e ricerche dell'Università di Roma 'La Sapienza'* 1998, 139-143). Some questions remain unanswered, *e.g.* why were Menerva, Aritimi and Turan worshipped in the same period near the same altar. Note that combinations of them do occur on Etruscan mirrors! In sum, the book is a valuable addition to our knowledge on Etruscan religion, social mobility of the aristocracy and interregional contacts, particularly for the first half of the sixth century BC.

L.B. van der Meer

MARIJKE GNADE, *Satricum in the Post-Archaic Period. A Case Study of the Interpretation of Archaeological Remains as Indicators of Ethno-Cultural Identity* (Satricum VI). Leuven/Paris/Dudley, MA: Peeters Publishers, 2002. XI + 244 p., 48 pls., 23 + XXV figs.; 28,5 cm. – ISBN 90-429-1193-X.

Was Satricum, near present day Borgo Le Ferriere in Latium, in the 5th and 4th centuries BC a Latin or a Volscian city? This is the main question tackled by Marijke Gnade (University of Amsterdam) in an exemplary way, in a nicely edited book with many colour plates. She has excavated at Satricum since 1979 and she is its project-leader since 1987. Marijke Gnade has published previously on the Southwest Necropolis of Satricum in 1992 and her conclusion was that this cemetery was Volscian.

The book under review is the commercial edition of her PhD thesis (Nov. 2000). It is no. 6 in the Satricum Series, previous volumes of which were published by Van Gorckum (Assen), and Thesis Publishers (Amsterdam) respectively, and now by Peeters Publishers (Leuven). It consists of five chapters: firstly, the Introduction; secondly Satricum in the Archaic Period: new discoveries in the lower settlement area of Poggio dei Cavallari; thirdly, Satricum in the Post-Archaic Period (acropolis, lower settlement, Southwest Necropolis); fourthly, the Volscians in ancient written sources; and fifth and finally, the summary and conclusions. M. Rubini *et alii* wrote an Appendix, a case study of Satricum in relation to the biological problem of Central Italian populations during the first millennium BC. The book concludes with a selective catalogue of finds, an excellent bibliography and a useful general index.

The author gives a long description of the 6 m (!) wide, main road to the Mater Matuta temple on the acropolis. The road was built at some point during the 6th century BC (probably accompanied by a foundation ritual, testified by a bucchero bowl in a foundation trench (p. 20), it was restored between c. 525 and 500 BC, and twice reinforced with a retaining or defensive wall in the 5th century BC.

To the North of this Via Sacra, which only has a good parallel in the Pyrgi sanctuary, there are graves, which yielded artefacts which are similar to those in the Southwest Necropolis. The author supposes that the archaic buildings on the acropolis, the top layers of which were stripped in modern times, have also been (re)used in the 5th century BC as scatters of artefacts from the post-archaic period have also been found.

She dedicates a long, polemical analysis of the contents of the so-called Second Votive Deposit on the acropolis, contrary to the findings of Jelle Bouma (*Religio Votiva*. I-III. PhD thesis Groningen University, 1996) who interpreted the contents to be Latial (including supposed remains of *suovetaurilia*). Gnade concludes that the deposit is the result of successive dumps, probably of materials from destroyed houses. Moreover, she strongly argues that its contents have many elements in common with the material culture of the Southwest Necropolis. There are no arguments for a continuing existence of the original Latin population.

The 200 tombs of the Southwest Necropolis are organized according to descent. Special attention was dedicated to children's tombs, apparently a non-Latial feature. In the graves no indications have been found which would confirm that the Volscians were a ferocious, barbaric, mountain people as Livy, who was certainly biased, states in his *Ab Urbe Condita*, since few weapons were found in graves. In the top layer of the biggest tomb a miniature lead axe-head bearing a Volscian inscription was found, mentioning a certain *iúkús ko efiei* (Iukos Komios or Kominios exercising the function of *aedilis*, p. 124). This interesting find suggests that Satricum also had an urban organisation in the 5th century BC. If we can believe the ancient authors, Satricum was conquered by the Volscians, led by the deserted Roman dux Coriolanus, in 488 BC. As the name Satricum does not occur before that date, Gnade and others presume that the city was originally, in the 6th century BC, named Suessa Pometia, a city mentioned by Livy for the last time in relation to the year 495 BC. Probably the Volscians gave the city a new name, Satricum, as evidence of that name occurs elsewhere in the Volscian area.

The impact of the Volscian appearance is clear: they buried their dead also inside the archaic city wall (which Latins would not have done), they probably reused the acropolis buildings, while the famous Mater Matuta temple probably was intact, repaired twice the Via Sacra, and as far the contents of tombs on three places may be trusted, they formed a sound, quiet, non-martial, rather egalitarian community. The grave gifts are remarkable as elsewhere in Latium and Rome no grave goods are found after around 600 BC. This may be due to the fact that individuals exhibited their luxury in a public sacred context instead of in their tombs.

A strong point in Gnade's analysis is the remark that the bucchero kantharos or amphora with double-reeded handles is absent in Etruria and Latium but present at Frosinone, a city which was in all probability Volscian (pp. 129-132). It is to be hoped that more contexts will emerge in the original homeland of the Volscians, the central Apennine area.

Very useful is the analysis of 82 skeletal remains from the Southwest Necropolis by M. Rubini c.s. He points out that the diet was not solely vegetarian, and consisted of such produce like cereals and vegetables, but also incorporated meat products, which would be evidence of breeding and stock-raising in or near the town of Satricum. In short they enjoyed a balanced diet and therefore the community must have been well organised.

Gnade's book has to be studied in combination with her Southwest Necropolis book of 1992, where all tombs and their furnishings are analysed and illustrated. Her study is a very important addition to our knowledge of a critical, yet obscure period in Central Italy (for an evaluation of many former Satricum publications see C.J. Smith, *JRA* 12, 1999, 453-477) and a very important step forward in the study of this period.

L.B. van der Meer and P. Hazen

CONCETTA MASSERIA (ed.), *10 Anni di Archeologia a Cortona* (Archaeologia Perusina 15). Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2001. 270 p., 34 plates; 30 cm (Archaeologica, 129). – ISBN 88-7689-161-7.

The book *10 Anni di Archeologia a Cortona*, the 15th publication in the series *Archaeologia Perusina* presents to us the research done in Cortona and its surroundings. The book covers the ten year period of 1987-1997 during which the university of Perugia was commissioned by the municipality of Cortona to undertake archaeological research in the city. With contributions of the Soprintendenza Archeologica della Toscana, the Società Archeologica Pantheon and the University of Alberta Canada this book tries to give a complete picture of the archaeological research in Cortona during this period. More than 20 scholars contributed to this 270 page publication which is mainly written in the Italian language. In six chapters the book covers the urban excavations, the excavations executed by the Soprintendenza Archeologica, and the excavations of the Roman villa of Ossaia. It also presents papers on hydrology in Classical and Medieval Cortona, the Tanella di Pitagora and the museum of Etruscan and Roman city of Cortona.

Reports on the excavations are spread over three chapters. The excavations executed by the Società Archeologica Pantheon cover the first chapter. The three sites in Via Vagnotti, Piazza Tommasi and Porta Ghibellina are described here as well as a fourth emergency excavation in Via Gramsci in Camucia. The scope of the excavations was to give an insight in the urban tissue of Etruscan Cortona. The smaller excavations in Via Vagnotti and Piazza Tommasi only give a small peek into this period. However the larger excavation of the Porta Ghibellina gives us important insights in the chronology of the gate and city walls from the 3rd century BC till the late antique era. The preliminary notes on the discovery of an Etruscan wall in Palazzo Casali and the preliminary analysis of the excavation at Camucia 'Vivai-il Giardino' make up the contribution of the excavations of the Soprintendenza Archeologica in the second chapter. The excavation in Palazzo Casali produced some hard to date structures and materials dating from the 6th till the 3rd century BC. More detailed information is given on the interesting terracotta materials found in the excavation at Camucia 'Vivai-il Giardino', excavated in 1991 just before the destruction of the site. Finally the excavation of the Roman 'Villa di Ossaia' which was excavated in a joint research by the universities of Alberta and Perugia is discussed in chapter six. The research of this Roman villa situated near the ancient Via Cassia at about 5 km from Cortona was started 1992 and shows three principal phases of construction. The article gives us a good overview of these three phases which range from the 1st century BC till the 5th century AD. The article is completed with a thorough description of the various finds during the excavation.

Next to the discussion of the recent excavations in Cortona and its surroundings the third chapter of the book contain two shorter papers. A paper on the hydrology of Cortona in classical and medieval times by Olindo Stefanucci, also contains a reprint of an earlier research by Domenico Mirri. The second paper by Mario Torelli and Luciano Agostiniano describes a cippus dating to the 2nd century BC which was found in the 1960s in Via Passerini during some construction works. A longer paper discussing the 'Tanella di Pitagora' is found in the fourth chapter. Next to a detailed discussion of the restoration of the monument it features a small description of the monument, an overview of the studies of this monument and hypothesis for reconstruction of the monument.

A small paper on the museum in Cortona completes this book. With some 33 tables and several maps and drawings it gives due detail where necessary, my only regret is that a bigger map of Cortona and its surroundings is missing, which might make it more difficult for the unacquainted scholar to locate the different sites. Nevertheless it is an important contribution to the studies of Etruscan and Roman Cortona, which fills some of the gaps in our knowledge of this beautiful city.

D.J. van Enckevort

MARISA DE SPAGNOLIS, *Pompei e la valle del Sarno in epoca preromana: la cultura delle tombe a fossa*. Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2001. 187 p., 143 figg.; 24 cm (Studia archaeologica, 111). – ISBN 88-8265-146-0.

Il volume si inserisce in una serie ormai cospicua di studi sulle culture della Campania di epoca orientalizzante e arcaica, cui hanno dato linfa negli ultimi decenni novità archeologiche spesso di grandissima rilevanza. Oggetto della ricerca sono tombe di VII-VI sec. a.C. rinvenute a più riprese in scavi recenti nella valle del

Sarno, zona di importanza strategica e di grandi ricchezze naturali, sulla quale gravitavano, fra gli altri, i centri di S. Valentino Torio, S. Marzano, Striano e la stessa Pompei, posta nei pressi dello sbocco del Sarno a mare.

Dopo un breve quadro delle attestazioni 'protostoriche', essenzialmente tombali, offerte dalla valle (pp. 29-35) e dei primissimi rapporti con Pithekoussai, l'A. mostra di preferire, confidando sulle evidenze 'visibili' (p. 41), l'ipotesi che il contatto tra Greci di Pithekoussai e indigeni del distretto del Sarno fosse indotto non tanto dalla risorse agricole della zona, come abitualmente si ritiene, quanto piuttosto dall'allevamento di animali e dalla pratica del commercio, aspetto questo senz'altro rilevante in epoche successive, a giudicare dalle evidenze archeologiche e dalla testimonianza delle fonti antiche. È, in ogni caso, a partire dal tardo VIII sec. a.C. che le necropoli, già ben organizzate in aree delimitate da corsi d'acqua e divise in fasce da destinare a differenti nuclei familiari, accolgono materiali greci o di tipo greco introdotti sicuramente per il tramite di Pithekoussai.

Ancora più complessa appare una localizzazione sicura degli abitati cui queste necropoli dovevano appartenere (pp. 43 ss.), dal momento che nelle vicinanze delle aree cemeteriali non sono state riconosciute a tutt'oggi tracce di insediamenti: le uniche evidenze, assai incerte, in questo senso, sembrano provenire proprio da Sarno, e, se confermate, potrebbero indicare l'esistenza di villaggi nei pressi di corsi d'acqua e di buone vie di comunicazione, in territori adatti alle coltivazioni.

Le sepolture (pp. 47 ss.) adottano sempre il rito della inumazione, con la testa del defunto collocata costantemente a SE; le tombe possono essere a fossa semplice, oppure a struttura complessa, con circolo-canale, circolo-canale con pietre e, in rari casi, doppio circolo, interrotto in genere ai piedi del defunto, secondo un costume tipico della *Fossakultur* sarnese (p. 51; *ibid*. anche per possibili riferimenti al mondo italico orientale).

Sulla base delle classificazioni di Gastaldi, D'Agostino e Johannowsky e delle nuove evidenze archeologiche, viene delineato (pp. 59 ss.) un quadro cronologico nel quale la crisi pitecusana dei primi decenni del VII sec. a.C. non sembra influire in maniera determinante sulla prosperità e sui caratteri generali della cultura della valle del Sarno, che soltanto nell'orientalizzante recente conoscerà una più sostanziale apertura al mondo etrusco. Dopo una fase dell'età del Ferro (pp. 63 ss.) abbastanza modesta e sostanzialmente chiusa a contatti col mondo esterno fino ai primi decenni dell'VIII sec. a.C., si colloca un momento di notevole apertura segnalato dalla presenza di ceramiche di tipo geometrico, che testimoniano dell'avvenuto contatto con Pithekoussai e il mondo greco. Tale apertura si accentua nella seconda metà dell'VIII sec. a.C., quando si rinvengono nelle tombe ceramiche di tipo corinzio (coppe t. Aetos 666 e Thapsos) e pitecusano, accanto a tradizionali forme di impasto come l'anforetta e l'askos e oggetti di ornamento come scarabei e statuine in fayence. Un altro importante cambiamento si segnala, come si diceva, nella seconda metà del VII sec. a.C., con l'accrescersi della presenza etrusca in Campania in siti come Stabia e Pompei: le necropoli della valle del Sarno (pp. 83 ss.) presentano ora notevoli affinità con quella di Stabia e si segnalano per la presenza di bucchero sottile etrusco-meridionale (p. 84), poi sostituito da quello 'pesante' campano. La floridezza delle necropoli della valle del Sarno, rileva l'A. (p. 87), sembra esaurirsi entro i decenni centrali del VI sec. a.C. in concomitanza col processo di urbanizzazione di Nuceria e di Pompei, che svolgerà anche una importante funzione di scalo commerciale e di porto di scambio.

A commento di questa prima parte 'generale' e 'introduttiva' del volume, alle pp. 89 ss. vengono presentati alcuni dei nuovi corredi di S. Valentino Torio e S. Marzano, tutti forniti di una buona (ma forse di dimensioni un po' troppo ridotte) documentazione grafica. Al loro interno si segnala la caratteristica presenza degli impasti tipici della *Fossakultur* (anforette, olle, capeduncole, oinochoai, coppe, ecc.); di ceramiche di argilla figulina, come le oinochoai di tipo MPC, o le bottiglie italo-geometriche a corpo cilindroide (cfr. le osservazioni di p. 121); di buccheri sottili e buccheri 'pesanti' campani (che si moltiplicano nei corredi più tardi); di vasi corinzi ed etrusco-corinzi; di kantharoi e olle dauni (per l'importanza di questo tipo di materiali, e forse anche per la presenza di genti di origine daunia nella Valle del Sarno, cfr. pp. 53-55).

La rilevanza culturale e commerciale di questo distretto prima dell'affermarsi di Pompei e di Nocera e la complessa trama di rapporti che lo legavano ai centri della Campania interna avrebbe forse potuto risaltare con ancor maggiore chiarezza mediante una discussione più estesa delle tipologie e delle aree di diffusione dei materiali.

F. Gilotta

MARIA TERESA D'ALESSIO, *Materiali votivi dal Foro Triangolare di Pompei*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2001. 186 p., 31 tav.; 30 cm (Corpus delle stipi votive in Italia, 12). – ISBN 88-7689-165-9. – ISSN 0391-9293.

Nella tradizionale veste editoriale della collana e nell'ormai consueta scansione interna tra catalogo, discussione dei tipi e analisi dell'area sacra di pertinenza, il volume presenta i materiali venuti alla luce nel corso di un recente (1995) saggio di scavo nel settore nord-occidentale del portico che circonda il tempio dorico di Pompei.

I caratteri del deposito, come ammette la stessa A., sono per la verità tutt'altro che omogenei, indicando una giacitura secondaria degli oggetti, e una loro commistione con materiali sicuramente non pertinenti, riferibili ad epoche anche notevolmente recenziori, dato che rende più complessa, ovviamente, la lettura globale dell'insieme e più incerto il riconoscimento del destinatario del culto.

Tra i nuclei di oggetti numericamente più cospicui si segnala quello costituito da busti femminili con polos, di ascendenza siceliota e magno-greca, in genere associati al culto di divinità femminili ctonie e riferibili a tipi popolari tra V e IV sec. a.C. anche in molte altre località della Campania.

Altrettanto vasto è il gruppo di statuette, pure in gran parte riferibili a tipi diffusi in Campania e in Italia meridionale: figure femminili con bambino; ed altre, ancora femminili, panneggiate, di tipo 'tanagrino', per le quali si invocano, come per i busti con polos, opportuni confronti di area capuana e naturalmente siceliota, senza tuttavia riferimenti alle diverse modalità di produzione e soprattutto di diffusione delle due differenti classi di votivi.

Un giusto rilievo viene accordato (pp. 83 ss.) alla presenza di statuette di divinità femminili come Athena e una possibile Afrodite con Erote: la prima sia nel tipo ben noto, attestato anche a Punta della Campanella, che nella variante con corpo 'tanagrino', la seconda con Erote sulla spalla sinistra. Seguono brevi capitoli su alcuni possibili ex voto anatomici, assai rari a Pompei, e sulla presenza di pesi da telaio.

Un'ampia sezione è dedicata ai numerosi reperti ceramici dello scavo, la cui pertinenza al deposito ha tuttavia contorni assai incerti, i criteri di attribuzione essendo ancora una volta essenzialmente cronologici. Vengono di fatto presi in esame i soli materiali databili entro il III sec. a.C. ed escluse tutte le produzioni a vernice nera (p. 127); l'inquadramento delle varie classi appare nel complesso piuttosto sintetico, con definizioni di carattere tecnico e cronologico a volte superate, come nel caso della 'ceramica a vernice nera sovradipinta' (p. 134).

Un'ultima, breve, sezione viene dedicata ai frammenti architettonici, che includono una protome di serpente, affine a quelle riferite da B. D'Agostino alla ridecorazione tardo-arcaica del tempio (De Waele 2001, pp. 141 ss.), e una antefissa con testa di Athena del tipo recentemente ristudiato da L.A. Scatozza Höricht (ibid., pp. 223 ss.), pertinente alla fase 'sannitica'.

Nelle considerazioni conclusive (pp. 167 ss.), si passano in rassegna i rinvenimenti segnalati nell'area fin dagli anni della riscoperta di Pompei e si rileva come la concentrazione di gran lunga maggiore, se non esclusiva, di materiali votivi sia databile tra IV e III sec. a.C. Il riferimento complessivo del culto ad Athena appare largamente in linea con la ricerca archeologica più recente (cfr. De Waele cit.), e gli oggetti votivi vengono riferiti a un culto di Athena ergane dai risvolti kourotrophici di cui non mancano attestazioni in ambito etrusco-italico in epoca classica ed ellenistica. Opportuno appare il rinvio all'Athenaion di Punta della Campanella ed una sua lettura in chiave greca piuttosto che 'troiano-romana' (p. 178; su tutto il problema, cfr. ora L. Cerchiai (ed.), *L'iconografia di Athena con elmo frigio in Italia meridionale*, Atti della Giornata di Studi (Fisciano, 1998), Napoli 2002).

F. Gilotta

LUIGI CAPASSO, *I fuggiaschi di Ercolano. Paleobiologia delle vittime dell'eruzione vesuviana del 79 d.C.* Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2001. 1089 p., 1434 figs.; 28 cm (Bibliotheca Archaeologica, 30). – ISBN 88-8265-141-X.

For a long time archaeologists believed that nearly all the people of Herculaneum had been able to flee from their city during the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius in AD 79. This idea was not that strange, because between the start of the excavations by daylight (in 1828) and 1980 only a few skeletons were found. Since 1981, opinions have had to be changed: during the unearthing of part of the ancient harbor, groups of skeletons were retrieved, showing that the disaster had made many victims in Herculaneum too. Human remains were found along the ancient beach and in some boathouses nearby.

A total of 229 skeletons have been identified to date. In his book, Luigi Capasso deals with 162 of them, found mainly between 1981 and 1984. In that period the National Geographic Society was involved in the research and the study of the material was initially assigned to the American anthropologist Sara Bisel. However, the cooperation between the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei and the National Geographic Society ended in 1985 and the publication of the material was later transferred to Capasso.

For anthropologists, skeletons found in such an environment and state of preservation form a unique object of study.

Capasso has written a monumental publication, nearly 1100 pages, lavishly illustrated, focusing on the palaeo-biological or anthropological aspects of the material and using the latest techniques. Indeed, some parts of the book go beyond the comprehension of a 'normal' archaeologist, requiring a knowledge of medical or chemical science, but the clearly written conclusions of these chapters can still be understood.

In chapter 1 Capasso describes the history of the excavation of skeletons in Herculaneum, starting with a few stray finds before 1981 and ending with the discovery on the ancient beach mentioned above.

Chapter 2 gives a clear reconstruction of the eruption and its lethal effects on the remaining residents of Herculaneum. The impact on the human remains is described in detail on pp. 57-58 and illustrated extremely clearly in the figures on pp. 29-34.

The scientific methods used in the examination of the skeletons are summarized in chapter 3. Chapter 4, the catalogue of all individual skeletons, is the core of the book. A few remarkable results may be recorded here.

- E8 was an 8-year-old boy whose arm had been broken 8 months before the eruption. The fracture was treated in a professional way and, in view of the wooden remains found near the skeleton, the boy must have had splints strapped to his arm.
- According to Capasso, E26 led a dynamic life, in view of the many fractures and missing teeth. In this case archaeology and anthropology support each other: these were the remains of a soldier, whose skeleton was found with a complete set of weaponry.
- E52 was also famous at the time of its discovery (see *National Geographic Magazine* - hereafter: NGM - 165/5, 1984, p. 564): a woman who was 8 months pregnant and on whose skull remains of hair were still visible. Capasso convincingly shows that she daily carried heavy burdens on her head, that the hair was preserved because of the oxidation of a metal buckle, and that it contained lice.

The measurements of the skeletons are discussed in chapter 5. The average length of the male population was 164 cm, of the female 152 cm.

Demography is treated in chapter 6. One of the most astonishing results of this research is the conclusion that 15- to 19-year-olds were under-represented in the population. Capasso shows that there can only be one cause for this: the earthquake that struck Campania in 62 AD.

The remaining chapters and appendices deal with fertility, pathology and chemical or DNA analyses.

A few remarks have to be made.

1. On p. 25 Capasso assumes that the sea (on the south side) was the only way to escape the threatening situation in the northeast, after the eruption started. However, an escape via the road in a western direction (towards Neapolis) seems to me very plausible, as Herculaneum was situated on the main road from Neapolis to Pompeii, which probably intersected the northern part of the city (see also my *Houses in Herculaneum*, Amsterdam 1998, 58 + fig. 2).
2. The most famous of all skeletons found was undoubtedly the 'Lady with the rings' (on the cover of *NGM* 165/5, May 1984 + pp. 560-561). But which catalogue number in Capasso's book is this lady? A thorough examination of the find data in NGM and the description by Capasso suggest that it must be E13. This raises some questions. Capasso concludes that 'this woman was not used to heavy physical labor' (p. 167); this points to a wealthy person, a fact perfectly sustained by the find of expensive jewelry. Why did he not use this skeleton as a further example of how archaeology and anthropology can interact (see E26)? Furthermore, why did he use only the data from the excavation cards? In 12 cases (*sic!*), including this one, the find spot and find dates are not given on the card, but can be traced, as shown above.
3. Some typographical flaws: part of p. 193 is printed twice on pp. 198-199; the bibliographical annotations of chapters 1-4 differ from those in the other chapters; in tables 66-69 and 71-73 the 'à' of the word 'età' is missing.
4. It is a pity that in this monumental book only a part of the excavated population could be treated. For the sake of science it would have been better to entrust the publication of *all* the skeletons found since 1981 to *one* person.

To summarize: Capasso has written an impressive reconstruction of the disaster that struck the inhabitants of Herculaneum in 79 AD. After so many years their lives and their fate have been described.

Richard de Kind

EUGENIA SALZA PRINA RICOTTI, *Villa Adriana: il sogno di un imperatore*. Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2001. 454 p., 158 maps, ills.; 29 cm (Bibliotheca archaeologica, 29). – ISBN 88-8265-059-6.

It seems that the archaeological site of Hadrian's villa near Tivoli (Italy), which was firmly asleep for so many decades, has been kissed back to life again. Although the site has always been visited and enjoyed by many tourists and students, only few scholars showed their interest in this place during the last century. The publication of the wonderful book *Hadrian's Villa and Its Legacy* (1995) by MacDonald and Pinto was the first expression of the new scholarly interest. In the following years the team of the Soprintendenza di Lazio executed a very active policy by starting new excavations (the road leading up the Grande Vestibulo) and restorations (the Cento Camerelle) in combination with an intelligent nature restoration plan. Apart from this, they launched a large and tasteful travelling exhibition (J. Charles-Gaffiot and H. Lavange, *Hadrien, Trésors d'une villa imperiale*, Milano 1999) and organised the first international conference on this particular site in the year 2000 (A.M. Reggiani, *Villa adriana, paesaggio antico e ambiente moderno*, Milano 2002). And the crowning glory of their activities was that they managed to get the site onto the UNESCO list of world monuments in the very same year. However, there is one researcher who has been working at the villa site long before all of this turmoil started. Her many articles have provided a firm foundation for all the later books and activities on the subject. Eugenia Salza Prina Ricotti, as an architect and researcher, has worked at the villa site for more than 30 years. All her work has been compiled into the recently published, solid monograph here under review.

The book starts with an introduction of the emperor Hadrian and the discussion of the issue whether the emperor was the architect of his villa or not. Next, the earliest excavations and maps of the site from the 15th century onwards are dealt with: the ones of Ligorio, Contini, Piranesi and Penna. Beautiful prints of these maps are included. Salza Prina Ricotti continues to discuss several general subjects like the villa site itself, the overall complex and the inhabitants. A large part of the book is devoted to the many and different subterranean roads. Then the buildings are treated in chronological order: each discussion starts with an analysis by the author herself and the work she has done on the particular building or issue. In each case the analysis is followed by references to earlier excavators with quotations from their work as well as a basic description of the remains themselves. The book ends with a useful list of places where the statues have been found, together with a bibliography and an index.

Salza Prina Ricotti offers the reader an overview of the villa site and its long history of research. Samples of her pioneering work can be found throughout the book, especially with regard to her work on the new site map, her research into the brick stamps, the underground galleries, the Terme Grandi and the gardens. Of the many buildings discussed she is able to refer to her own (mostly small) excavation trenches and her own close observations. She shares her great knowledge of the site and the insights she gained over the years with the reader. She has a good eye both for overall issues and details. Despite all the information she gives, the reader does not feel overloaded as she combines scientific information with common-sense observations. The way in which she uses the location of latrines to establish the function of some buildings is an example of this. According to her, the Serapeo cannot be a temple for Canopus or a tomb for Antinoos - as some say - because of the presence of three toilets. She asks her readers whether someone has ever seen a temple or tomb with a toilet! In addition in discussing the Cento

Camerelle and the question who might have lived there, she concludes very dryly that this could not have been the place for the Praetorians or soldiers, but for the servants, because otherwise there would have been nobody on the villa grounds 'che potesse prepararagli [Hadrian] neanche un piatto di minestra'.

The book is richly illustrated. The nearly 100 plans and drawings by the hand of the author are very clear and useful, which cannot always be said of the photographs. These hardly show any overview and the details are not always clearly visible. It is a pity that no colour photographs have been included. It is also a missed opportunity that so few ancient illustrations are used and that there are no pictures of early excavations, especially since she writes so much about the history of research of the site.

Although the book of Salza Prina Ricotti and the book by MacDonald and Pinto have the same subject, they tackle it in a different way: whereas Salza Prina Ricotti presents firm results, MacDonald and Pinto approach their object with more prudence and are reticent in their conclusions. The authors of both books refer to each other's work constantly and thus show the many ongoing discussions about the villa. Both books have their proper qualities and can best be used side by side.

Salza Prina Ricotti begins her book by expressing the wish that the book will be helpful to everybody who wants to study the villa site. The book will definitely be used as such. Together with all the present ongoing activities at the site everybody can profit from her book and might be easily seduced to work at the villa site as well.

Gemma Jansen

M. LILLI, *Lanuvium, avanzi di edifici antichi negli appunti di R. Lanciani* (Occasional Papers of the Nordic Institutes in Rome, 2). Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2001. 88 p., 1 c. di tav., ill.; 30 cm. – ISBN 88-8265-151-7.

Judging from the archaeological notes and sketches of the famous Italian topographer Rodolfo Lanciani that deal with the landscape north of Lanuvio near Rome, this particular area of the now heavily urbanized Alban hills still had many vestiges of its Roman past preserved in the late 19th century. Of these it were especially the remains of Roman villae along the Via Appia Antica that attracted Lanciani's attention, and these feature prominently in Manlio Lilli's well-documented inventory of the ancient Roman remains in the countryside of ancient Lanuvium. The author reproduces both annotated plans and sketches of architectural details as well as reproductions of the original 1:25.000 map sheets of the Istituto Geografico Militare (IGM) on which Lanciani mapped their location. Ever since the days of Lanciani a large part of the Roman architectural heritage has gone lost due to modern urbanization and infrastructure, intensification of viticulture and modern quarries, and it is in the face of the rapidly changing landscape that the author set himself the task of comparing the archaeological objects known from literature and archives with what is left of them now. Other than the title would suggest, Lanciani's notes form only part of the author's historiographical research, which includes many other cartographical and bibliographical sources. Moreover, Lilli combines his historiographical research with autopsy in the field. This is a fortunate combination as it adds considerably to the existing knowledge of the Roman villa landscape around Lanuvium. The geographical scope of this study is, however, limited as it takes only that part of the *ager* van Lanuvinium in consideration that is situated to the north and east of Lanuvium along the Via Appia, an area of approximately 10 km^2. The survey data are organised according to the method that is also used in the *Forma Italiae* series: each of the 26 numbered entries describes the location and the available historical information of a single archaeological object to which the author then adds his own field observations and (air) photographs. All sites treated by the author can be found on the *carta archeologica* in the back of the book. In one of the introductory paragraphs that precede the inventory the author discusses earlier topographical studies and excavations. Surprisingly, the latter can be traced back to as early as the first half of the 15th century with investigations by the cardinals Prospero Colonna and, after him, Carlo Caraffa. The first 'excavation permit' would have been issued in 1563 to a 'società di scavatori e al Capitolo Vaticano'. The permit is described as 'licentiam de excavando et cavas faciendo in loco vulgariter nuncupato Santo Gennaro'. The location of San Gennaro contains the ruins of a 13th c. castle and is frequently described and sketched in the histographical sources. Lilli, however, points out to us how on air photos the remains of a huge Roman villa platform can be made out within the medieval enclosure and how Roman pottery abounds on inspection of the surface. These and other ruins are the vestiges of presumably sumptuous Roman villae that dotted the landscape around Lanuvium in the period that it functioned as a Roman municipium. Both Suetonius and Cicero claim that this area was very much favoured by the Roman elite and this is no wonder considering the beauty and fertility of the landscape in combination with its proximity to Rome, which could easily be reached by taking the Via Appia. The volcanic landscape around Lanuvium consists of a number of hills that all offer a fine view on the undulating landscape of Latium Vetus, and archaeology has shown that this area was already occupied from early protohistory on. Valleys in which run small streams separate the hills from each other and offer good settlement locations while its soils are very fertile. The Roman elite readily recognized the qualities of this environment and it is especially between the end of the 2nd century BC and the first half of the 1st century BC that the elite started to invest in villa architecture, claims Lilly. Most villae continue into the 3rd and 4th c. AD. Datings of the various phases of the villae are based on the building techniques employed rather than on surface pottery. Besides descriptions of villae, the inventory also contains descriptions of the remains of funerary monuments, underground drainage canals (*cuniculi*), aquaducts and ancient quarries.

Peter Attema

BEA DE CUPERE, *Animals at Ancient Sagalassos - Evidence of the Faunal Remains*. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2001. 271 p., figs.; 29.5 cm (Studies in Ancient Mediterranean Archeology, IV). – ISBN 2-503-51062-0.

This book describes the archaeozoological analysis of the faunal remains collected during the course of four (1990-1994) campaigns of excavation of the ancient Roman and Byzantine city of Sagalassos in the southwest of Turkey. It considers a large amount of material, ca. 15,000 finds, spanning from the first half of the 1st century AD to the first half of the 6th century.

After a brief presentation of the site and of the status of archaeozoological research in Anatolia, the reader is immediately immersed in the description of the mollusc, bird, amphibian, reptile, fish, and mammal remains. The criteria of identification are largely presented and the data are both accurately reported and copiously and systematically compared with those from other sites. Large attention is devoted to the ecological properties and geographical distribution of the species. The evaluation of the age at slaughter and the determination of the sex have shown to be important for the interpretation of the exploitation of the main domestic animals. Sheep and goat, considered 'very important husbandry' for their production of milk, wool and hair, show an increase of animals killed in an adult age towards the late roman period. Cattle are usually old animals, exploited principally as draught animals and subsequently as source of meat. Pigs resulted to be in large part males and eaten quite young, as the adult sows and boars were not consumed at the site, but in the breeding centers outside the city. Interpretation of the material is offered for each species. The explanations that the author gives are often referred to a general pattern of exploitation in the Roman world, with an appreciable continuous attempt to refer to ancient literary sources.

A special chapter is dedicated to the paleopathology and one to the taphonomy. Besides an accurate description of the oral and traumatic pathologies, and of the alterations due to old age and overloading, an interesting critical review of the work on modern Rumanian oxen (L. Bartosiesiewicz/W. van Neer/A. Lantacker, Draught cattle: their osteological identification and history. *Annalen van het Koninklijk Museum voor Midden-Africa, Zoölogische Wetenschappen* 281, 1997) is presented. The main aspects pointed out are the discrepancy between a study based on modern animals and the archaeological faunal assemblages and the difficulty to compare the one with the others. The main focus of the chapter on taphonomy is the description of human and natural modifications and the enumeration of their occurrence on the material from Sagalassos.

The last two chapters consist in the reconsideration of the data and the results into a paleoeconomical and palaeoecological perspective. Here is summarized the (non) importance of fishing and hunting, the state and condition of the livestock, the utilization of the bone as raw material for artisanal practices, the intervention of humans in terms of butchering activities, and finally the evidences of imports and trade are presented. The chapter on the palaeoecology underlines the difficulties of obtaining an appropriate environmental reconstruction and the necessity of relating to other disciplines such as the paleobotany, palinology, and geomorphology. No conclusive chapter is present, while detailed tables with bones measurements, lists of tooth wear stages and codes of butchering marks are included in the Appendices.

The work of Bea de Cupere represents a considerable contribution to the history of archaezoology, as part of a generation of dissertations that have been published in an appropriate edition and made, in this way, available to a wide public. One of the main values of the book consists in the very large, comprehensive and detailed description of the remains. The methodological and interpretative aspects of the identification and analysis of the bone remains are critically approached and reconsidered. The quantity, the accuracy and the clarity of the presentation of the data certainly make this book easy to read and to consult. Appreciable is the inclusion of more innovative technologies such as the study of the presence of medullar bone in the case of hens and of the DNA for the attestation of long distance and organized trade in the case of the catfish of the genus Clarias. The results are a valuable contribution to the knowledge of animal exploitation in the ancient Sagalassos and will certainly serve as a basic reference for other studies.

As a zooarchaeologist, however, I am less satisfied with the traditional 'classical archaeozoological research', as the author points out in the introduction, and the more systematic zoological approach, which are clearly reflected in the order of presentation of the species and the division of the subjects. The focus of the book is consecrated to the bone remains, and an extremely descriptive and analytical approach prevails on a more theoretical and interpretative approach. Furthermore, the reader would be facilitated by a larger presentation of the site, may be correlated by a map with the localization of the areas of excavations to which the author continuously refers in the text and a more interaction with historical background of the city and of the region.

Chiara Cavallo

FRIEDRICH KRINZINGER (Hg.), *Das Hanghaus 2 von Ephesos. Studien zu Baugeschichte und Chronologie*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2002. 256 S., 101 Abb.; 29.6 cm (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Denkschriften, 302. Band; Archäologische Forschungen, Band 7). – ISBN 3-7001-3050-3.

The excavation of a block of houses from the imperial period on the slopes of Bülbül Dag at Ephesos in the 1960s and early 1970s received much attention from various scholars. There was finally a second Pompeii, where one could study the daily life of ancient man! A number of important publications came out in rapid succession, and the volumes by V.M. Strocka on wall paintings and W. Jobst on mosaics form landmarks in the study of ancient houses and their decorations in Asia Minor (= *Forschungen in Ephesos* VIII 1 and VIII 2, respectively, both published in 1977). However, the excavation was not at that stage complete, and the results of stratigraphic analysis became available only after the final clearing of the site, namely after 1984. New research, beginning in 1994, brought to light an impressive quantity of new data. In 1995, David Parrish was the first to tackle the chronology established by Strocka, while Jobst and the archaeologists of the Austrian Academy itself, which had worked at Ephesos for more than hundred years, took up the challenge of re-examining the conclusions of their predecessors. Krinzinger's volume gives an overview of the new 'Stand der Forschung'.

The first excavators and their collaborators had assumed various earthquakes, reaching into the 7th c. AD, that sealed the house blocks by the 5th c. at the latest. Strocka, especially, had drawn far-reaching conclusions, dividing the decorations into three chronological groups, assigned respectively to AD 60-80, the Severan period, and AD 380-450. But the last of these categories in particular was difficult to accept, as neither Strocka nor subsequent scholars were able to provide good parallels in painting elsewhere.

Sabine Ladstätter (p. 9-40) sketches the *status quaestionis* and reviews the circumstances of the excavations. The complicated series of strata made the site a 'Schlachtfeld' (p. 12 n. 33), where work was carried out at too great a speed. The data that emerged from the numerous finds of objects which normally serve as important indicators of the history of a site (ceramics, lamps, coins) were given less importance than historical data known from elsewhere at Ephesos. So, the date of the final destruction, assigned to the 7th c., was surmised on the basis of a coin of Heraklios which could easily have become mixed with debris in lower strata and forms no 'zweifelsfreihe Aussage'. The chronology of terra sigillata was not yet well established, and many mistakes were made by adducing false parallels. This pottery deserved a new study, made easier after the seminal publications of J.W. Hayes. The same applies to the terracotta lamps. The chronology of the postulated earthquake(s) depends on numerous lines of argument: Ephesos lies in a high-risk zone and there must have been a continuous series of seismic events, both great and small. The new studies seem to prove that the block of houses was destroyed in one terrible disaster, most probably in AD 262. The suddenness of this cataclysm explains the good state of conservation of many parts of the houses.

Hilke Thür and Gilbert Wiplinger (p. 41-89) discuss the five phases of the house architecture (see clear maps pl. 87-90), viz. I-IV and IV' (it is not clear why they do not number it simply V). There is no need to summarize their detailed descriptions and interpretations, which are presented with admirable clarity. The result is a thorough evaluation of all the available data leading to a convincing picture of uninterrupted alterations over a period of some 250 years (a situation still familiar even in our own day), beginning in the time of Tiberius and ending in the second quarter of the 3rd c. Many of the surviving luxurious paintings and floor mosaics remained in use for decades and were only replaced on a piecemeal basis. In the course of time the consumption of marble increased, both on floors and on walls, but in the final years one can observe a simplification of the interior by closing doors to create smaller rooms for production and the housing of slaves. The various houses ('Wohneinheiten' [WE] 1-6) of the block 'Hanghaus 2' show more or less the same alterations, probably executed by the proprietors partly in accordance with a kind of general plan. Is it possible even to hypothesise a single owner who had changes carried out at one moment in the whole block? One family crops up frequently, namely three generations of Flavii: Titus Flavius Pythion, Titus Flavius Aristibulus and Gaius Flavius Furius Apulus, active citizens during the 2nd c. The latter is named as the creator of family apartments (p. 62-63).

Hans Taeuber presents interesting data in a contribution on graffiti (p. 93-99). Most texts contain lists of expenses in asses, a coin type which disappeared after the reign of Gallienus. A graffito showing gladiators cannot have been inscribed after the time of Constantine, as this emperor put an end to the cruel practice of gladiatorial shows. Yet in some cases such texts and images were found on painted surfaces dated by Strocka to the middle of the 5th c.

Norbert Zimmermann (p. 101-117) concentrates on paintings and tries to re-assess Strocka's dating. Strocka is actually one of the greatest experts in the field, but in his study of the Ephesos paintings he fell into certain traps laid to snare him. According to Zimmermann, Strocka is personally very interested in the developments of modern research and agrees with most of the conclusions which have emerged. His work, in fact, remains of high value and will retain its importance. His chronological 'Gerüst' was coherent and logical in itself, but suffered from the all too simple idea that a lower quality and/or modest level in the decorations implies a chronological development. The assumption of decline, from good to bad, is shown to be untenable. In many cases we find the same decorative elements, such as garlands, peltae, and panel framings, in different forms in different rooms, but, on closer inspection, these differences do not correspond to any decline in the art of painting. We have, in fact, to take into account the different locations, social levels and functions of the rooms involved. My own experiences at Rome allow me to agree readily with Zimmermann's conclusions: the Golden House of Nero, with murals of more or less a single period, shows similar differences in style and quality, and these cannot be attributed to phases. Zimmermann demonstrates that workshops included masters and pupils (or less talented individuals) who divided work on the decoration of a given room according to their skills. An advantage of his new chronology, Zimmermann says, is that for all the groups of paintings now distinguished good contemporary parallels can be found, whereas – as mentioned above - Strocka had no comparanda for his latest phase.

Two chapters on sculpture conclude the volume. Karin Koler (p. 119-136) analyses the marble revetments of the large room 31 in WE 6, concentrating on the pilaster capitals. She clearly demonstrates – by the 'old-fashioned' technique of making stylistic comparisons – that these decorative elements were produced at the end of the 1st or the beginning of the 2nd c. AD and that the first member of the *gens Flavia* mentioned above was responsible for them. The room functioned as a huge triclinium. Eva Christof and Elisabeth Rothmayr (p. 137-143) give a brief presentation of the sculptures found in the houses. The contrast with Koler's highly detailed analysis of the capitals could not be greater: the text is little more than a list, in which a few objects are singled out and illustrated. The contribution seems premature but in the framework of the book its conclusion that none of the objects unearthed was made after the second quarter of the 3rd c. fits those of the other contributors.

In sum, this is a highly provocative book: it shows how excavators can lose command of their own material, necessitating an entire reassessment after only one generation. One may question whether a single school or institution should work without interruption at one place for so long, since it can become blinded by too great a familiarity with the situation there. The contributors to this book show great courage in rebelling against their masters. Though respectful to these masters, they are clearly critical of their more debatable methods of working and thinking. V.M. Strocka wrote a fair reaction to this study that could not be inserted in the book (*ÖJh* 71, 2002, 285-298). He agrees with most of the new insights and expresses his hope that the study of the houses will continue according to these views. (Thanks to Roger Ling for correcting my English text)

Eric M. Moormann

J. Rumscheid, *Kranz und Krone. Zu Insignien, Siegespreisen und Ehrenzeichen der römischen Kaiserzeit*. Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth Verlag, 2000. XI and 270 S.; 68 Abb.; (Istanbuler Forschungen, Band 43). – ISBN 3-8030-1764-5.

Decorations mark somebody's place and status in society. In an overtly hierarchical society like that of the Roman Empire they must have played a fundamental role. Priests, victorious athletes and certain magistrates are known to have carried distinctive decorations: wreaths and crowns. Rumscheid wants to study the iconography of these decorations. She offers a typology and distinguishes six categories: 'Büstenkronen', i.e., wreaths decorated with small busts, 'Blattkränze', i.e., wreaths with a medallion on which small busts have been fastened, 'Blütenkronen', i.e., wreaths decorated with flowers, prize-crowns, crowns with precious stones ('Schmucksteinkronen') and specific Palmyrene wreaths and crowns. The next step is to establish which persons carried which type and to examine the chronology of the various types. Needless to say, representations accompanied by inscriptions play a cardinal role; equally important are inscriptions and literary testimonia which provide evidence for specific *insignia* carried by specific persons. All these problems are dealt with on pp. 6-112, which are arranged thematically; for all six categories of decorations the relevant evidence is adduced and the above-mentioned questions are answered. On pp. 113-253 R. offers a geographically arranged catalogue for all six categories; it contains 365 items, most of which are accompanied by illustrations, to be found on 68 plates, with truly excellent photos. Some scholars who tend to monopolize archaeology and to subsume all other approaches under the label 'Art History/Kunstgeschichte' are well advised to study this book carefully and to discover that an iconographical, so-called 'art history'-oriented study leads to interesting conclusions about the sensitivity of a given society to decorations and about the sort of persons who can be assumed to have carried them: a mixture of social and mental history; and that is what survey-studies do not always manage to offer.

As to the 'Büstenkrone' R., on the basis of a thorough analysis of the relevant evidence (reliefs, both anepigraphical and epigraphical, and coins) concludes that they are not the exclusive privilege of (high) priests of the imperial cult but rather point to a function fulfilled by various magistrates and liturgists, i.e., an agonistic function: the bearers of such crowns were involved in the organization of games. True, R. adduces convincing evidence for a connection between *agonothetai* and 'Büstenkrone'; there is also some evidence for other functionaries wearing such crowns: an *archiprytanis* and a *panegyriarch* in Didyma are a case in point. In some instances, however, R. tends to overinterpret the evidence. In Aizanoi two provincial high priests wear a 'Büstenkrone'; they also acted as *stephanephoros* (in Aizanoi) and as *panhellenios* (in Athens: member of the Panhellenion), respectively, and in that capacity also wore such crowns. Instead of interpreting the latter two as emanations of the priestly ones, R. suggests that both the *stephanephoroi* and the *panhellenioi* were closely involved in the organization of games. This seems far-fetched. Inscriptions from Aizanoi show that members of the elite held the function of both *stephanephoros* and *agonothetes* but this does not mean that the former acted 'in *Zusammenhang* mit der Agonothesie' (13; italics are mine, H.W.P.). Inscriptions merely list the functions exercised by a person and often tell us nothing about all these functions being somehow connected with one another. The traditional interpretation, according to which this crown was the prerogative of the *archiereus* seems preferable here. In this respect there surely is continuity between the Hellenistic and the Roman Imperial period (denied by R. on 50). In short, the prerogative of the high priest was shared by other functionaries, especially by the *agonothetes*; but if a crown is worn by a high priest who is also known to have held other magistracies, especially the *stephanephoria*, it seems unwise to connect the crown at all cost with the latter.

R. correctly points out that most evidence for such crowns originates in Asia Minor; she goes one large step further by arguing that representations of such crowns found outside this area are somehow to be connected with Asia Minor. A mosaic from Aquileia is a case in point. It shows pictures of victorious athletes; one wears a prize-crown, with the inscription *Olympeia*. An older man is represented with a 'Büstenkrone' (19/20 and 48). R. suggests that he either presided over Olympic Games in a city in Asia Minor and subsequently had himself represented in Aquileia with his

Asian crown or originated in Asia Minor, somewhere in the Greek world presided over *Olympia* and adopted the habit of his homeland. This seems rather complicated. Admittedly, there is no evidence for Olympic Games in Aquileia; on the other hand there is additional evidence for agonistic activities in the city: a mosaic representing athletes and prize-crowns, with the inscriptions *Makedonia* and *Aeg[yptus]*, interpreted by the ed.pr. as indications of the provenance of the athletes (*SEG* XL 813; see R., 192 no. 176 and 80 and 89). One is also tempted to adduce the prize-crown in a mosaic from Altiburos, close to Carthage in North-Africa, with the inscription *Asklepeia* (191 no. 170). N. Duval suggested that we have a victory in one of the Asklepieia in Greece, possibly in Asia Minor but L. Robert (*OMS* V 792-795; cf. *SEG* XXXI 848) showed that Asklepieia (and, incidentally, also Pythia) were indeed celebrated in Carthage. Given the fact that Aquileia produced quite a few Greek inscriptions and even more bilingual (Greek/Latin) ones, it is not too audacious to suggest that in Aquileia *Olympia* were celebrated.

The 'Blattkränze' ('couronnes de feuillage') are much fewer in number (52-61). Unfortunately, they rarely are accompanied by inscriptions. R. reasonably suggests that these crowns are mostly attributes of priests or other cultic functionaries.

The 'Blütenkronen' ('ornées de fleurs'; 62-78) are the rewards of victorious athletes, musicians, heralds (praecones; salpiktai) and charioteers; the same applies to the cylinder-shaped, so-called 'Preiskronen', some small and fitting the victor's head, others oversized, and often represented on a table between money bags. They begin to appear in our sources ca. 150 AD and go on until the late 4th cent. AD. They are attested on mosaics, statues, coins and reliefs from East and West.

R. has offered an excellent study of the various categories of crowns and wreaths. She combines literary, epigraphical and iconographical sources judiciously. The result is a perceptive study of the 'decoration-prone' mentality of members of the elite and sportsmen of the Roman Imperial period.

H.W. Pleket

MARTIN LANGNER, *Antike Graffitizeichnungen. Motive, Gestaltung und Bedeutung*. Wiesbaden: Dr Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2001. 170 p., 163 Taf.; 1 CD-ROM; 30 cm (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom: Palilia, Band 11). – ISBN 3-89500-188-0.

This is a detailed, comprehensive study of drawings scratched in stones or painted on them. One finds them on walls of houses, column shafts, benches, steps, etc.; they were not planned by the builders but were scratched on the objects concerned arbitrarily. Whereas epigraphical graffiti have been studied in the past under various aspects, the anepigraphical graffiti drawings have been neglected so far. Langner undoubtedly fills the gap admirably. He focuses on meaning and function of these drawings; after three brief introductory chapters on definitions, the history of scholarship on the subject (in most cases focusing on the verbal graffiti, with occasional references to drawings), and the function of epigraphical graffiti, he devotes three major chapters to his main object. In chapter IV L. examines in eleven sections the various motives presented in the drawings (27-74; *inter alia*, ornaments; heads and busts; gladiators, athletes, charioteers; mythological and religious images; erotic drawings; animals; ships; buildings; statues; herms). Chapter V is devoted to a study of the iconography of the graffiti compared to that of other 'Bildgattungen' (75-90); in chapter VI (91-138) the relation between the drawings and their location (drawings on walls inside houses or public buildings and on exterior walls visible to the public) takes pride of place. To those interested in the possibly functional relationship between decoration and type of room in a house, close study of L.'s statistical information about the distribution of the various motives in graffiti drawings over the various types of rooms in houses is to be recommended.

Langner's book encompasses classical antiquity from the geometric to the Late Roman Imperial period. He justifies this enormous time-span by pointing to the relative continuity of the drawings throughout the period concerned. The focus of the book is on Pompeii but brief paragraphs on drawings in Herculaneum, Oplontis, Stabiae (villas), in Rome and Puteoli (in both cases *tabernae*), and in Dura Europos are not to be ignored. In the process various graffiti drawings from Greek cities in the Hellenistic and Roman periods (Delos, Bosporos, Aphrodisias) are adduced (for some still unpublished drawings of ships, horses, a dog etc. in southeast Attica see *SEG* XLIX 2). The 163 plates offer a splendid thematically arranged catalogue of the drawings. The entire catalogue is also available on a CD-ROM which goes with the book and surely will facilitate further research in the realm of ancient graffiti, especially for those who, alas unlike the reviewer, are well versed in the handling of computerized data. It is sad to read that in various places and, above all, in Pompeii ancient drawings have been destroyed by modern graffiti but also by modern restoration work.

The ancient graffiti drawings have nothing to do with the protest-character of modern graffiti. They belong to the realm of popular culture, though the precise attribution of the drawers to a specific social group is in fact impossible. The motives and the quality of the drawings not unexpectedly differ from those on record in wall-paintings. Interesting enough one finds occasional graffiti-paintings on wall-paintings. Langner argues that these are the work both of slaves and of the patronus and his relatives. This sheds interesting light on the mentality of the commissioners of wall-paintings. They apparently had no problem in combining high and popular culture on one and the same wall. Wall-paintings apparently were not always viewed as inviolable products of high culture which should be cherished by an exclusive group of lovers of art. Similarly in Pompeian *triclinia* (103-108) graffiti drawings of gladiators were made both by slaves and by the dominus and his guests during a dinner.

Predominant are representations of heads sometimes drawn in a clearly mocking manner (long noses, bald heads; heads of emperors are very rare), of gladiators and *venatores* and ships. A drawing in the theatre of Aphrodisias (no. 326) is interpreted by L. as the bust of a woman (p. 42). However, L. did not notice that the drawing is accompanied by an inscription mentioning a certain Theodotos, a *protoaurarios* (probably administering public funds for the financing of spectacles), whose nickname is Kolotron. Clearly, the bust is that of a man. The nickname has an ambiguous connotation: the word can refer both to testicles and coins. The bust has the shape of a purse and the two small circles, interpreted by Langner as female breasts, in fact denote two coins (cf. C. Zuckermann, *Revue des Études Byzantines* 58, 2000, 73-76). Rare are drawings of craftsmen and athletes. As to the latter L. suggests that they were ousted by gladiatorial drawings (51); to the extent that L. refers here to the Latin part of the Empire this seems improbable: in that part athletes never played such an important role for it to be ousted by other, more competitive games. When no inscriptions are added to the drawings interpretation becomes occasionally speculative, although L. tries to underpin his identifications with iconographical parallels.

I do not find it easy to accept his interpretation of three figures in Pompeii as boxers or pankratiasts (one in the House of the gladiators, one in the theatre-corridor and one in the Palaestra). Admittedly, pairs of heavy athletes could be hired by benefactors organizing festivals in the Latin West but one may well wonder why in the context of theatres and gladiatorial dwellings athletes were drawn by a graffiti-fan. Similarly, we are asked to see in a graffito drawing in the Faustina temple in Rome (no. 763) a heavy athlete. Every fifth year the Capitolia were celebrated in Rome from the end of the 1st century AD, with boxing and pankration on the program. But not much in the drawing points to a 'Schwerathlet' and apart from the quadrennial Capitolia athletics were far from prominent in Imperial Rome.

Whereas drawings representing emperors or crafts(men) were relatively rare, ships seem to have been popular among the graffiti-drawers. Warships and freighters are regularly represented. After all, the navy base at Misenum was not all that far away from Pompeii; and cargoships were prominently visible in Puteoli and all along the coast towards Rome. More interesting is a couple of graffiti representing sailing-vessels in a regatta. No. 2198, discussed by Langner on pp. 69 and 114, shows a sailing-boat with a wreath on the mast and the graffito *vici*: clearly the context of a contest. Langner suggests interpreting three other drawings in the same way: nos. 2199 (Dura-Europos), 2203 (Stabiae) and 2212 (Pompeii). In Dura-Europos we find a sailing-vessel with two palm branches and in Pompeii a series of four boats. L. may well over-interpret here the function of a palma, whereas in no. 2212 we may just as well have attempts to ameliorate or simply imitate the first design. The fact is that the evidence for sailing-races is exceedingly tenuous. H.A. Harris mentions Catullus' boast of his Phaselis (*Sport in Greece and Rome*, London 1972, 126: 'informal challenges among friends'), whereas Langner himself refers to 4th century AD Claudianus (70 note 435).

As to the motives of the graffiti producers, Langner understandably has little more to offer than the play-factor, the fight against boredom and the 'I was here'-mentality. Inevitably in our era the term 'communication' pops up: the drawer wants to communicate with his 'clients'. Undoubtedly!, but the frequent absence of verbal graffiti implies that most drawers 'communicated' anonymously; not a particularly meaningful way to convey *your* message; but some sort of message was possibly conveyed to those prepared to view the drawings in ancient times. For us now these graffiti provide insight in what moved ordinary people: 'bread and circuses' (gladiators), ships coming from far, and sex: the number of phalloi and of 'phalloid' objects is impressive. If the reader really wants it that way, we might conclude that the drawers 'communicated' to us their day-dreams.

H.W. Pleket

FRANCISCA FERAUDI-GRUÉNAIS, *Ubi diutius nobis habitandum est. Die Innendekoration der kaiserzeitlichen Gräber Roms*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2001. 248 S., 159 Abb.; 29 cm (Palilia, 9). - ISBN 3-89500-076-0.

This book is an abridged and slightly modified version of a dissertation, which Francisca Feraudi-Gruénais defended in 1996-1997 at the Ruprecht-Karls-Universität in Heidelberg, supervised by Tonio Hölscher. She discusses the fixed decorations of tombs in Rome and the *suburbium*. Unlike the architectural shapes of these tombs and their movable ornaments (urns and sarcophagi), their paintings, stucco reliefs and mosaics had not yet received integral treatment.

Chapter I (pp. 11-15) sketches a clear image of the events following a death, known from especially literary sources. It is noticeable that Feraudi-Gruénais only divides the social status of the Roman populace into two when she discusses the *pompa* (funerary procession). That division ought to have been made before, when the display of bodies in the atrium comes to the fore. In a city where atrium houses were the exception rather than the rule, it seems certain that not all Romans had access to an atrium.

Chapter II (pp. 17-25) provides the *status quaestionis*. There had not yet been a complete analysis of tombs from imperial times with their movable and fixed decoration, with (for Rome) the exception of the Vatican necropolis. Geographically, the research is limited to material from Rome and the Vatican, and includes tombs that are documented but no longer extant. Only tombs from inaccessible private property are excluded. This geographical demarcation is understandable in light of the size of the subject, but unfortunately rules out important control groups like the Isola Sacra funeral site. A comparison with the Pompeian material would have been similarly useful.

The main part of the book is occupied by the catalogue (Chapter III, pp. 27-148). All 84 entries present tomb and decoration as unity, and give a fine overview, though some points ought to be raised. The given context is sometimes very minimal (K1-4); many entries either lack photos (K7, K12-16, K23, K50-59, K63-65, K68, K73-77, K80 and K84) or show images that give no view of the decoration (K41, K46, K51), whereas, in stark contrast, some tombs are accompanied by an enormous amount of visual material (K19, K24, K28, K42). This makes it difficult, if not impossible, for the reader to draw comparisons. In some places, modern literature should be added (*e.g.* S. de Maria, Le tombeau de la via Portuense à Rome, in: N. Blanc (ed.), *Au royaume des ombres. La peinture funéraire antique*, Saint-Romaine-en-Gal/Vienne/Paris 1998, 126-129, ought to have been mentioned for K9; the absence is surprising, since the author cites Blanc's volume at K45). Furthermore, the author mentions, but does not discuss, a number of tombs along the Via Triumphalis, which according to her are not well disclosed (pp. 62-63). The rather vague information supplied here can be enhanced by P. Liverani, *La topografia antica del Vaticano*, Città del Vaticano 1999, 47-51 (*edificio funerario* 2 e 3) and P. Liverani/G. Spinola, Mosaici in bianco e nero dal tratto vaticano della necropolis della via Trionfale, in: *Atti V Colloquio AISCOM*, Roma 1998, 211-222. Especially the lower chamber of tomb 2, with geometrical paintings and a black and white mosaic with vegetable motives is interesting. The tomb of the Nasonii (K28, p. 73) is given a different date from the commonly accepted Antonine period, based upon an unpublished manuscript by H. Mielsch, but without further argumentation. Of K31 only an *arcosolium* remains and K40 and K70 similarly lack context. It is questionable whether these entries warrant insertion. When discussing the Pyramid of Cestius (K69), F. Bastet/M. de Vos, *Il terzo stile pompeiano*, 's-Gravenhage 1979, ought to have been included in the bibliography. Also, the much more common technical term *opus latericium*, is preferable over *opus lateritium* (only in Saint Jerome). A final point of criticism applies to the descriptions of the decorations themselves, which are often mere characterisations in a few words, with only very limited informative value.

In Chapter IV (pp. 149-200), the discussed tombs are compared to each other. According to the author, in the 1st century AD a transformation took place in the development of tomb monuments leading to the arrival of interior decoration. The author then differentiates four types of tombs: *columbaria* (7 ex.), chamber tombs in tuff (19 ex.), brick chamber tombs (35 ex.) and large brick chamber tombs (3 ex.). Three tombs she deems to be *Sonderformen*: the Pyramid of Cestius (K69) and two round tombs (K34 and K84). Considering, however, their construction in the late first century BC and the first half of the first century AD, it seems likely that they do not form exceptions, but follow the tradition of the first century BC. The fact that it is exactly the Pyramid of Cestius which is decorated, may indicate an example function by tombs of the elite (such as this pyramid) for the other decorated tombs that are discussed here. But further indications for this are still lacking. The social position of those individuals who commissioned the tomb or were buried there can only be determined by possible titulus inscriptions. From these one can authenticate builder, owner, and social status. The conclusion that these kinds of tombs are 'ausschließlich ein Produkt zu Vermögen gekommener Mitglieder der Unterschichten' (p. 157), seems accurate, but is difficult to verify in light of the limited number of decorated tombs with such inscriptions (ca. 10%).

The author places much emphasis on decorative themes (pp. 166-200). She distinguishes four groups. Eighteen tombs contain mythological scenes. A slight preference for scenes that only exist in a funerary context notwithstanding, almost as many scenes were also popular in other contexts, such as in villas, chosen according to the author for 'Evozierung von Villenluxus'. She then discusses mythical creatures and animals, and allegories. Many of those have Dionysian connotations, or refer to the *felicitas temporum*. In very general they would symbolise the notion of 'hope'. The third category consists of the rare depictions of humans, including portraits and depictions from real life. Some of these the author attributes to the world of *otium*, but it is questionable whether that applies to images depicting the lower layers of society. Rightfully, her conclusion on the themes is that 'das Diesseits (scheint) präsenter als das Jenseits gewesen zu sein'. The remaining painted elements (animals, plants, objects, still lives) are standard fill-up motives.

Chapter V (201-223) brings modern research into graves to attention. Following three lines of questioning, the author attempts to integrate conclusions from the field of movable decorations (urns, sarcophagi) with those of fixed decorations. To this end, she analyses programmatic similarities, parallel iconographic developments, and the question whether non-movable decoration had an exemplary function on the flourishing of art on sarcophagi in the 2nd century. There are no programmatic similarities. In their subject matters, sarcophagi are much more sepulchral than fixed tomb decorations. In images of the rape of Persephone, popular in both movable and non-movable decoration, a gradual de-mythologisation takes place. According to the author, sarcophagi did not set the pattern in this. Still, as mass-products with which experiments were possible, sarcophagi did influence the scarcer fixed decorations. Does this conclusion, however, take the relatively poor preservation of fixed tomb decorations sufficiently into account? The material simply does not allow for such a conclusion. An important factor, which is ignored, is the prior history of tomb decorations in the Greek and Hellenistic world from the 4th century onwards, and the potential role of that material as an example: compare for instance the depiction of the rape of Persephone in Vergina.

Feraudi-Gruénais' detailed approach of funerary decorations in their contexts allows her to nuance some of Von Hesberg's notions. She agrees with his theory that the importance of architecture diminished, but challenges his idea that emphasis changed to the interior, since the importance of decoration only increased relatively. Following Zanker, she discusses whether aristocratic tombs formed an example for tombs of those of lower rank. As in other cases, her suggestion seems too speculative: 'Vorstellbar, aber m.W. noch nicht nachgewiesen, wäre beispielsweise die Auskleidung der Innenräume aristokratischer Grabanlagen mit Marmor.' But the only example that she deems relevant, the Pyramid of Cestius, has *painted* decoration. Four different, older, examples could in fact be added (see E.M. Moormann, Scene storiche come decorazioni di tombe romane, in: A. Barbet (ed.), *La peinture funéraire antique*, Paris 2001, 99-107). Actually, it is questionable whether the interiors of tombs were decorated with marble in the first century BC, as the author supposes; in residential houses marble is only used as wall decoration on a larger scale from the late first century AD onwards. The restricted number of preserved tombs of *honestiores* does not allow for the conclusion that fixed decorations of tombs were limited to the lower layers of society.

One of the final conclusions is that honouring the deceased was certainly not the sole purpose of tomb decorations, but especially the 'Selbstdarstellung der Familie'. The own status would have been placed over that of those who had died. According to me, that status ought to be seen as on par. The status of the family, including the deceased, is the issue. With her study, Feraudi-Gruénais fills an important gap in scholarship. As a collection of material, the work has its limitations, but especially the extensive and interesting analysis merits recommendation.

Stephan T.A.M. Mols

GESA SCHENKE, *Schein und Sein. Schmuckgebrauch in der römischen Kaiserzeit: eine sozio-ökonomische Studie anhand von Bild und Dokument*. Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2003. 195 S., 56 Abb., XVI Taf.; 27 cm (Monographs on Antiquity, I). – ISBN 90-429-1172-7.

The latest in a long series of Pompeii exhibitions organised by the Soprintendenze of Naples and Pompeii focuses on the victims of the AD 79 eruption of Vesuvius. Therefore, a lot of small objects are the main points of interests: coins, small statuettes and jewellery had been gathered by the people who tried to get out of the hells caused by the volcano. It is a pity that Gesa Schenke had not been invited to collaborate to this exhibition and the accompanying catalogues, as she would have had a lot to contribute. Her beautifully edited monograph, fruit of a Cologne dissertation of 2000, is an excellent counterpart to the two books that go with the Pompeii show. Schenke tries to interpret the jewellery as expressions of private and social status in the society of an average town in Roman Italy. Pompeii - as in many cases - offers an excellent starting point for her studies.

The author is neither interested in the objects themselves nor presents a catalogue of the finds. She also omits an overview of the artistic and stylistic development of jewellery in Hellenistic and Roman times, but looks at jewellery as a category of luxury objects used in Roman society, searching for a 'Schmuckverständnis', i.e. a comprehension of the meaning of jewellery (p. 1). Pompeii offers a good sample, since it is not only the excellent state of preservation of the archaeological record we encounter in that city, but also the combination of jewellery and owners of the objects, viz. the victims. In addition, the iconography of jewellery on Pompeian paintings and in Pompeian sculpture can be used for a better understanding of the material. Another source used for this study are papyri from Egypt, discussed in a short chapter (pp. 150-155). They provide data concerning dowry, private inventories and prices of jewellery. The fact that these records date from another region and another period is problematic, and could diminish their value for the comparison with Pompeii.

In the first chapter Schenke discusses the use of jewellery by both sexes. Men, for instance, usually had one ring only on their left ring finger, and officially it was a right restricted to the senatorial class to use them, taken over by others in later times. Under Tiberius men worth more than 400,000 sesterces could wear rings (p. 20). According to the *Lex Oppia* (p. 145) a Roman *matrona* showed little gold in her public performances and stressed her dignity in other ways than by displaying lots of gold, silver and precious stones. That image of sobriety is confirmed by representations of men and women in both official and funerary sculpture from Rome and Pompeii from the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD (pp. 86-113). In contrast, much more jewellery was shown during religious and private meetings and those sets of jewellery could contain various types of chains (necklaces, long chains to adorn the upper part of the body, bracelets and rings around the feet), earrings and finger rings. Diadems were extremely rare. The materials used for Pompeian jewellery are gold, gilded iron, bronze and silver, combined with (half-) precious stones and pearls. They are not as rich and elaborate as Hellenistic and late-antique Roman objects. The value of jewellery consisted of its gold and precious stones and it thus served as a sort of private bank: the pieces could be melted and/or sold easily in case of necessity and otherwise were compact financial deposits at home. As a matter of fact, many jewellery treasures found at Pompeii also contained coins, silver tableware and small statuettes, all the things people tried to carry away on their flight from the disaster of AD 79. Especially women possessed such property, being their dowries brought from their paternal home. The afore-mentioned papyri endorse this point.

As to the modes to wear jewellery, Schenke compares the pieces with those on Pompeian wall paintings (pp. 62-85). Since most of these paintings contain mythological scenes, I doubt whether they can be used for such an antiquarian research without problems. Painted portraits, however, are good comparison pieces and mostly show a restrained use of necklaces, earrings and finger rings. The long chains covering the torso (crossing between breasts and on back) are only depicted on mythological scenes, which, moreover, show nude or semi-nude Aphrodites and other enchanting women of particular beauty. The analysis of treasures in specific houses (Faun, Menander, Tragic Poet, pp. 157-168) and the comparison with the paintings in those houses are not convincing: the iconography of the paintings is purely mythological and the chronology does not match exactly.

To conclude, the main function of jewellery was displaying or feigning luxury (they frequently looked more precious than they were and iron finger rings were numerous). Both by wearing objects and collecting them a person could show his or her prosperity. Some jewels, such as snake-shaped bracelets, lunula- and phallus-shaped pendants, were supposed to possess an apotropaeic or curing value.

The book itself has been edited like a stylish jewel box, though with rather weak reproductions in colour of amateuristic snap shots and copies of book illustrations, sometimes reworked (background and colours made equal). It is well written and forms a good interpretative addition to the catalogues of jewellery from the Vesuvian cities by Antonio D'Ambrosio *et al.*, which do not contain interpretative chapters.

Eric M. Moormann

SUSAN E. ALCOCK, JOHN F. CHERRY and JAŚ ELSNER (eds.), *Pausanias. Travel and Memory in Roman Greece*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. 379 p., with 27 figs. – ISBN 0-19-512816-8.

This carefully published volume offers a 'state of the art' for research on Pausanias and his *Periegesis*. There is much to admire in the book. The number of essays (12) and commentaries on themes dealt with in the essays (7 in total, sometimes small articles in themselves) first of all ensure that there is no interpretation of this author and his text that is overlooked. Remarkable, moreover, is the fact that *Nachleben*, the perception and usage of Pausanias in 19th and 20th century scholarship and culture, gets a lot of well-deserved attention. From this innovative research we begin to understand the immense role Pausanias played and still plays as *our* interpreter of Classical Greece. In many aspects the road leading to a perception of Classical Greece as the cultural and intellectual cradle of European civilisation seems to have been paved by Pausanias.

A short *periegesis* through the book. Part I comprises four essays on Pausanias and his text proper. J. Elsner, who earlier enriched the range of interpretations on Pausanias by seeing him as a pilgrim, (again) makes a case for the *Periegesis* as a literary construct: Pausanias would have turned the landscape of Greece into a rhetorical discourse and thus, for that matter, have created one of the first Romantic texts. Like many of the other contributions in search of cultural context, Elsner considers the *Periegesis* as a typical example of the Second Sophistic. E. Bowie reviews date, genre and readership and, although he tries to dissociate himself from C. Habicht's seminal *Pausanias' Guide to ancient Greece* (1985 and 1998, revised edition) he reaches no different conclusions: as a preface to the *Periegesis* (*if* there originally has been one) has not been handed down, we can only guess at Pausanias' intentions while at the same time we know nothing about the contemporary reception of the text. C.P. Jones adds interesting information on the local guides Pausanias will have consulted (hence his frequent use of 'the imperfect of recollection'): these people probably were respectable local antiquarians belonging to the middle level of Greek intelligentsia and not 'lowly people' as was thought earlier. I. Rutherford summarizes the debate on the interpretation of Pausanias as a pilgrim or, as opposed to that, as a tourist. He convincingly shows that in the cultural context of Pausanias no sharp distinction can be drawn between these categories: 'the distinction between pilgrimage and tourism is an artificial one in Greek tradition' (52). For the moment an intelligent close to the debate. This first part is finished by well written commentaries on cultural context and the joys of reading Pausanias by M. Torelli and D. Konstan respectively.

Part II ('Studies and Comparisons') consists of four essays more heterogeneous in character. J.I. Porter provides background information on the Second Sophistic in comparing Pausanias to Longinus. In both authors Porter distinguishes a search for the sublime; something typical, in his view, of what he calls the rhetoric of classicism. A long essay by A. Cohen ('Art, Myth and Travel in the Hellenistic world', pp. 93-126) is the most archaeological contribution to the volume; unfortunately it is also one of the weakest. The author places Pausanias at the intersection of geographical (spatial) with mythological (narrative) concerns (Pausanias' text as verbal map, in her words) and subsequently looks at Hellenistic and Roman interest in travel and geography mainly by taking the visual arts into account. Via the Telephus frieze (Pergamon) and a case study of a Hellenistic terracotta relief bowl (National Archaeological Museum, Athens, 2104), focusing on its narrative dimensions and mapping impulse, we end up with Roman wall paintings, Trajan's column and late-antique topographical mosaics. Although the text certainly contains some interesting thoughts (the 'fast time' of the Roman world as opposed to the 'slow time' of mythical Greece, for instance), the themes dealt with (*art* in relation to *myth* and *travel*) and objects and monuments discussed remain so heterogeneous that the text lacks a clear conclusion, neither on its theme nor on Pausanias. Much better, and moreover a pleasure to read, are A.M. Snodgrass' (archaeological and historiographic) thoughts on Pausanias' description of the chest of Kypselos. He clearly shows how Pausanias, in his quest for an Homeric interpretation of the chest's decoration, emerges as a founding father of Classical art history. In the same vein S.E. Alcock demonstrates how Pausanias' account of the Messenians dominated the perception and study of Messenia in 19th and 20th century scholarship. Two commentaries close this second part of the volume. In a fine essay B. Bergmann, summarizing her earlier, important studies on Roman landscape painting, pays attention to the relevant material culture of Pausanias' 2nd century AD. P. Cartledge's piece deals with Laconia.

The third and most innovative part of the volume, on *Nachleben*, consists of four essays (by S. Buck Sutton, J.M. Wagstaff, J. Henderson and M. Beard) and three commentaries (by S. Bahn, J. Cherry and J. Elsner). These texts show, as also illustrated by Snodgrass and Alcock in part II, the enormous impact of Pausanias on the 19th and 20th century view of Classical Greece. This is nicely illustrated by the article by Buck Sutton on Nemea and 'the recurrent form of a Nemean visit': up to the present day visitors recall the loneliness of the temple of Zeus, as did Pausanias, thus *not* taking into account the rather large village that had grown up around this spot! Most articles are well written (although sometimes too much in detail concerned with British and especially Oxford *microcosmographia academica*) and concern early interpreters of Pausanias like Colonel Leake, L.R. Farnell, J.G. Frazer and Jane Harrison, again witnessing to Pausanias' influence on the discipline via these important scholars.

Under the single name Pausanias we meet many personalities in this book: Pausanias is presented as historian and art historian, antiquarian and mythographer, travel writer, tourist and pilgrim, geographer, cartographer and ethnographer, amongst other things. This presentation of so many different views, without favouring a specific line of interpretation, together with the large amount of attention for *Forschungsgeschichte* makes this volume typically post-modern. This is intelligent and helpful but also creates some dissatisfaction. The merit of this book, presenting a wide range of interpretations and not a single view, is at the same time troubling because certainly also with Pausanias some truths are more true than others. I think this problem is also due to the (too) large amount of contributions. Why add in total 7 commentaries, often not discussing the articles specifically, to 12 already heterogeneous essays? Several times different contributors even fully contradict each other, as is nicely illustrated in essays by Konstan, celebrating Pausanias as a high quality author, *contra* Cherry who is so brave to ask if Pausanias was just badly in need of a good editor. In sum we end up with a typical 21st-century Pausanias, as is to be expected of course.

M.J. Versluys

JULIAN BENNETT, *Towns in Roman Britain*. Princes Risborough: Shire Publications, 2001. 80 p., 22 line drawings, 16 b/w illustrations, 21cm (Shire Archaeology series, 13). – ISBN 0-7478-0473-7.

This small but attractive booklet from the series *Shire Archaeology* is intended, as the author states in his preface, as a 'general introduction to the urbanisation of Roman Britain, useful to both the amateur and the student (..) a synthesis, however, rather then a detailed exposition'. Despite these limitations the merit of Bennett's book lies in the concise explanation of terminology and concepts related to the origins and workings of the towns in Roman Britain. The new third edition of this book has been expanded including results of the hundred or so major excavations that were carried out since the previous edition appeared. Particularly illustrative are the maps, ground plans and restored axonometric views that help to visualise an overall picture.

During the 366 years of direct Roman rule, starting with the invasion of Britain in AD 43, some 110 urban communities are so far known to have existed. It was one of Rome's main achievements in Britain to persuade the most backward of its dependencies to accept urbanisation and classical culture (p. 13). In ten chapters many different aspects of urbanisation are touched upon, from wealth, commerce and industry to religion and religious buildings. In general it was Rome's urbanisation policy to establish a *modus vivendi* with local folk. Because of the lack of urban culture in first century Britain it was difficult to constitute a system of provincial authority. It was therefore necessary to create a new political and economic structure which was achieved by forming a series of self-governing civic regions, each a *respublica* or republic, a community with a 'democratic' constitution defining its relationship with Rome (p. 9). The book gives ample information of how Roman towns were organised and administered, plus their evolution during the four centuries of Roman rule in Britain.

Bennett's approach to the subject is primarily functional and historical, using both archaeological and literary evidence. He explains how most of the origins of the towns in Britannia followed the general pattern in the rest of the empire, which is military. Such was the case with the *coloniae* (settlements of legionary veterans), or the *municipia*, which were formed from an existing native townships. Both of these urbanised settlements had regular features, like a regular street-grid, with a clear division for areas of public, religious and private use. Another form of settlement was the vicus; such settlements lacked regular planning or public and administrative buildings, and had no autonomy under Roman law.

Although Bennett explains in great length the practical set-up and other aspects of the different Romano-British urban settlements in modern contemporary town-planning parameters, he does not mention the ritual aspects that accompanied every Roman town planning activity. One has to realise that in antiquity a town or city was perceived as a symbolic pattern, as is confirmed by many ancient literary sources.

The book, that has to be perceived as a survey, is supplemented with an up to date general bibliography, intended for further reading in regard to the urban framework of Roman Britain and related issues. Moreover, a list is provided with British sites and museums open to the general public. Although the book may not satisfy the curiosity of the professional archaeologist, it could be particularly useful as a general introduction for undergraduate students. All in all it is written with considerable didactic skill, an ability that Bennett probably picked up when he was working as a guide.

Frederik Th.J. Godin

A. KOSTER, K. PETERSE and L. SWINKELS, *Romeins Nijmegen boven het maaiveld. Reconstructies van verdwenen architectuur*. Nijmegen: Museum Het Valkhof, 2002. 55 p., 56 figs., oblong paperback 22x28 cm. – ISBN 90-6829-074-6.

Nijmegen, the oldest city in the Netherlands, knew monumental architecture in Roman times, especially public buildings. Nothing of it remains to be seen nowadays. For the first time, scientifically based reconstructions of some of these buildings have been made: an early Roman officers' quarter on the *Kops Plateau*, the headquarters of the Flavian legionary fortress on the neighbouring *Hunerberg*, and two villas. The main author is the architect and classical archaeologist Kees Peterse. The alfabetical order agreed by the authors of this volume does no justice to his leading role in this project: a small exhibition in *Museum Het Valkhof* in Nijmegen and this accompanying book, co-edited by the two keepers of Roman archaeology of the museum. The exhibition showed drawings, models (some full-scale and therefore necessarily partial) and computer animations. The book contains twelve beautiful full-colour computer stills of the Nijmegen headquarters.

The reconstruction of the standing parts of the buildings is made in two phases: from traces in the ground to ground plan, and from ground plan to 3D.

The reconstructed ground plan made in the first phase is directly based on drawings made in the field, not on simplified ground plans often found in publications. The system of the measurements is convincingly treated in Roman feet.

The second phase, from ground plan to 3D, is executed in different ways for different buildings. The officers' quarter on the Kops Plateau, probably Drusus' headquarters during his German campaigns, is reconstructed with the help of what we know about Pompeian house architecture and from Vitruvius' handbook. But the nature of the building material for the columns, wood, is also taken into account. The roof plan of this complex comes next, with the problem of shedding rain water in a way that would keep all parts of the building comfortable and dry. A somewhat strange but convincingly delightful complex with trendy Mediterranean rooms is the result.

With the headquarters of the Flavian legionary fortress, however, the roof plan takes pride of place in this second reconstruction phase, after which the height is reconstructed with the help of what is called here the critical section. This concept should have been explained to the reading public, consisting mainly of archaeologically interested people without architectural training. But more publications, of more technical nature, seem to be promised in the paragraph where it is written that not every detail can be treated within the scope of this modest book. Four aspects, however, are treated in some detail: a statue base just outside the heart line of the forecourt, the facade of the headquarters, the two storeys of columns in the basilica, and the sanctuary for the legion's standards. Buttresses on the outside walls show the presence of barrel vaults in this sanctuary. A Roman interior of unexpected but convincing splendour is conjured up in text but especially in the beautiful computer still of Jonker and Wu, Rotterdam.

The same two phases (from traces in the ground to ground plan, and from ground plan to 3D) are gone through in the reconstruction of two large-scale Roman villas, one near Nijmegen and the other farther to the south.

This book, splendid and modest at the same time, has one serious flaw: it is published only in Dutch and thus confines the reading public to a far too small circle. Now that there are plans to show the exhibition also at nearby Xanten in Germany, it should be translated, into German at the least. And why not into English as well? Kees Peterse's expertise deserves to be known and available throughout the former Roman Empire and, farther afield, the institutions studying it.

D.C. Steures

Judith Herrin, Margaret Mullett, Catherine Otten-Froux (eds.), *Mosaic, Festschrift for A.H.S. Megaw*, London: British School at Athens, 2001. 200 p., 57 figs., 84 pls., 30 cm., (British School at Athens Studies 8). – ISBN 0-904887-40-5.

In 2001, archaeologist A.H.S. (Peter) Megaw's ninetieth birthday was honoured with the publication of a *Festschrift* by the British School at Athens. Megaw's contribution to Byzantine scholarship, particularly in Cyprus where he conducted many excavations, is apparent when reading the bibliography of his work, included in the back of this volume. The eighteen articles are arranged in approximately chronological order and cover wide-ranging aspects of the Byzantine world from the fourth to the fifteenth centuries. A number of disciplines including iconology, ceramology, epigraphy, literary analysis and architectural history are featured in the book. In addition, Richard C. Anderson describes the use of kites in aerial photography for archaeology and Charlotte Roueché looks at how the Cyprus Department of Antiquities came into being.

The transition from Paganism to Christianity in fourth-century Cyprus is discussed by Ino Nicolaou who considers mosaic inscriptions from the church of Hagios Spyridon at Tremithous and a secular building known as the Complex of Eustolios at Kourion. Nicolaou discerns the influence of pagan literary traditions in the sentential format of the inscriptions. Excavations carried out at Cape Drepanon on the west coast of Cyprus between 1952 and 1955 revealed the existence of three sixth-century basilicas and a small bath house. Material recovered included 34 fragments of a marble ambo in the lavishly-furnished 'Basilica A'. Demetrios Michaelides considers how the components of this feature were crafted from Proconnesian marble in workshops near Constantinople, transported to Cyprus and assembled *in situ*. At the strategic Dhema Pass behind Thermopylae, millitary fortifications have been dated to the late fourth and early fifth centuries. John Rosser has catalogued finds from recent excavations at the site and this material is used to argue the existence of a Justinianic garrison at Dhema between the Hunnish raid of 539/40 and the invasion of Italy by Ostrogoths in 552. The castle of Sahyun (Qal'at Salah al-Din) in Syria is the subject of Denys Pringle's paper which considers four chapels identified at the site. One of the chapels is likely to date from the Byzantine occupation of the castle beginning in 975. Adjoining this is a chapel from the period of Frankish rule (c.1108-1188). A third chapel, previously assigned to the Byzantine period, may alternatively indicate an Armenian presence at the castle in the early twelfth century. With reference to nineteenth-century drawings and salvaged architectural elements, Charalambos Bouras attempts to reconstruct the Middle-Byzantine church of the Taxiarchs in Athens which was demolished in 1850. Pilgrimage to the Church of Our Lady in Nicosia in the late medieval period is discussed by Jean Richard, and Catherine Otten-Froux offers some notes on monuments of the late middle ages in the town of Famagouste.

Classification of pottery was one of Megaw's major contributions to Byzantine studies. Pamela Armstrong's article considers a group of impressed White Ware pottery found at Lakedaimon. Produced in Constantinople in the ninth and tenth centuries and transported overland to Sparta, these objects are described as being 'a physical manifestation of the cultural aspect of rehellenization of southern Greece.' (p. 64) An overview and re-appraisal of Byzantine polychrome pottery is provided by Guy D.R. Sanders who examines the fabrics, decoration and form of material excavated at Corinth, proposing a revised typology and questioning the chronology which has been established for this pottery type. Zeuxippus Ware was a group of pottery first identified by Megaw from examples found in Constantinople in the late 1960s. Demetra Papanikola-Bakirtzis provides some comments on this group, referring to a wall painting in a Cypriot church which may include a depiction of Zeuxippus Ware. A catalogue of 15 Middle Byzantine vessels, ten of which feature paintings of birds, is provided by Marie-Louise von Wartburg. The catalogued pieces, retrieved from shipwrecks and currently in Swiss private collections, lack any contextual information and they are therefore studied for their iconography. The bird representations are divided ornithologically before an attempt is made to connect these avian motifs to hunting practices of the time.

Byzantine art is studied in Karin Skawran's contribution which discusses wall paintings found at three provincial Greek churches - in Naxos, Mani and Corfu. The iconography and style of the frescoes is seen as deriving from metropolitan church decoration in the region, as well as reflecting interaction between monastic communities in Greece and southern Italy. Iconography of wall paintings is also addressed in Charalambos Bakirtzis's paper on the depiction of four military figures in the twelfth-century church of Panaghia Kosmosoteira. Previously identified as showing four warrior saints, the paintings are re-considered as being portraits of family members of the church's founder, Alexios I Komnenos. Anthony Cutler re-examines an ivory plaque now in the British Museum which shows St Peter and whose authenticity has been questioned. With reference to the iconography, craftsmanship and unusual features on the back of the object, Cutler concludes that the plaque could only have been the product of a Byzantine artist in the fifth or sixth century. A literary-historical contribution is provided by Sebastian Brock who looks at the process by which two Syriac manuscripts of the life of Epiphanios were compiled through reference to more than one source. A fragmentary tombstone slab from Paphos in Cyprus, incised with the figure of an armour-clad man, is the subject of Hector Catling's paper. Six unusual features of the figure are identified, with the depiction of the armour (or chain mail) being used to date the tombstone to around the year 1300.

The overall quality of writing in this compilation was good, the scholarship sound and the articles well presented. A slight criticism might be the lack of a unifying theme (other than the connection with Peter Megaw), with investigations covering multifarious subjects, although this may also be seen as a virtue. The volume is well illustrated and important contributions are made to a number of aspects of Byzantine archaeology.

William Anderson

Books received

ROSA MARIA ALBANESE PROCELLI, *Sicani, Siculi, Elimi. forme di identità, modi di contatto e processi di trasformazione*. Milano: Longanesi & C, 2003. 290 p., 27 fig., XXXII tav.; 20,5 cm (Biblioteca di Archeologia, 33). – ISBN 88 304 1684 3.

Archeologia Classica LIII-n.s. 3. Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2002. 616 p., figs.; 24 cm. – ISSN 0391 8165.

O. BELVEDERE, A. BERTINI, G. BOSCHIAN, A. BURGIO, A. CONTINO, R.M. CUCCO & D. LAURO (a cura di), *Himera* III.2. *Prospezione archeologica nel territorio*. Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2002. 455 p., XVI tav., 244 fig., 29 cm. – SBN UF10041967.

JOSÉ MARIA BLÁZQUEZ, *El Mediterráneo y España en la Antigüedad; Historia, religión y arte*. Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 2003. 847 p.; figs; 21 cm. – ISBN 84 376 2040 6.

JOSÉ MARIA BLÁZQUEZ, *Trajano*. Barcelona: Editorial Ariel S.A., 2003. 309 p., 10 fig.; 23 cm. – ISBN 84 344 6700 3.

LARISSA BONFANTE, *Etruscan Dress. Updated Edition*. Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003. IX+261 p., 164+B7 figs.; 25.5 cm. – ISBN 0 8018 7415 0.

GIOVANNA BONIFACIO & ANNA MARIA SODO (a cura di), *Stabiae: Storia e Architettura. 250º Anniversario degli Scavi di Stabiae 1749-1999. Convegno Internazionale Castellammare di Stabia 25-27 Marzo 2000*. Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2002. 221 p., ill.; 28 cm (Studi della Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei, 7). – ISBN 88 8265 201 7.

ANGELO BOTTINI & ELISABETTA SETARI, *La necropoli italica di Braida di Vaglio in Basilicata. Materiali dallo scavo del 1994*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2003. 136 p., fig., tabel., 48 tav.; 33 cm (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Monumenti Antichi, Serie Miscellanea, VII). – ISBN 88 7689 199 4/ISSN 0391 8084.

JEAN-MICHEL CARRIÉ & RITA LIZZI TESTA (eds.), *'Humana Sapit' Etudes d'Antiquité tardive offertes à Lellia Cracco-Ruggini*. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2002. XXII+504 p., 120 b/w ill.; 28 cm (Bibliothèque de l'Antiquité Tardive, 3). – ISBN 2 503 51279 8.

MARGHERITA CATUCCI, LORENA JANNELLI & LUCIA SANESI MASTROCINQUE, *Il deposito votivo dall'acropoli di Cuma* (*Corpus delle stipi votive in Italia* XVI). Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2002. 124 p., 28 tav.; 30 cm (Archaeologica, 138). – ISBN 88 7689 202 8/ISSN 0391 9293.

ANNAMARIA COMELLA, *Il santuario di Punta della Vipera. Santa Marinella comune di Civitavecchia* I. *I materiali votivi* (*Corpus delle stipi votive in Italia* XIII). Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2001. 156 p., 42 tav.; 30 cm (Archaeologica, 131). – ISBN 88 7689 208 7/ISSN 0391 9293.

OLIVER CREIGHTON & ROBERT HIGHAM, *Medieval Castles*. Princes Risborough: Shire Publications, 2003. 72 p., 30 colour & 28 b/w ill.; 21 cm. (Shire Archaeology series, 83). – ISBN 0 7478 0546 6.

DARIA DE BERNARDI FERRERO (ed.), *Saggi in onore di Paolo Verzone*. (*Hierapolis, scavi e ricerche* IV). Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2002. 286 p., 280 fig.; 30 cm (Archaeologica 137). – ISBN 88 7689 201 X/ISSN 0391 9293.

ANDREAS FURTWÄNGLER (Hrsg.), *Demetrias* 6. *Hellenistische Bronzegusswerkstätten in Demetrias/Lampenproduktion und -importe im hellenistischen Demetrias/Amphorenfunde in Demetrias*. Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2003. 160 S., 351 Abb.; 30.5 cm. – ISBN 3 89913 288 2.

VERENA GASSNER (mit Beiträgen von Roman Sauer und Bettina Kratzmüller), *Materielle Kultur und kulturelle Identität in Elea in spätarchaisch-frühklassischer Zeit. Untersuchungen zur Gefäß- und Baukeramik aus der Unterstadt (Grabungen 1987-1994)*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003. 436 S., 109 Abb., 47 s/w Taf., 12 f. Taf., 21 Tabelle, 3 Anh.; 29,5 cm (Velia Studien, II). – ISBN 3 7001 3173 9.

GINO VINICIO GENTILI, *Verucchio villanoviana. Il sepolcreto in località Le Pegge e la necropoli al piede della Rocca Malatestiana*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2003. Vol. I: 406 p., 67 fig.; Vol. II: 344 tav.; 32 cm (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Monumenti Antichi, Serie Monografica, VI). – ISBN 88 7689 158 7/ISSN 0391 8092.

OLLIVER J. GILKES (ed.), T*he Theatre at Butrint. Luigi Maria Ugolini's Excavations at Butrint 1928-1932* (*Albania Antica* IV). London: British School at Athens, 2003. 290 p., 262 ills.; 30 cm (BSA Supplementary Volume, 35). – ISBN 0 904887 44 8.

LUCA GIULIANI, *Bild und Mythos. Geschichte der Bilderzählung in der griechischen Kunst*. München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2003. 367 S., 87 Abb.; 24 cm. – ISBN 3 406 50999 1.

J.R. GREEN, F. MUECKE, K.N. SOWADA, M. TURNER & E. BACHMANN, *Ancient Voices-Modern Echoes. Theatre in the Greek World* (Exhibition Catalogue). Sydney: The Nicholson Museum, The University of Sydney, 2003. 83 p., color figs., 29.5 cm. – ISBN 0 909602 16 6.

PETER GROSSMANN & HANS-GEORG SEVERIN, *Frühchristliche und byzantinische Bauten im südöstlichen Lykien. Ergebnisse zweier Surveys*. Tübingen: Verlag Ernst Wasmuth, 2003. 180 S., 42 Abb., 36 Taf.; 30 cm (Istanbuler Forschungen, 46). – ISBN 3 8030 1767 X/ISSN 0723 4333.

KLAUS JUNKER, *Pseudo-Homerica. Kunst und Epos im spätarchaischen Athen*. Berlin: Verlag Walter De Gruyter, 2003. 47 S., 14 Abb.; 31 cm (141. Winckelmannsprogramm der archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin). – ISBN 3 11 018034 0. – ISSN 0178 1154.

MARIE-LAURENCE HAACK, *Les haruspices dans le monde romain*. Bordeaux: Ausonius, 2003. 273 p.; 23 cm (Scripta Antiqua, 6). – ISBN 2 910023 38 9/ISSN 1298 1990.

R.B. HALBERTSMA, *Scholars, Travellers and Trade. The pioneer years of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden*. London: Routledge, 2003. xiv+182 p., 10 figs.; 24 cm. – ISBN 0 415 27630 6.

NIKOLAUS HIMMELMANN, *Alltag der Götter*. Paderborn: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 2003. 124 S., 47 Abb.; 24 cm (Nordrhein-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaft, Vortrage, G 385). – ISBN 3 506 71484 8.

ERIK HORNUNG, a cura di ALESIA AMENTA, *Spiritualità nell'antico Egitto*. Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2002. 206 p., 45 figs.; 24 cm (Egitto antico, I). – ISBN 88 8265 132 0.

E. KOTJABOPOULOU, Y. HAMILAKIS, P. HALSTEAD, C. GAMBLE, & P. ELEFANTI (eds.), *Zooarchaeology in Greece: Recent Advances*. London: British School at Athens, 2003. 310 p., 111 figs.; 30 cm (BSA Studies, 9). – ISBN 0 904887 41 3.

NORBERT KUNISCH, *Makron* (*Forschungen zur Antiken Keramik, II Reihe Kerameus* Band 10). Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern Verlag, 1997. – ISBN 3 8053 1890 1/ ISSN 0933 1816.

HELMUT KYRIELEIS (Hrsg.), *Olympia 1875-2000. 125 Jahre Deutsche Ausgrabungen. Internationales Symposion, Berlin 9.-11. November 2000*. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2002. 376 S., 117 Farb-, 182 s/w Abb., 1 Faltplan; 30 cm. – ISBN 3 8053 2989 X.

CLAUDIA LIEDTKE, *Nebenraumdekorationen des 2. und 3. Jahrhunderts in Italien*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003. IX, 315 S., 58 Taf., 15 Abb.; 28 cm (JdI Ergh, 31). – ISBN 3 11 017539 8.

LISA MARALDI, *Falerio. Città Romane*, 5. Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2002. 108 p., 107 figs.; 26 cm (Atlante tematico di topografia antica, XIII supplemento). – ISBN 88 8265 203 3.

LAURA MARIA MICHETTI, *Le ceramiche argentate e a rilievo in Etruria nella prima età ellenistica*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2003. 279 p., 49 fig., 6 tabel., 4 graf., 148 tav.; 33 cm (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Monumenti Antichi, Serie Miscellanea, VIII). – ISBN 88 7689 198 6/ISSN 0391 8084.

P.A. MOUNTJOY, *Knossos: The South House*. London: British School at Athens, 2003. 238 p., 71 figs., 10 pl.; 30 cm (BSA, Supplementary Volume 34). – ISBN 0 904887 42 1.

KLAUS MÜLLER, *Hellenistische Architektur auf Paros*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2003. 176 S., 57 Abb., 79 Taf.; 29,7 cm (Archäologische Forschungen, 20). – ISBN 3 7861 2447 7.

LISA C. PIERACCINI, *Around the hearth. Caeretan cylinder-stamped braziers*. Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2003. 232 p., 115 figs.; 31 cm (Studia archaeologica, 120). – ISBN 88 8265 224 6.

SASCHA PRIESTER, *Ad summas tegulas. Untersuchungen zu vielgeschossigen Gebaüdeblöcken mit Wohneinheiten und Insulae im kaiserlichen Rom*. Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2002. 305 p., 133 figs.; 28 cm (BCom Supplementa, 11). – ISBN 88 8265 218 1.

WIM REGTER, *Imitation and Creation. Development of early bucchero design at Cerveteri in the seventh century BC*. Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Museum, 2003. 312 p., 31 figs., tables; 32 cm (Allard Pierson Series, 15). – ISBN 90 71211 36 3.

KATHRIN SCHADE, *Frauen in der Spätantike – Status und Repräsentation. Eine Untersuchung zur römischen und frühbyzantinischen Bildniskunst*. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2003. XVIII, 269 S., 67 Taf.; 29 cm. – ISBN 3 8053 2907 5.

GESA SCHENKE, *Schein und Sein. Schmuckgebrauch in der römischen Kaiserzeit: eine sozio-ökonomische Studie anhand von Bild und Dokument*. Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2003. 195 S., 56 Abb., XVI Taf.; 27 cm (Monographs on Antiquity, I). – ISBN 90 429 1172 7.

EVA SIMANTONI-BOURNIA, *La Céramique grecque à Reliefs. Ateliers insulaires du VIIIe au VIe Siècle avant J.-C.* Genève: Librairie Droz S.A., 2004. 174 p., 72 pl.; 29.5 cm (Hautes Études du monde gréco-romain, 32). – ISBN 2 600 00936 1/ISSN 1016 7005.

ERIKA SIMON, *Schriften zur Kunstgeschichte*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2003. 298 S., 20 Fig., 46 Taf.; 24,5 cm (Geisteswissenschaftliche Reihe, 17). – ISBN 3 515 08112 7.

ELLEN SWIFT, *Roman Dress Accessories*. Princes Risborough: Shire Publications Ltd. 2003. 56 p., 16 col. ill., 30 b/w ill.; 21 cm (Shire Archaeology series, 85). – ISBN 0 7478 0567 9.

ALESSANDRO DE TOMASSI, *Pietra in ombra*. Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2002. 198 pp., 143 fig.; 29 cm. – ISBN 88 8265 221 1.

MARINA R. TORELLI, *Benevento romana*. Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2002. 542 p., tav.; 21 cm (Saggi di storia antica, 18). – ISBN 88 8265 209 2.

GIOACCHINO FRANCESCO LA TORRE, *Un tempio arcaico nel territorio dell'antica Temesa. L'edificio sacro in località Imbelli di Campora san Giovanni* (*Corpus delle stipi votive in Italia, XIV*). Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2002. 388 p., 70 fig., 34 tav.; 30 cm (Archaeologica, 133). – ISBN 88 7689 206 0/ISSN 0391 9293.

DIETRICH WILLERS & LILIAN RASELLI-NYDEGGER (Hrsg.), *Im Glanz der Götter und Heroen. Meisterwerke antiker Glyptik aus der Stiftung Leo Merz*. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2003. 232 S., 273 Farb-, 122 s/w Abb.; 29 cm. – ISBN 3 8053 3295 5.

ALAN WILKINS, *Roman Artillery*. Princes Risborough: Shire Publications Ltd. 2003. 80 p., 56 b/w ill.; 21 cm (Shire Archaeology series, 86). – ISBN 0 7478 0575 X.

CHARLES K. WILLIAMS II & NANCY BOOKIDIS (eds.). *Corinth: The Centenary, 1896-1996*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2003.

XXVIII+475 p., 26 figs., 23 tables; 31 cm (Corinth 20, American School of Classical Studies at Athens). – ISBN 0 87661 020 8.

GERHARD ZIMMER (Hrsg.), *Neue Forschungen zur hellenistischen Plastik. Kolloquium zum 70. Geburtstag von Georg Daltrop*. Eichstätt-Inglostadt: Katholische Universität Eichstätt-Inglostadt, 2003. 174 S., Abb.; 24 cm. – ISBN 3 937082 07 7.

BARBARA ZIMMERMANN, *Die Wiener Genesis im Rahmen der antiken Buchmalerei. Ikonografie, Darstellung, Illustrationsverfahren und Aussageintention*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2003. VIII+253 S., 8 Farbtaf., 64 s/w Taf.; 24.5 cm (Spätantike-Frühes Christentum-Byzanz, Kunst im ersten Jahrtausend Band 13). – ISBN 3 89500 319 0.